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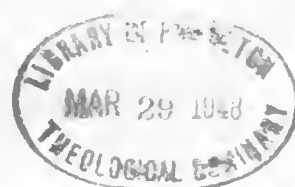




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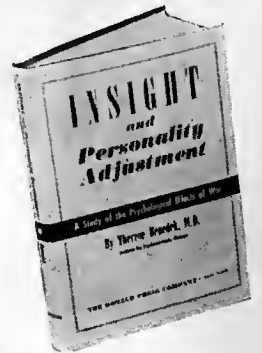
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Thomas Sancton is introduced as special editor in his own luminous lead article on page 7. Experienced members of the staff have counted at every stage in the team play: Florence Loeb Kellogg, Beulah Amidon, associate editors; Kathleen Sproul, production editor; Beulah Weldon Burhoe, associate secretary; Walter F. Grueninger, business manager.

The backlog of the venture has been a considerable grant from the Julius Rosenwald Fund, and generous contributions from the Carnegie Corporation, Lucius N. Littauer Foundation, and the Phelps-Stokes Fund.

The timing of this number makes it available for Race Relations Sunday (February 9), for Brotherhood Week (February 16 to 23) and for the long range program of the United Council of Church Women.

It coincides, also, with the 33rd annual meeting of Survey Associates itself, to be held Monday, January 27, at the New School, 66 West 12 Street, New York—with, as speakers: Mrs. Harper Sibley, president of the United Council of Church Women, Messrs. Alexander and Sancton, and President Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University.

You will get a glimpse on page 128 of the educational reach of the first of these two all-year projects (THE RIGHT OF ALL PEOPLE TO KNOW, Henry Christman, special editor).

The U. S. Department of State has since ordered 500 copies for distribution and its Magazine Liaison Section asks to transmit all articles for translation and possible republication in Germany and Austria operating under license from the U. S. Military Government; and to grant blanket clearance for them to the War Department's Information and Educational Section in Tokyo. William T. Stone, director of the State Department's new Office of International Information and Affairs, writes: "Congratulations! It is a first rate job in every respect."

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Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction . . .

AMENDMENT XIV

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws . . .

AMENDMENT XV

The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude . . .

Photograph by Alexander Alland for Survey Graphic



Twelfth in
CALLING AMERICA
Series

SEGREGATION

The Pattern of a Failure

THOMAS SANCTON

THERE IS AN OLD HERESY IN AMERICAN life which claims the privilege of aggressive race prejudice as one of the inalienable rights of the individual.

This is a popular argument among race reactionaries today. It has great currency in the South, especially among political leaders. But it also turns up from time to time in the malice of certain newspaper columnists who reach national audiences.

Toward the end of the last century, this heresy, disguised with all the trappings of legal vocabulary, became for a time the credo of the Supreme Court of the United States. It was beneath the shelter of this sort of reasoning that the highest court accepted the arguments of southern lawyers that the Negro's civil rights could not be enforced against the banked-up weight of southern public opinion.

This reasoning led to the acceptance of other complacent principles and finally to the obvious fictions that segregation is not in its very nature discrimination; that "substantially equal" public facilities and education are actually provided for Negroes; and that they afford a fair substitute for loss of civil rights.

As the reader turns through these pages, he will find the testimony of specialists in many fields—in law, religion, sociology, education, health—which show how this philosophy and these fictions have failed the American

—An introduction by the special editor of this special number—who was born and raised in the Deep South and is one of a younger generation that is coming freshly to grips with the race problem.

New Orleans is his native city, and his first newspaper work was done in Louisiana and Mississippi. Tulane was his university. Later he was to win a Nieman Fellowship at Harvard, and to be awarded one by the Julius Rosenwald Fund.

Meanwhile in 1940 he had a post with the Associated Press in New York and in 1942-43 was managing editor of *The New Republic*.

Returning to Mississippi, he and his family settled in Pascagoula, a small Gulf Coast port which had become a teeming shipbuilding center, drawing labor from a human watershed reaching back into half a dozen states. They lived there in a war-time housing area while he carried forward a study of the influence of southern patterns upon American culture and put in time as a warworker in the shipyards.

After spending the fall in New York on this project of ours, Mr. Sancton is back in Mississippi today, finishing the southern book for Doubleday.

people. And the American people as a whole have suffered from them scarcely less than have that group among us whom the Census classifies as Negroes.

As a nation, we have expended valuable energies in perpetuating the wasteful and sterile luxury of biracial institutions. We have wasted the human resources of Negro Americans by submitting them to a relentless system of frustration and rejection; we have wasted resources of the whole nation in the enforcement and justification of that system.

Heresy and Waste

It is not difficult to show this waste upon its material levels. That can be done—as it had been done countless times in magazines and newspapers—by photographs of a dilapidated school and a residential ghetto, or of some poor farmer or city vagabond with thwarted face and eyes that tell the story even to the least imaginative.

But along with this obvious waste and failure, there has been an inner psychological corrosion at work in the American character as the cost of imposing this thing upon a part of our people. It has made us too expert at both subterfuge and self-deception—we who began as a people characterized by simplicity, enthusiasm, and a genuine belief in individual dignity. It has brought an overplus of cynicism and pessimism into our arts and letters, and into our popularly accepted beliefs. It has brought an element of narrowness and rigidity into the character of the individual. It has diminished our interest in others and our

ability to appreciate the inexhaustible wonders of the human spirit. In teaching ourselves the method of systematically ruling out millions of men and women from normal contacts and appreciations, we have inadvertently taught ourselves to undervalue life in general.

None of these corrosive elements has yet become absolute in our culture. None of them of course influences all of us all the time; for the American is a variable human being. But evidence of spiritual deterioration is too abundant to deny that these adverse tendencies have been at work in our culture for a long time. To whatever degree they exist in any region, state, community, or individual outlook, they compromise the real values of this country's tradition.

Segregation by its very nature is discrimination, and a democracy which gives a measure of its energies to the maintenance of systematic discrimination is a contradiction in terms.

Human Equations

Whether he lives in the North or South, whether he is rich or poor, the Negro American knows very well what racial segregation is without the aid of any extended definition such as this special number provides. For him segregation is ever present. And on those rare moments when tangible evidence is lacking, he senses it dispersed finely through the whole atmosphere of the America which surrounds him.

It is not necessary, then, for a Negro to be affronted once a day by some outward and visible sign—the Jim Crow partitions of a public bus, the refusal of service at a store or restaurant—in order to feel the disheartening processes of segregation at work within his life. The poorest Negro tenant in an isolated Mississippi farm community experiences them from the cradle to the grave, though he may never visit a department store, ticket office, or restaurant, where their manifestations most familiar to urban dwellers take place.

Within the big cities, and at the other end of the economic scale, well-to-do Negroes can usually avoid insults and refusals of service by virtue of having sufficient income to purchase what they desire where they can get it on fair terms; and by effective insulation within a little world made up of other people like themselves.

Yet the psychological elements of

segregation are not absent. For these people the abrasions of Negro life occur on other levels. It is a hard thing, one day, to have to tell a five-year-old girl, with all the buoyant happiness of a secure and healthy child in a good home, that she is a "Negro." It is a hard thing to have to watch the first bewilderment and pain when some schoolyard experience has raised the question of race, and to explain to a very young boy the true dimensions of his handicaps in being a Negro.

Nor is it only Negroes on whom the devastating influence of the system is constant. Every white American feels it in some measure, whether he be some officeholder in a southern county whose major function is to enforce it, or the resident of a state like North Dakota or Vermont where Negro elements in the population are almost nonexistent.

In a quantitative sense, of course, the southern states, where three fourths of the Negro Americans live, are more deeply involved with the institution than any other region. It is apparent, also, that the white southerner has a greater consciousness of its presence, a greater familiarity with its functions and its purposes, a more emotional concept of the entire race problem. Yet the average white northerner has many of the same basic prejudices latent in his own make-up.

Individual Responsibility

Many a white northerner assumes that he has no prejudice against the Negro—certainly not in the fashion which he regards as universal practice in southern life. Such a man may be quite willing to accept Negroes in the public schools, in theaters, on subway trains; but he, too, may turn into a full blown segregationist in matters that impinge on his personal life or business—when, for instance, he is seeking an employe for an opening in his office, or when he views the prospect of a Negro family buying property in his residential community.

His individual responsibility for the system and his individual part in maintaining it are then similar to those of the adamant southern racialist. In a sense he is a victim of his own culture, mis-educated into believing himself different and superior; but the element of free will enters, too, for he adds his own support to the perpetuation of a selfish and sordid scheme of things.

This question of individual respon-

sibility is important, for so long as the white individual, southern or northern, can exempt himself by pointing to his traditions and his background, the institution of segregation and similar repressive and exploitative practices will rest secure.

Backdrops to Understanding

How do these elements get into a culture?

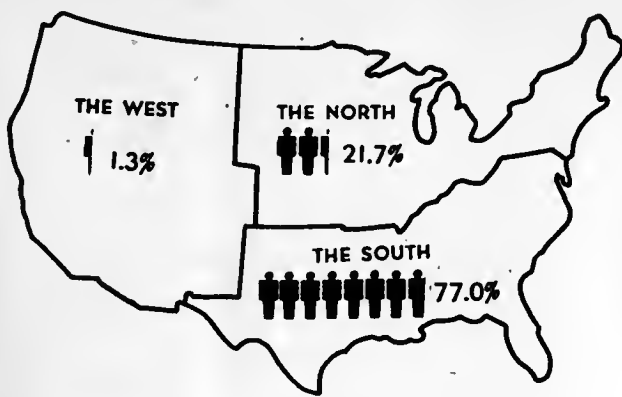
Even more, how can the individual or the group be persuaded to give them up?

In answer to these questions, there are clearly no brief formulations available. True, a substantial part of the literature in our libraries touches in some way upon them. They have been answered in terms of religion, politics, economics, philosophy, and too often also in terms of sheer stupidity. Some day, no doubt, a broad philosophical synthesis will approach an adequate answer. Certainly scientific advances on many fronts since the turn of the century have brought mankind a long step on the road to this self-knowledge.

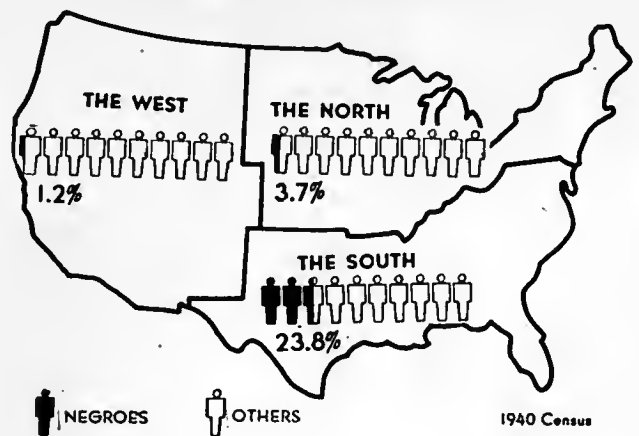
It is even clearer that any attempt to raise these questions in the mind of the average race-conscious individual runs into severe difficulties. A deep consciousness of man's identification with all creation may permeate the religious creed he adheres to and the great literary works of his culture. He may believe that he believes in the doctrine of the brotherhood of man which animates the great state papers of his nation; but somehow he has missed the pertinence of these things in his own relationships with his contemporaries.

It rarely occurs to him that he is only one more individuality among countless billions turned up by the life force in the vast reaches of time. He lacks a sense of his own transitory nature, of the timelessness of the human family. The simple truths of genetics have remained outside his grasp—that the racial markings of color, of hair, of facial contours, have arisen as local variations of peoples breeding in regional isolation and have no more spiritual significance in other races than in himself. In brief, the great truths developed by scientific research within his own century lie outside his ken. Occasionally they may break through what he reads or listens to, but in fragmentary and superficial ways which fail to penetrate his imagination—and too often they come too late.

WHERE THE NEGROES LIVE



THEIR PROPORTION IN THE TOTAL POPULATION



1940 Census

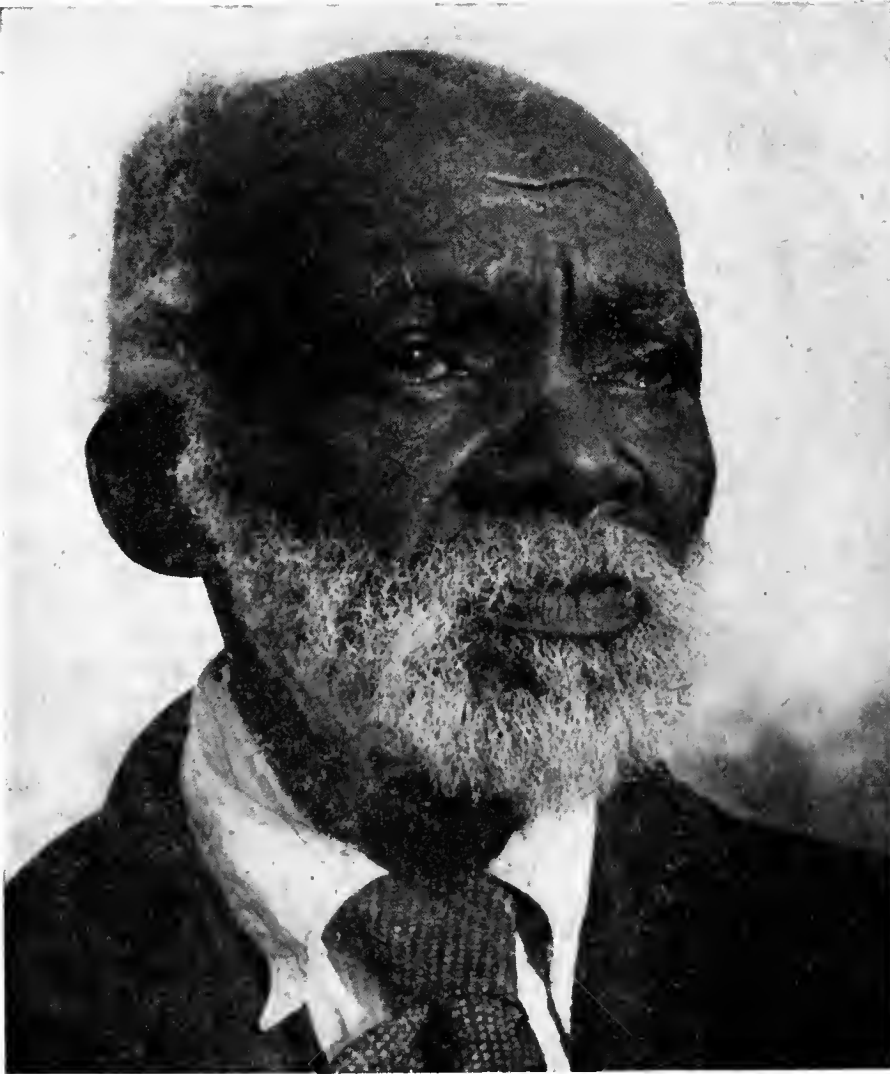
Region	All Races	White	Negro	% of Negroes
NORTH	76,120,109	73,206,738	2,790,193	3.7
Conn.	1,709,242	1,675,407	32,992	2
Ia.	2,538,268	2,520,691	16,694	.7
Ill.	7,897,241	7,504,202	387,446	5
Ind.	3,427,796	3,305,323	121,916	4
Kan.	1,801,028	1,734,496	65,138	4
Mass.	4,316,721	4,257,596	55,391	1
Me.	847,226	844,543	1,304	.2
Mich.	5,256,106	5,039,643	208,345	4
Minn.	2,792,300	2,768,982	9,928	.4
Mo.	3,784,664	3,539,187	244,386	6
N. Dak.	641,935	631,464	201	.003
Neb.	1,315,834	1,297,624	14,171	1
N. H.	491,524	490,989	414	.1
N. J.	4,160,165	3,931,087	226,973	5
N. Y.	13,479,142	12,879,546	571,221	4
Ohio	6,907,612	6,566,531	339,461	5
Pa.	9,900,180	9,426,989	470,172	5
R. I.	713,346	701,805	11,024	2
S. Dak.	642,961	619,075	474	.007
Vt.	359,231	358,806	384	.01
Wis.	3,137,587	3,112,752	12,158	.4
SOUTH	41,665,901	31,658,578	9,904,619	23.8
D. C.	663,091	474,326	187,266	28
Ala.	2,832,961	1,849,097	983,290	35
Ark.	1,949,387	1,466,084	482,578	25
Del.	266,505	230,528	35,876	13
Fla.	1,897,414	1,381,986	514,198	27
Ga.	3,123,723	2,038,278	1,084,927	35
Ky.	2,845,627	2,631,425	214,031	8
La.	2,363,880	1,511,739	849,303	36
Md.	1,821,244	1,518,481	301,931	17
Miss.	2,183,796	1,106,327	1,074,578	49
N. C.	3,571,623	2,567,635	981,298	27
Okla.	2,336,434	2,104,228	168,849	7
S. C.	1,899,804	1,084,308	814,164	4.3
Tenn.	2,915,841	2,406,906	508,736	17
Tex.	6,414,824	5,487,545	924,391	14
Va.	2,677,773	2,015,583	661,449	25
W. Va.	1,901,974	1,784,102	117,754	6
WEST	13,883,265	13,349,554	170,706	1.2
Ariz.	499,261	426,792	14,993	3
Calif.	6,907,387	6,596,763	124,306	2
Colo.	1,123,296	1,106,502	12,176	1
Idaho	524,873	519,292	595	.11
Mont.	559,456	540,468	1,120	.2
Nev.	110,247	104,030	664	.6
N. Mex.	531,818	492,312	4,672	.9
Ore.	1,089,684	1,075,731	2,565	.2
Utah	550,310	542,920	1,235	.2
Wash.	1,736,191	1,698,147	7,424	.4
Wyo.	250,742	246,597	956	.4

1940 Census

The problem of educating him to a real belief in racial democracy is all the more difficult if his thinking about current political and social problems is cast in the inadequate framework of grade school American history. Then he is apt to believe that most of the great events of man's experience since Bible times have taken place in the USA. And whether he has grown up in the North or South, he is likely to feel that the war between the states and the great political debates of the nineteenth century produced some sort of universal law of race relations—never once comprehending that nature itself has peopled the continents of the earth with various tribes and races who never have bowed down to his racial distinctions and his claims to an innate superiority—and who never will do so.

To those who would attack segregation entirely in terms of economics, and to those who would exorcize it wholly in terms of religion, a concern for these factors of time and evolution doubtless seems misty and irrelevant. However, to spread knowledge and an attitude toward life which will give the race-minded a realistic perspective on the commonality of the human species and the factors necessary for our survival on a shrinking planet, is certain to make other arguments more puissant, their acceptance surer.

The call for such education must be emphasized. This conviction that we are anthropologically unique is undoubtedly widely held and becomes unrealistic and dangerous bigotry when it takes the form that the race question began here, and will end here—and largely upon the terms of



Max Zobel photo

Old age, confronting the world with its wisdom, but with eyes that tell to the least imaginative a story of injustice and humiliation quietly endured

southern state legislatures and of congressional committees too largely dominated by racial ignorance.

So long as such anthropological isolationism persists in the individual mind, arguments of logic and sound political reasoning operate against great handicaps.

The Spiral of Motivation

Nonetheless, no one familiar with aspects of segregation in a northern slum or on a southern tenant farm, can deny that its reason for being is still human exploitation. So it was in the beginning on the plantation slave street. Trace the whole complex American race problem back to the primary motivation which brought it into being, and you come out on the economic level.

African slaves were brought here to labor in the fields, to make crops, to create wealth for white planters. That was an economic motivation of stark and graphic simplicity. And that same

motive runs through every stratum of segregation today, whether it be the real estate covenants intended to protect the market value of white property; or the repressive and exclusionary southern customs devised primarily to perpetuate a reservoir of uneducated and politically powerless hand labor as the basis for a wasteful and now mechanically obsolete cotton economy.

But when the first slave stepped from the first slave ship on American shores and was led away into bondage by the first master, there began to coalesce that curious amalgam of guilt, aggressiveness, and fear which was to become such a source of turmoil in our society.

When real humanists like Jefferson came to the fore in the American Revolution and produced a Constitution, a Bill of Rights, an unequivocal democratic philosophy, the confusion implicit in the fact of slavery became the more deep-seated. Then came gen-

erations of inflammatory debate, of mounting recriminations, of violent antagonism which fed upon itself until many Americans utterly renounced the creed of human dignity implicit in the Constitution and came to embrace their own pro-slavery, anti-Negro propaganda with a fanaticism which even overshadowed the economic self-interest that had given rise to it in the first place.

One of the most destructive features of the system is that it has thwarted so many instinctive and normal relationships by its formula for systematic devaluation and rejection. To my mind, no single experience is so calculated to create that sense of the basic equality of human beings as a meeting of white and colored individuals of congenial tastes and backgrounds. This is precisely what segregation is most on guard to prevent; for every honest friendship that is formed between them undermines the whole dishonest system and exposes the sanctimonious laws by which white racialists have tried to sanction it.

Yet these relationships are taking place today as they have from the start of American history. Such fraternal drives in our people are instinctive and will probably in the long run defeat the bigotry and systematic forces of mis-education which bombard Americans on every hand.

Clash of Good and Evil

Warring elements of ruthlessness and idealism have been present in our American culture from its very beginnings. They were there in the harsh New England life of the Puritans, some of whose divines came almost to detest man as though they had forgotten he was not only "born in sin" but also created in the image of a just and compassionate God. They were there in the conflicting philosophies of Jefferson and Hamilton in the Revolutionary period. They were present in our concept of "Manifest Destiny" when, in pushing westward, we crushed Indian tribes whose ways of life had many enduring values—refusing to look upon them as any thing but savages.

This clash of good and evil came to dramatic focus in those southern planters who thought they could have chivalry, slavery, and the Christian gospel all together. It was repeated in the postwar history of many northerners, inwardly believers in racial superiority, who, once they had abolished the form of slavery, were willing to

see it compromised in substance.

This conflict is present in most of the crucial events of our own generation, with its great reaffirmations of democratic principles and, at the same time, with some of the most naked and shameless attacks upon those principles ever made in the open light of day.

There is much to justify us in believing that in the field of race relations positive elements in our history have been gaining ascendancy in the past two decades. In part this may be attributed to pressures of economic and military crises; in part, to our recoil from the extremes of intolerance and persecution Hitler loosed in Europe. But the old American bent for freedom and human worth, never completely suppressed and now brought to bear upon the contemporary situation, has been a contributing element at each stage.

Often during these years the struggle for rationality has seemed a losing one. The walls of segregation are still formidable in 1947—eighty-five years after Lincoln proclaimed the Emancipation. But rents are opening in those walls. Though it may be the part of optimism to believe that we shall see the walls come tumbling down within the lifetime of Negroes now living, it is certainly not the foolish optimism it would have seemed a generation ago before the great rapprochement in race relations that began in the period after the first World War.

The way things stand along our racial frontiers on any particular day may look grim enough, as one scans the stories of excesses in word and deed which appear in the daily press. But undoubtedly in the minds of many an American, and in the muster of important organizations, there has arisen a fresh sense of responsibility for the reform and clarification of the nation's racial dilemma.

The realization has dawned on us that this complex institution called segregation does not constitute a sound national race policy. Rather, it registers national confusion in the matter.

The old complacency in influential circles as to its laws and customs and practices has been shaken to the roots. Compare this struggle against segregation with the involved political conflicts in the decades following the Civil War, and it is clear that this time a better foundation has been laid. The Negro himself has broken



Marion Pálfi photo

New generation. Col. Benjamin O. Davis, Jr. of the U. S. Army, West Point graduate, noted fighter-pilot, now Commander, 477th Bombardment Group

ground for this by truly impressive achievements in self-development, and in both scientific grasp and things of the spirit.

It is important that those white Americans who genuinely believe in democracy for all, those who desire to help Negro citizens obtain it, should have clear and positive objectives in view. Expressions of good will are not enough, nor will they prevent systematic evasions of the Constitution by the proponents of segregation. A new civil rights bill is needed, a bill defining in clear and positive language the full rights and privileges of citizenship implicit in the Civil War amendments. The somewhat vague and negative wording of those amendments has in the past made possible narrow interpretations that largely undid the purpose intended in their passage.

Let us not forget that Congress once passed a series of such civil rights bills (thrown out by the Su-

preme Court in 1883). What Congress did once it can do again—and the Supreme Court of our own era is not likely to undo this necessary work.

Obviously the defeat of the Fair Employment Practice bill in the last Congress was a discouragement to this hope. But the movement in behalf of full citizenship for Negroes is a movement which for over a century has traveled a pathway paved with such discouragements. Although opponents to the FEPC won out on Capitol Hill in 1946, their tactics alienated many people who previously had not been aroused in the matter, and whose influence will be felt in the years ahead.

A revised FEPC bill, then, is a first objective, as I see it. Next, a measure defining in positive terms the civil rights of all American people. Our long run goal becomes the recapture of the enduring human values which are the footholds of a democratic system of government.



Wilma Wilcox



Library of Congress

Happy Childhood



Wilma Wilcox



Wilma Wilcox

The Laws of the Land

A review of the eighty-year-old effort to lay the ghost of slavery in Congress, in state legislatures, and in the decisions of the courts, state and federal.

ROBERT E. CUSHMAN

ANY USEFUL APPRAISAL OF THE PRESENT legal status of the Negro in this country must be made with the following four facts in mind:

—The purpose of those who framed the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments was to abolish Negro slavery, to give the Negro citizenship and complete equality of civil rights, and to make him a voter.

—White opinion and political leadership in the South, and in many parts of the North, repudiated these purposes and embarked upon a widespread program of legalized “boot-legging” by which the mandates of the amendments were either ignored or defied.

—The Supreme Court of the United States has interpreted the Fourteenth Amendment, especially, with a technical narrowness which has greatly restricted the scope of Negro rights and made possible the watering down by clever legal devices of those rights which remained.

—During the last twenty years there has been heartening improvement in the legal status of the Negro, as the result both of judicial decision and of legislation. These gains fall far short of giving the Negro the full status which the Constitution guarantees to him, but the movement which they represent is gaining strength.

The Right to Vote: 1926

The Fifteenth Amendment did not give the Negro the right to vote. It merely forbade the denial of this right because of his race or color. When “white man’s government” was restored in the South about 1876, after the grotesque and costly blunders of Reconstruction, the southern states, following a period of Ku Klux Klan violence and intimidation, embarked upon a trial and error program to disfranchise the Negro without technically violating the Fifteenth Amendment. By 1926, the beginning of the

—By a political scientist who has made a special study of civil liberties in this country. Mr. Cushman has been a member of the faculties of the Universities of Illinois and Minnesota, and since 1929 he has been Goldwin Smith Professor of Government at Cornell.

He is a member of the board of editors of the *American Political Science Review*, author of a number of books in his field, and a frequent contributor to the law journals.

period under review here, the results of these efforts stood somewhat as follows:

First, the thinly disguised effort to disfranchise the Negro through the famous “grandfather clauses” had been held by the Supreme Court to violate the Fifteenth Amendment (*Guinn vs. United States*, 238 U. S. 347, 1915) and was abandoned. These “grandfather clauses” imposed drastic educational and property qualifications on the right to vote and then exempted lineal descendants of persons who could have voted prior to 1866—that is, white people—from their operation.

Second, some southern states were successfully disfranchising Negroes by means of educational qualifications for voting. These requirements were nondiscriminatory on their face—several northern states have them—but they were administered in the South by white election officials who failed to find any Negro voters educationally qualified. The Supreme Court held, in 1898, that these educational requirements did not violate the Fifteenth Amendment (*Williams vs. Mississippi*, 170 U. S. 213).

Third, Negroes in some southern states were being barred from voting by the discriminatory enforcement of poll tax requirements. The Supreme Court had not passed on the validity of the poll tax as a qualification for voting.

Finally, in 1923, Texas passed the first “white primary” law—a statute

which bluntly stated that “in no event shall a Negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic party primary election held in the state of Texas.” This attack on Negro voting rights rested on the not implausible assumption that the Supreme Court’s doctrine in *Newberry vs. United States* (256 U. S. 232, 1921)—that congressional primaries were not “elections” within the meaning of the Constitution—meant that the right to vote in primaries generally lay outside the protection of the federal Constitution. Since in every southern state success in the Democratic primary inevitably means final election, this denial to Negroes of the right to vote in the Democratic primary would effectively disfranchise them.

The White Primary

The most important development affecting Negro suffrage in the last twenty years has been the rise and fall of the “white primary.” The Texas statute of 1923, just quoted, was held by the Supreme Court in 1927 in *Nixon vs. Herndon* (273 U. S. 536) to violate the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The legislature, thereupon, passed a new law which read, “every political party in this state through its state executive committee shall have the power to prescribe the qualifications of its own members and shall in its own way determine who shall be qualified to vote or otherwise participate in such political party.”

The state executive committee of the Democratic party promptly adopted a resolution barring Negroes from the primary. In a five-to-four decision the Supreme Court held this second law invalid (*Nixon vs. Condon*, 286 U. S. 73, 1932).

Three weeks after the decision in the *Condon* case (there now being no state statute governing the matter), the state Democratic convention adopted a resolution providing that thereafter only white persons might vote in the party primary, and the

state executive committee put this into effect at once. In 1935, in *Grovey vs. Townsend* (295 U. S. 45), the Supreme Court held unanimously that the action taken by the state convention was not state action within the meaning of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, but was merely the action of a private political group exercising its right to determine its own membership and policies.

While the Court's opinion made it clear that the validity of any "white primary" regulation would depend upon the precise legal relationship of any party primary to the state law and government, the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi continued to enforce their "white primary" party rules on a statewide basis. In Florida, Negroes were barred from the primaries by party rules in the counties, while in South Carolina a Negro could vote in the primary only if he could produce the affidavits of ten white men attesting his party membership. By endorsing the transparent fiction that the Democratic party in the South is just a private club, instead of the most important part of the states' election machinery, the Supreme Court permitted the effective disfranchisement of the Negro.

Conflicting Opinions

The reversal of the *Grovey* case and the outlawing of the "white primary" resulted from a collateral rather than a frontal attack. In 1941, the Court decided the case of *United States vs. Classic* (313 U. S. 299). This had nothing to do with Negro voting. The federal crime charged was that of conspiring to injure a citizen "in the exercise of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States," by falsifying the ballot count in a congressional primary. But *Classic* had committed this crime only if the rights of a citizen to vote in a congressional primary and to have his vote honestly and correctly counted are rights which come to him from the Constitution and laws of the United States. The Court said they were, thereby reversing the doctrine of the *Newberry* case, and held that the congressional primary is an integral part of the congressional election machinery of Louisiana.

It was at once clear that the doctrine of the *Classic* case was in flat conflict with that of the *Grovey* de-

cision, and in *Smith vs. Allwright* (321 U. S. 639) the Supreme Court, in 1944 (with one dissenting vote) overruled *Grovey vs. Townsend*.

The core of the *Allwright* case is the Court's realistic acceptance of the fact that a party primary is a vital part of the election machinery. If the state laws provide for placing on the election ballot the names of the candidates nominated in the party primary, then the party conducting that primary becomes the agent of the state for that purpose. If the party discriminates against Negroes in the conduct of the primary, that discrimination becomes state action within the meaning of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

Reactions of the States

The *Allwright* decision invalidating the Texas "white primary" led to a reexamination throughout the South of the whole question of Negro voting.

As of December 1946, the reactions of the southern states to the "white primary" decision may be summarized as follows:

1. Louisiana and Texas abandoned the "white primary," and thus joined the four states (Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia) which had never had one. Mississippi "officially" abandoned its "white primary," but in the 1946 primary, threats and intimidation by the Bilbo forces kept all but some 1,500 or so Negroes from voting and many state legislators were advocating a special session to revise the election statutes.

2. Three states (Florida, Alabama, and Georgia) abandoned their "white primaries" only after their efforts to keep them were defeated by court action.

The Supreme Court of Florida ruled in July 1945, that the *Allwright* case applied to the Florida primary system and that Negroes must be allowed to vote. More than 30,000 did vote in the 1946 primary.

Georgia ignored the *Allwright* decision and barred Negroes from the primary in 1944. But in *Chapman vs. King*, decided in March 1946, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals held that Negroes must be admitted to the Georgia primary. The Supreme Court upheld the decision by refusal of *certiorari* in April 1946. Nearly 125,000 Negroes registered for the 1946 Georgia primary. What happened to them will be discussed later.

In Alabama the initial refusal in some parts of the state to allow Negroes to vote in the primary produced a

series of federal court actions. Pressure by the U. S. Department of Justice, and a realization also that the cause was probably lost, led the state Democratic committee in January 1946, to vote to admit Negroes to the primary.

3. Arkansas, apparently feeling that half a loaf is better than none, passed a statute in 1945 to separate state and federal Democratic primaries; and in April 1946, the attorney general of the state announced that Negroes would not be allowed to vote in the state Democratic primary, although such voting would not be barred in the federal primary. The validity of this Arkansas device has not yet been brought before any federal court.

4. In South Carolina, a special session of the legislature called in 1944 repealed all primary legislation. This was on the theory that if the state law does not in any way recognize the party primary then the doctrine of the *Allwright* case that the primary is an agency of state government becomes untenable. While many Negroes were permitted to register in the Democratic primary in 1945, many were barred in 1946. The constitutional issue thus raised has not yet been litigated.

5. It is already clear that if Negroes as a group cannot be barred from the Democratic primary, some southern states will try to disfranchise them by stiffening the requirements for voting and by setting up qualifications which can be administered in a discriminatory manner. Arkansas has already increased the number of grounds on which a citizen's right to vote in the federal primary can be challenged.

In November 1946, Alabama voters adopted the *Boswell* amendment to the state constitution, setting up an educational qualification on voting which will require the voter to "understand and explain" the provisions of the state constitution.

In Mississippi, which has long had an "understand and explain" provision, the number of Negroes challenged has mounted sharply.

In Georgia the use of the challenge to bar registered Negroes from voting in the 1946 primary became a statewide scandal. The "white supremacy" party leaders printed blank challenges in enormous numbers and sent them to the county leaders who filled in on the challenge blanks the names of the Negroes who had registered. In many areas every registered Negro was thus challenged with a resulting intimidation which kept large numbers away from the polls. There is a lively prospect, however, that this discriminatory use of the challenge may result in federal prosecutions for criminal conspiracy to intimidate Negro voters.

In addition to the collapse of the "white primary," a powerful movement has recently developed to abolish the poll tax as a voting qualification in the South, although it has met thus far with only limited success. The main facts about the poll tax are the following:

Between 1889 and 1908, ten southern and border states adopted a poll tax requirement as a qualification for suffrage. It was originally intended and served as a device for Negro disfranchisement. But it also keeps millions of whites from voting, and is largely responsible for the tight control many southern politicians are able to exert in their districts.

Organized opposition to the poll tax has made some headway. Four states have repealed their poll tax requirements (North Carolina, 1921; Louisiana, 1934; Florida, 1937; Georgia, 1945). In Georgia, however, the attorney general has ruled that even after the repeal of the poll tax requirement all back poll taxes, in some cases as much as \$50, must be paid up before a citizen is eligible to vote.

The Tennessee legislature, also, repealed the poll tax requirement in 1943 but the state Supreme Court held the repealing statute invalid under the state constitution. Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, South Carolina,

Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia still retain the poll tax.

The drive against the poll tax has shifted to the federal level and takes two forms. In the courts, an impressive argument has been built up against the constitutionality of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting. But this constitutional attack has netted no results so far and the prospects for its success are not bright.

The Fight in Congress

More significant than this judicial attack has been the drive in Congress for a federal statute which would forbid the requirement of a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in federal elections. Such a bill has passed the House on three occasions, but southern senators have by filibustering prevented a vote on it in the Senate. Some members of Congress believe that Congress does not have the constitutional power to pass such a law. Some of these favor a constitutional amendment, although admitting the political impossibility of its adoption.

It may be said that the question of poll tax has become a national issue within the past few years, and that the greatest gain so far made has been the formation of a growing public opinion which demands its abolition.

The notorious wartime filibusters which killed the anti-poll tax bill in the Senate probably would have been unsuccessful had the southern Democrats not received tacit support from many Republican members. Now that control of both houses has passed to the Republicans—which before the New Deal was traditionally the party with which Negroes affiliated—the progress of anti-poll tax legislation will be watched with keenest interest.

The provisions of the Constitution which protect Negro rights do not apply to purely private racial discrimination. The Fourteenth Amendment reads that "no state" shall deny due process of law or the equal protection of the laws. But the Civil Rights Cases (109 U. S. 3, 1883) established the doctrine that the Fourteenth Amendment does not apply to private action.

It has never been clearly settled, however, just exactly what action is "private" within the meaning of this rule. A state law forbidding Negroes to buy or sell land would clearly be "state" action, and would violate the Fourteenth Amendment. If Jones, a white man, refuses to sell his farm to



Photograph by Matthew B. Brady, National Archives

In 1857, Chief Justice Roger B. Taney and a majority of the Supreme Court held that a slave was "property," that Congress lacked power to exclude the institution of slavery from the territories, that no Negro could plead in a United States court as a citizen.

The distance we as a nation have progressed along the road from acceptance of chattel slavery to genuine democracy may be measured by comparing this decision in the Dred Scott case with the same Court's ruling nearly ninety years later in the "white primary" decision in the Allwright case reviewed in this article.

Smith, a Negro, this clearly would be "private" action, to which the amendment would not apply. But between these two extremes lie a number of doubtful situations.

Discriminatory activities which viewed superficially appear to be purely "private" may come to concern the general social welfare so closely as to be brought within the range of governmental control or constitutional restraint. In the last twenty years progress has been made toward protecting the Negro from forms of racial discrimination which were earlier classified as purely "private."

An impressive attack is under way upon the judicial enforcement of restrictive covenants by which property owners bind themselves mutually not to sell or lease to Negroes. This promises to be an uphill fight. In 1917 the Supreme Court held in *Buchanan vs. Warley* (245 U. S. 60) that a municipal zoning ordinance which segregated Negroes and whites deprived the real-estate owners of property without due process of law. This meant that residential racial segregation could be effected only by private action.

Restrictive Covenants

Restrictive covenants between land-owners appeared to provide the solution, and they exist today in thousands of American communities. In 1926 in *Corrigan vs. Buckley* (271 U. S. 323), the Supreme Court held that such a restrictive covenant in the District of Columbia barring the sale of land to Negroes did not violate the "due process" clause of the Fifth Amendment because the making of the covenant was private, not governmental action.

Upholders of Negro rights, however, decline to regard the issue as closed, and have developed persuasive arguments that the covenants are legally vulnerable. The case against the covenants runs as follows:

—When made to run perpetually or for long periods of time the covenants are void as undue restraints upon the alienation of title to real property. Several state supreme courts have so held.

—The covenants are unenforceable in many cases because of changes which have occurred in the racial or other character of the neighborhood in which the restricted property lies.

—The covenants should be held



Portrait by W. H. Masters, Princeton, Ill., July 4, 1856

The year after the *Dred Scott* decision, in the course of his debates with Stephen A. Douglas, Abraham Lincoln challenged the doctrine of Taney and his associates. He succeeded in forcing his opponent to declare that, in his opinion, the Court's ruling did not necessarily overthrow the principle of popular sovereignty in the territories.

Before the Republican convention which nominated him for the Senate, Lincoln had stated the issue in memorable words: "A house divided against itself cannot stand . . . it will become all one thing or all the other."

void as contrary to public policy because they prevent needed Negro housing in congested communities.

—The covenants constitute a form of racial discrimination which should be held barred by our international agreements. In 1945 the Supreme Court of Ontario, Canada, held a racial covenant invalid on the ground that it violated the Charter of the United Nations.

—Finally, and most important, the enforcement of racial covenants by either federal or state courts constitutes a deprivation of property with-

out due process of law. Such judicial action is governmental and not private action. In *Corrigan vs. Buckley*, the validity of governmental enforcement of racial covenants was not passed upon, and the Court should find such enforcement unconstitutional.

There is much wishful thinking in all this. But the problem is attracting wide public attention, and it is probably accurate to say that the law regarding racial covenants is not so securely settled as supposed when *Corrigan vs. Buckley* was decided.

A more important area of racial

discrimination which was once "private," but has now become largely "public," is the field of labor relations.

Twenty years ago, few would have suggested that an employer or a union that wished to exclude a Negro worker could not legally do so. But in recent years, labor relations have become increasingly "affected with a public interest," and therefore subject to governmental control. Protection against discrimination in employment is one of the by-products of this broader movement.

Job Discrimination

Achievement on the federal level has been both legislative and judicial. The Fair Employment Practice Committee set up by Executive Order in June 1941, forbade job discrimination in war industries. The order was motivated less by equalitarian theory than by the hard fact that a nation at war could not afford to refuse to make effective use of Negro labor. The FEPC passed out of existence in 1946 when Congress failed to appropriate funds to keep it alive. The campaign to set up a permanent FEPC, while temporarily in abeyance, has by no means died out. Such a statute would have to rest now on the power of Congress to regulate commerce, rather than upon an emergency war power.

Inspired by the FEPC, nearly twenty states during the war considered legislation striking at racial discrimination in employment. Three states enacted such statutes. The lead was taken by New York, which in 1945 created a State Commission Against Discrimination that has power, under criminal sanctions, to prevent employers from discriminating in any way against workers because of race, creed, or national origin.

New Jersey in 1945 and Massachusetts in 1946 passed antidiscrimination statutes patterned largely upon the New York law. Indiana and Utah have set up commissions to "study" discrimination and to make reports and recommendations. Chicago enacted a fair employment ordinance in 1946. While California has passed no law on the subject, the state Supreme Court in 1945 held void a closed shop agreement entered into by the Boilermakers' Union so long as the union segregates Negroes into "auxiliaries" without voting power.

A substantial number of labor unions either bar Negroes from

membership or relegate them to an inferior status. In three important decisions the Supreme Court has struck at these discriminatory labor union policies. In *Steele vs. Louisville and Nashville R. Co.* (323 U.S. 192, 1944), and *Tunstall vs. Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen* (323 U.S. 210, 1944), a unanimous Court held that under provisions of the Railway Labor Act of 1934 the Brotherhoods cannot act as bargaining agents for their members and make contracts of employment if they deny to Negroes equality of membership rights.

This same doctrine would seem also to apply to the much larger group of unions covered by the National Labor Relations Act. In *Railway Main Association vs. Corsi* (326 U.S. 88, 1945), the Court held that the organized postal clerks of the United States Railway Mail Service were validly bound by the provisions of the New York Civil Rights Law which forbids any labor organization in the state to deny membership or equal privileges because of race, color, or creed.

The significance of broad attack on racial discrimination in the field of labor can hardly be overestimated.

"Separate But Equal"

In 1896 the Supreme Court held in *Plessy vs. Ferguson* (163 U. S. 537), that a state law requiring separate but equal accommodations for Negroes and whites on railroads did not violate the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The rule has been extended to a long list of public accommodations and facilities including schools, parks, playgrounds, places of amusement, hotels, restaurants, and all public transportation facilities.

The federal government itself has permitted racial segregation in the District of Columbia (see page 33), and it is considerably practiced in the army and navy (see page 66) and in many other branches of the government.

In essence, the doctrine "is that segregation of the races in public places promotes better race relations, prevents racial conflicts, and therefore constitutes a proper exercise of the state's police power. It may be noted that northern states exercise their police powers in the form of civil rights acts to *forbid* the very segregation which southern statutes *require*.

The Supreme Court has always agreed in principle that the Negro is entitled under segregation to equal accommodations. The Court frequently relies upon the dictionary for the meaning of words, but not in this case. The word equal, according to Webster, means "exactly the same in measure or amount; like in value, quality, status, or position; neither inferior nor superior." In several earlier decisions, however, the Court declared that the Fourteenth Amendment does not require "mathematical" equality of treatment for the segregated races, but only "substantial" equality.

How little equality it takes to be "substantial" was indicated in *Cumming vs. Board of Education* (175 U. S. 528, 1899), in which the Court found that a Georgia county had not denied substantial equality in failing to provide a high school for sixty qualified colored children although it had a high school for white children. The Court seemed entirely satisfied by the county's argument that it could not afford to maintain two high schools.

In 1914 the Court began to apply a much more rigid test of equality in segregation cases. In *McCabe vs. Atchison, T. & S. F. Ry. Co.* (235 U. S. 151), it held that an Oklahoma law did not give equal accommodations when it permitted railroads to haul sleeping, dining, and chair cars for whites, without providing them on demand for Negroes.

In September 1946, the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia held illegal the segregation of interstate Negro passengers by a railroad company.

Of great importance was the case of *Gaines vs. Canada* (305 U. S. 337, 1938), in which the Court held that the State of Missouri, which segregates Negroes and whites in its schools and colleges, must either admit a qualified Negro student to the law school of the state university or build a separate law school for him to attend. It did not meet the constitutional requirement of equality for the state to pay the Negro's tuition in an out-of-the-state law school. Furthermore, his right to equal educational facilities is a personal and not a group right, and Gaines was entitled to assert it even though he was the only Negro in Missouri who sought to study law — zealously enough, that is, to fight the issue

(Continued on page 97)

The Price of Prejudice.

If the sum total of the cost of racial segregation were clearly and widely known, it would give pause to Americans as a practical people.

LOUIS WIRTH

FOR WHITE

FOR COLORED

To the visitor from the North such signs in southern railroad stations come as something of a shock. No one has ever calculated the cost of these signs, much less of the practices which they symbolize.

The determination of the cost of segregation is not a simple problem in accounting. It is much like calculating the costs of disease, of ignorance, of crime, or of war. It involves not merely those costs of material things which can be translated into dollars, but also of more intangible, but none the less real, values of a human, a social and psychic nature which have an indeterminable order of magnitude.

Some of the costs of segregation are direct—such as what it costs the South to maintain a dual school system as over against what it would cost to maintain an integrated system of the same quality in which whites and Negroes shared equally. Other costs are more indirect—for instance the loss in productive capacity or in per capita wealth or income due to the lowered educational standards affecting both whites and Negroes under a system of segregated schools. Such loss, in so far as it expresses itself in public and private income and expenditure, is easily enough calculable. But who shall put a dollar value upon a human life wiped out by preventable disease, by a lynching or a race riot? Upon fear and suspicion which divide a community? Upon a frustrated ambition, a stunted personality, or an embittered soul?

The struggle against racial segregation and discrimination has been based in the main upon the claim that these practices are un-Christian and undemocratic. It might with equal validity be based upon the fact that they are uneconomical. The price of race prejudice has apparently not been too high to discourage even so relatively impoverished a region as the South from continuing to pay it. Yet

—By the professor of sociology and associate dean (since 1940) of the social science division of the University of Chicago. Recently elected president of the American Council on Race Relations, he will direct the University's new project, the Institute of Race Relations, which will focus research and teaching on fields germane to this special number.

Back of his appointment as director of planning of the Illinois Postwar Planning Commission, in 1944, lay work at Tulane University, New Orleans (1928-30); a research fellowship in Europe for the Social Science Research Council (1930-31); service as consultant, National Resources Planning Board (1935).

In 1934, he contributed a luminous article, "Chicago: The Land and the People," to an earlier special number of *Survey Graphic* on CHICAGO: The Second Century (October 1934).

He is the author of various volumes of his own and in collaboration with the late Robert E. Park and others.

if its sum total could be made clearly and widely known, it would conceivably add force to the moral, religious, and legal sanctions against racial discrimination.

There is, of course, no assurance that so rational a procedure as the weighing of gains against losses will commend itself to people who are under the spell of profound emotional urges, however thoroughly their prejudices may be rationalized by pseudo-scientific arguments that the existing practices are necessary and justified.

Indeed, segregation has even been justified on economic grounds. Thus, for example, it has been claimed that as long as the Negro can be served by segregated schools, the total cost of education for the entire community will be less than would be the case under an integrated educational system meeting the minimum expectations of the whites.

To the extent, however, that minimum standards of living and of public services are established for the nation at large, it is no longer possible to invoke this type of reasoning even

in areas where the segregated services to the Negroes of the community, because of their number, constitute a large proportion of the total cost.

The Negro thus gains in some measure as the community as a whole advances. This has been notably true of federal programs in education, health, housing, and welfare during the period of the New Deal. On the other hand, the experience of philanthropic agencies interested in, among other things, the education of the Negro, indicates that financial support to segregated schools for Negroes can serve as an incentive to the whites in the community to improve their own schools.

Methods—Direct and Devious

The perpetuation of minorities rests upon the maintenance of segregation. As the physical and social barriers that keep racial and cultural groups apart diminish, the differences between dominant group and minority are minimized, and ultimately their separate identity is lost. In the largest sense, therefore, the very existence of minorities and the personal and social consequences that flow therefrom are part of the cost of segregation.

Wherever racial and cultural minorities exist in a society, some degree of segregation is practiced. Segregation is both public and private, formal and informal, direct and indirect. Its consequences affect not merely the minority, but also the dominant group and the society as a whole. The segregation of the Negro in the USA illustrates all these forms and effects.

In the North, segregation is for the most part private, informal, and indirect, whereas in the South it is public, formal, and direct. Although the North generally avoids frank measures designed to prevent or discourage free association between whites and Negroes, the physical and social distances between the races are nevertheless obvious. In contrast, it might be said of the South that, despite ceremonial and legal segregation, there is actually a greater degree of intimacy between Negroes and whites than

there is in the North. This is indicated by the clearly demarcated and compact Negro residential ghettos or Black Belts in the northern cities in contrast to the sprawling and more or less random location of Negro dwellings in the South.

Dual Establishments

It would take much more space than is at our disposal here to trace the effects of segregation as currently practiced in the United States against even a few of our leading minorities. The case of the Negro, as the outstanding minority, must suffice, and even in his case, only a few aspects can here be mentioned.

Since the Negro furnishes the most glaring instance of segregation covering the whole range of the forms and consequences of the phenomenon, his experience illustrates what is true to a greater or less extent in the case of all minorities. It happens that in the case of the Negro the segregation that is operative is perhaps more overt and deliberate than of other minorities, and the record is therefore more easily accessible.

There is scarcely an aspect of American life in which segregation of the Negro is not in evidence. In the South, until recently, segregation was rigidly and invariably enforced in respect to: transportation facilities, drinking fountains, toilets, waiting rooms, schools, clinics and hospitals, welfare institutions, jails, penal institutions, churches, cemeteries, theaters, parks, playgrounds, and housing.

If "separate but equal" facilities and services, as the legal phrase puts it, had actually been furnished to Negroes, the cost of duplicate institutions

Average Salary of Teachers

Elementary and Secondary Schools
1939-40

	White	Negro
ALL	\$1,046	\$601
Ala.	878	412
Ark.	636	375
Del.	1,715	1,500
Fla.	1,148	585
Ga.	924	404
Ky.	853	522
La.	1,197	509
Md.	1,689	1,446
Miss.	776	232
Mo.	1,153	1,258
N. C.	1,027	737
Okla.	1,016	993
S. C.	953	371
Tenn.	909	580
Tex.	1,138	705
Va.	987	605
W. Va.	1,189	885
D. C.	2,350	2,350

U. S. Office of Education

would have been enormous. Although the economies are usually practiced in the case of facilities for Negroes, the total cost of the dual establishments is obviously excessive and the quality of the services must necessarily suffer. Even if the South had not been under the pressure to maintain duplicate facilities, it would have had to strain its limited resources to keep pace with the more prosperous North. As it is, the economic plight of the South is substantially aggravated by its thoroughgoing racial segregation.

Hand in hand with a racially segregated system of institutions and physical facilities goes also dual administration and personnel. The South, which is economically a handicapped region, thus puts further brakes upon its progress by insisting upon dividing

its limited supply of trained people into two staffs—one to serve whites, the other to serve Negroes.

Furthermore, as any intimate student of the segregated Negro community well knows, there is another complicating factor. This arises out of the fact that the Negro leader or professional person, confronted as he is by limited opportunities, is inclined to accept segregation either because of the increased power to bargain with whites for a greater share of the available resources, or else because the minority leaders have developed a vested interest in freezing the *status quo* (see page 74).

School Costs

The costs of segregation to the Negro, to the South, and to the nation have been most thoroughly documented in the field of education. The enormous differential in educational opportunities between Negro and white youth is shown in virtually every index of educational excellence. Grossly inferior as are the provisions for Negro children compared with those for white children on the elementary level, they are even greater on the high school level. When we come to the colleges and universities the situation is even worse, because the segregated higher institutions of learning, unlike the elementary and most of the secondary schools, are largely excluded from the benefit of public funds and must depend upon philanthropy. At present there are only three Negro colleges which are recognized by the American Association of Universities and Colleges.

Considering the need of the Negroes under a system of segregation which, especially in the South, makes them largely dependent upon the services and leadership of their own educated and professionally trained personnel, it is obvious that the discriminatory practice of segregated education has a crippling effect upon Negroes. Segregation hinders them in developing the talents required for self-maintenance and social ascent. It also blocks their full participation in the responsibilities of democratic citizenship.

Since in our modern social order education is rightly considered the high road to personal and social progress, segregated education — which means inferior education — is a major road block which affects Negroes as well as whites, North as well as South. As Jonathan Daniels has put it:

The Cost of Equalizing Public Education

Total expenditures for current purposes for white and Negro elementary and secondary schools in 18 states having segregated school systems (1935-36 figures)	\$352,508,761
Total spent for white schools, with 6,300,320 average daily attendance in those states	314,192,511
Total spent for Negro schools, with 1,885,690 average daily attendance	38,316,250
If the same amount had been spent per pupil for Negro as for white children, the total for the Negro schools would have been	94,039,360
As compared with the amount actually spent for Negro schools, this would have meant an additional expenditure of	55,723,110

This increase would have equalized expenditures for current purposes for white and Negro children. It would *not* have equalized education, for that would have required large additional investments in buildings and equipment for segregated Negro schools. It also would have required equal enforcement of the compulsory education laws.

From "Special Problems of Negro Education" by Doxey A. Wilkerson. U. S. Office of Education.

Farm Values in the South (1935)

	Average acreage per farm	Average value per acre	Average value per farm
Farm owners			
Colored	56.6	\$19.74	\$1,118
White	143.7	23.93	3,438
Tenants (other than croppers)			
Colored	51.3	19.63	1,008
White	114.4	23.33	2,554
Croppers			
Colored	31.2	27.11	845
White	52.8	26.63	1,406

U. S. Census of Agriculture 1935

The children of the South—which is the land of children in America—are more and more the adults of tomorrow in other states, and so they will, be the criminals or the sick or the creative or the consumers or the burdens of other states, soon, very soon.

If the most glaring instances of segregated education are to be found in the South, it should by no means be inferred that segregated education is not practiced in the North. The double shift schools in Chicago, for instance, are almost entirely in the Negro community. Although education is not formally segregated—indeed, that is prohibited by law in many northern states—it is nevertheless a fact, brought about by residential segregation, economic and cultural stratification, and the persistence of race prejudice. The truth is that openly acknowledged segregation probably has less embittering personal effects, and can be more readily adjusted to, than the subtly concealed but none the less effective discrimination against which there is little opportunity for concerted defense.

The personal and social losses incident to segregated education are similar to and have their repercussions upon health, welfare, economic opportunities, and the whole complex of living. As in education, so in health there is ample evidence to show that racial segregation in institutions and services is tied up with discrimination—and results in stupendous losses.

The death rate from tuberculosis—now recognized as a preventable disease—was about four times as high for Negroes as for whites in 1940. Similar glaring differences can be shown to exist with respect to other illnesses, to infant mortality, to average length of life and to many other standards of health and well-being.

A convincing documentation of the

over-all cost of segregation and discrimination was developed recently as part of the Carnegie Corporation's study of the Negro in America under the leadership of Gunnar Myrdal. Richard Sterner, in "The Negro's Share," analyzed the income, the employment trends, the occupational opportunities, the family expenditures, the food consumption and other items in the family budget, the housing conditions, the public relief assistance, and public emergency employment of the Negro. His findings show that although through federal welfare programs commendable progress has been made in the equalization of opportunities, the Negro gets far less, in

Unemployment in Cincinnati

(Unemployed as Percent of All Employables)

	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
Colored	54.3	53.4	51.0	49.5	36.0	52.7	45.3
White	28.0	21.2	17.8	17.5	8.0	16.4	12.8

Monthly Labor Review, October 1939.

One city's figures reveal a typical Negro-white employment pattern

relation to his needs, than the general population.

Similar evidence, though less carefully and systematically assembled, is available elsewhere concerning the practice and the cost of segregation in private employment, in labor, in the professions, in business, in the military field, politics, religion, in the press, the arts, and in science.

Needed: a Balance Sheet

It took the crisis of war to bring the American government and the American people to fuller awareness and the frank recognition of the enormous waste of manpower, of talent, and of the human, material, and spiritual resources that derives from our practice of racial segregation.

We took some resolute steps toward integrating the Negro and other minorities into the armed forces and into our industries. We began to realize the corroding effect of segregation upon our national unity and upon the effectiveness of our public and private institutions and organizations. We became conscious of the disintegrating effect of racial tensions upon every form of collective effort to strengthen ourselves against the enemy from without.

What was done during the war to reduce the practice and mitigate the destructive influences of segregation gave us a conception of what is possible in a society which seeks to achieve the promises of democracy.

Having sensed the enormous losses we previously tolerated, it remains to be seen whether we will relapse into the old deplorable condition, now that the crisis of war has passed. We can as ill afford the cost of segregation, today, as we could then. All of us must bear that cost.

Even if we could afford to indulge our prejudices from a material standpoint, we would find it more difficult to do so in the future than we did in the past because of the nature of the war we have fought, and the new position of leadership we have

achieved in the modern world as the spokesman of the oppressed, everywhere. Moreover, the expectations we have aroused among our own minorities will lead them to resist any back-sliding with greater militancy and with greater force—derived in part from our own admission of the incompatibility of segregation with our national principles and ideals. A searching calculation of the stupendous cost of our own folly might not help much, but to us in America, who are a practical as well as an idealistic people, it would give pause.

When humanitarian appeals prove impotent by themselves, they may find reinforcement in the red figures appearing on the nation's balance sheet.

Spectrum of Segregation

The growth of a federal policy which has helped isolate all members of minority groups from the rest of their fellow Americans.

CAREY McWILLIAMS

OVER A PERIOD OF YEARS, WE—OR A majority of us—have assumed that racial minorities should be given an opportunity to improve their living, working, and social conditions — through what we generally speak of as “education.” But we have steadfastly insisted that these improvements must necessarily take place within the framework of a biracial or segregated social structure.

Too often we think of this policy as being applicable only to Negroes. Actually it has been applied to all non-Caucasian groups, with minor variations — North and South, East and West.

While the policy is obviously self-defeating and unworkable (educational improvements necessarily undermine the structure of segregation), we continue to adhere to it, in part because we fail to recognize its national implications. We do not see it as a national policy, stemming from definite acts and omissions on the part of the federal government.

To pose the policy in proper perspective, this question should be asked: what should be the policy of a federal government toward racial minorities in a multi-racial, multi-ethnic republic?

It should be obvious that the very nature and composition of such a state imposes upon government an affirmative obligation to protect the civil rights of racial minorities and to insure to them the full and equal protection of the law. While government cannot coerce understanding or cheerful acceptance, it can protect groups against violence, against systematic discrimination, and against segregation.

Yet an honest evaluation shows that, throughout most of American history, our government not only has failed to discharge this basic obligation, but has actually placed the stamp of its positive approval upon the principle and practice of segregation.

Broadly speaking, the question of racial minorities, in its modern form, did not arise in America until after

—By a former California attorney, who served as State Commissioner of Immigration and Housing under the late Governor Floyd B. Olson.

Son of a pioneer cattleman, Mr. McWilliams was born in Colorado, educated in California.

Since 1939, as writer and speaker, he has worked tirelessly for better understanding and cooperation among Americans of diverse backgrounds.

Among his books are “Factories in the Fields” (1939); “Ill Fares the Land” (1942); “Brothers Under the Skin” (1943); “Southern California Country” (1946).

the Civil War. It was only in the post Civil War period (around 1876) that the outlines of our present dual policy began to emerge.

Our First Minority

Initially, this policy was manifested in the reservation program relating to American Indians. Until the last tribes had been “pacified,” which was not until the 1870’s, an Indian “minority problem” as a whole could not and did not arise. Our prior relations with Indians too long and too often had been those of one belligerent to another.

Much light is thrown upon the adoption of the reservation policy by noting that it was first applied in California, where a peculiar situation existed. Since there were no real Indian tribal organizations in this region, there could be no “Indian territory” nor a formal Indian “frontier.”

As one early pioneer expressed it: “Here, we have not only Indians on our frontiers, but all among us, around us, with us. There is hardly a farmhouse without them. And where is the line to be drawn between those who are domesticated and the frontier savages? Nowhere; it cannot be found. Our white population pervades the entire state, and Indians are with them everywhere.”

Not knowing how to cope with this new “Indian problem”—and our prior

belligerent experience with Indians in no manner prepared us for such a course—we proceeded about 1876 to round up the California Indians and place them on hastily improvised reservations. The California system differed radically in spirit and method from the earlier scheme of land allocation, which began with the setting apart of areas for the Six Nations of the Iroquois by treaty with them almost a century earlier (1786).

Gradually extended, the California system finally became the cornerstone of federal Indian policy.

The Citizenship of Negroes

Similarly, a “Negro problem,” in the sense that this phrase is now understood, can scarcely be said to have existed prior to the Emancipation Proclamation. The essence of minority status, in the modern sense, consists of the theoretical extension of citizenship to a group which, in actual practice, is denied the full privileges of citizenship.

But once the Negro had become a citizen, we found ourselves as unprepared to cope with “the Negro problem” as we had been to deal with “the Indian problem.” After much uncertainty and confusion, a new and daring policy was outlined in the broad provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the USA. Its purpose was to remove any doubt as to the right of the federal government to protect by affirmative action the civil rights of citizens of the United States against discriminatory state action and unlawful conspiracies.

The three Civil War amendments expressly provide that Congress shall have power to enforce their provisions by appropriate legislation. To carry this new policy into effect, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act. But in 1883 the U. S. Supreme Court held the act unconstitutional, in defiance of the meaning and intention of the Fourteenth Amendment.

In the too little known case of *Plessy vs. Ferguson* (1896), the court then proceeded to place the stamp of

its positive approval upon the practice of segregation. In this case the court accepted the fiction that segregation was not in itself discrimination. To this day, the Plessy case represents the fountainhead of segregation in American law. In both cases, vigorous dissenting opinions were filed by Justice Harlan, who declared that the effect of the decisions was "to permit the seeds of race hate to be planted under the sanction of law."

Speaking through its judicial branch the federal government had not merely failed to protect the rights of minorities: it had said, in effect, that segregation was lawful and could be enforced, if necessary, by legal process. Thus, it cannot be too frequently or too vigorously emphasized that the pattern of segregation which exists today finds positive warrant, sanction, and approval in federal policy.

Substantially this same tragic default of federal responsibility is apparent in relation, also, to Mexican Americans who, whatever the ancestry of the individual, are regarded and treated as a racial minority. Following the War of 1846, we acquired, in addition to a vast new territory, a sizable population made up largely of Hispanic and Indian elements.

In this instance, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (which ended our war with Mexico) provided nominal citizenship for these people. But the problem of cultural integration was completely ignored.

We did not even bother to organize a territorial government in New Mexico until 1851—for five crucial years the territory was without government—and we did not admit the states of New Mexico and Arizona to the union until 1912. A public school system was not organized in New Mexico until 1890. We held these states in a kind of segregatory escrow for a period of sixty-four years.

Why was it that we hesitated so long in admitting Arizona and New Mexico as states? The answer is really quite simple: we had serious misgivings about "the native population" of both territories. For all those years we regarded them as a subject people rather than as citizens; and this attitude colors the situation even today.

After the Civil War, Oriental immigration to the West Coast confronted us with a new racial problem. As a nation, we had thrown open the doors—forced the doors, indeed—of



Rothstein for Farm Security Administration

A Pueblo Indian in Taos, N. M., a member of our oldest minority group

China and Japan, to western influences. Such had been the express purpose of the Commodore Perry mission to Japan in 1854; and of the Chinese diplomatic mission to the principal European countries and the United States in 1868, which was headed by Abraham Lincoln's former minister to China, Anson Burlingame.

The Chinese

But at home we completely undermined our Far Eastern foreign policy by ignoring the consequences of anti-Oriental agitation on the West Coast. Professing inability to cope with anti-Chinese agitation in California, the federal government paid a series of indemnities to China for acts of violence against the property and persons of Chinese nationals in the West. The desire to escape from the humiliating position in which it found itself (plus the acute unemployment situation in California following the completion of the transcontinental railroads) finally led Congress to adopt the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Not only was this act discriminatory in character, but it represented a radical departure from American policy of open immigration.

Even prior to the act, however, the government had sanctioned discrimination against Chinese. The implications of the Emancipation Proclama-

tion (1861) had left Congress with no alternative but to pass an amendment extending citizenship to "aliens of African nativity and persons of African descent." But the extension stopped there.

"The very men," said Senator Carpenter, during the historic debate on the Naturalization Act of 1870, "who settled the question of Negro suffrage upon principle now hesitate to apply the principle . . . and now interpose the very objections to the enfranchisement of the Chinaman that the Democrats urged against the enfranchisement of the freedmen."

It remained for the courts to categorize all Chinese as persons ineligible to American citizenship. In 1878 the federal District Court in California, in a case involving a Chinese, gave the first judicial interpretation of the phrase "free white persons" which had been in the naturalization statute since 1790. In this decision, the court gave the phrase a negative, discriminatory, racial implication which it had not possessed when it was originally adopted.

Gradually extended by the courts, the "aliens - ineligible - to - citizenship" category was finally given congressional approval in the exclusionary immigration act of 1924. By denying citizenship to the Chinese and ex-

cluding further Chinese immigration, the federal government had, in effect, sanctioned the pattern of discrimination which had developed on the West Coast.

In a twofold sense, anti-Chinese agitation in California was an indirect outgrowth of the failure of federal reconstruction policy in the South.

In the first place, the Chinese stereotype was basically nothing more nor less than the Negro stereotype imported to the West Coast and fixed upon Chinese immigrants. There exists in old records and in the literature of the period a wealth of evidence to prove that the anti-Chinese sentiment was not based on actual experience with, or accurate observation of, Chinese immigrants. In fact, the conduct of the hard-working Chinese was generally the very opposite of that caricatured in the slanders and jokes passed about him.

In the second place, passage of discriminatory federal legislation aimed at the Chinese was effected by a coalition of western and southern votes. So far as the southern representatives were concerned, their views on "the Chinese problem" were identical with their views on "the Negro problem."

A Primer for Hitler

While the harmful consequences of the Exclusion Act, in terms of American foreign policy, have been noted frequently, some of its minor consequences remained almost unknown. When the Exclusion Act was passed in 1882, active, organized anti-Semitism was becoming a powerful factor in German politics. Rabid anti-Semites in Germany, such as Herman Ahlwardt, quickly utilized the precedent set in this country, in relation to the Chinese, to justify arguments for excluding Jews from Germany. Gustav Karpeles wrote in 1905:

Anti-Semites lost no time in pointing to the exclusion of the Chinese from the United States and using it in all seriousness as an example which would gradually prepare the way in public opinion for . . . the expulsion of the Jew.

Such is the "inescapable inter-relatedness of things," to use Robert Lynd's phrase, that America's own moral and political failure in facing the problem of race and prejudice can thus be shown to have some small measure of responsibility for the Nazi exploitation of anti-Semitism later.

The key to an understanding of our policy toward the Hawaiian Islands and Puerto Rico is to be found in our innate ambivalent attitude toward racial minorities. The objection to the admission of Hawaii as a state always has been based upon the racial composition of the islands. These objectors raised social and economic issues; but the islands would have been admitted to statehood years ago had it not been for our misgivings over the race factor.

We acquired Puerto Rico in an expansionist cycle of our history, and in half a century, we have not really admitted its people into the opportunities and responsibilities of citizenship and democracy.

Thus, since 1898, our territorial administration has represented an extension of the segregation policy practiced at home. The same policy is being applied currently in the administration of the former Japanese mandated islands in the Pacific.

The Japanese

The immigration of Japanese to the West Coast really dates from the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands and was, in large part, a consequence of that. At the time that anti-Japanese agitation became pronounced on the West Coast, following the Russo-Japanese War, the federal government lacked specific authority to take effective measures for the protection of the treaty rights of Japanese nationals or the rights of American citizens of Japanese descent.

In attempting to prevent the San Francisco school board from segregating Japanese students, President Theodore Roosevelt quickly discovered that the Supreme Court's emasculating of the Fourteenth Amendment had deprived the federal government of any legal basis for intervention. Furthermore, when he sought to remedy this situation by requesting appropriate legislation, southern congressmen and senators lined up solidly in support of their West Coast disciples in segregation.

Informal exclusion of further Japanese immigration, which the President was then compelled to initiate, was inevitably followed by formal exclusion, and ultimately by denial of citizenship rights to the immigrant generation. These actions paved the way for such clearly discriminatory state legislation as the Alien Land Act of California.

Once the federal government had confessed its inability to strike down discriminatory legislation, California proceeded to segregate the Japanese as it had previously segregated the Chinese, and as the South had long segregated the Negro.

By 1908 it had become apparent that the policy of segregation was exerting a profoundly harmful influence on the conduct of our foreign affairs. For example, anti-Japanese discrimination in California created a situation made to order for Japanese militarists. They exploited our racial arrogance to crystallize extreme nationalism in Japan and to cultivate a corresponding sense of racial hostility in many parts of Asia and the South Pacific.

Widespread Trouble Areas

To some extent, the regional concentration of minority groups has tended to obscure the fact that segregation has become a national policy. We often lose sight of the national character of segregation in our habitual statement of the domestic situation in regional terms—"the Southern Problem," "West Coast Japanese," and so on.

Since the scapegoat has varied from region to region, the over-all and national implications of segregation have been ignored. An examination of the actual techniques of segregation in the specific trouble areas reveals a fairly consistent pattern, varying in the severity of application rather than in the type of thinking which underlies it.

Throughout the Southwest, Mexican Americans have long been segregated. Separate facilities for Spanish-speaking children is the practice of many local school systems in Texas. The present school code of California permits segregation of Mexican children, and segregation is the rule wherever Mexicans reside in sizable colonies. However, on March 21, 1946, a federal District Court enjoined such separation as "unconstitutional, illegal, and void." The case, at this writing, is before the Circuit Court of Appeals.

Segregated schools exist throughout "the citrus belt" in Southern California and may be found in the city of Los Angeles, as a consequence of residential concentration. Attempts have even been made to impose restrictive real estate covenants in Southern California communities bar-

ring occupancy by Mexicans.

In many areas of the Southwest, Mexicans have a lower status than Negroes. For example, a survey made in San Antonio, Tex., in 1943, demonstrated that Mexican Americans in that city had larger families, occupied smaller houses, and earned less annually than Negroes. Substantially the same pattern of segregation may be traced in relation to Japanese, Filipinos, Chinese, Koreans, and Hindus, while American Indians are more rigorously segregated in the West than are Negroes. The original restrictive covenants in California were imposed against Oriental, not Negro, occupancy; and a case was recently fought in the courts of Los Angeles seeking to oust an American Indian from his own house, on the ground that he is a non-Caucasian.

In a few cases, as in the early day treatment of Armenians in Fresno, one is able to trace a similar pattern, including residential segregation by restrictive covenants.

While discrimination against Jews usually takes a somewhat different form, with emphasis on social discrimination, educational quotas, and job discrimination, limited forms of residential segregation have been invoked against Jews also—as witness the “gentiles only” signs in apartment and hotel advertising. One even finds old line white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon Americans, migrants from the hill country of West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, being stereotyped in industrial communities north of the Ohio River as “crickets,” and “hilligans.” A more famous label of the same nature was that used in California in the depression years in relation to “Okies” and “Arkies.”

Decisive Years

In the early years of the republic there undoubtedly had existed a genuine equalitarian tone and wholesome faith in the future of a free America.

With the passing of the frontier following the Civil War, the ruthless pressures of a rising industrial society began to subject Americans to a regimentation and a sense of spiritual restlessness which stimulated aggressive behavior and a search for scapegoats. The process of industrialization was so swift and ruthless that often the sustaining qualities of the older culture perished like dry leaves in a forest fire.



Lee for Farm Security Administration

In San Antonio, Mexicans are the most handicapped group in jobs and housing

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, as Carl J. Friedrich observed, “cultural values were squandered and often recklessly destroyed.”

To rationalize the eclipse of “the American dream,” a myth evolved that the country had been founded and had grown to greatness through the exclusive efforts of a superior, homogeneous people—predominantly white, Protestant, and Anglo-Saxon. Since this was “a white man’s country,” it was a mistake ever to have fought the disastrous Civil War in behalf of Negro slaves. “The flower of American manhood” had been needlessly slaughtered—the new dispensation said—at Gettysburg, Antietam, and Cold Harbor. Since then, according to this myth, taking advantage of a prostrate nation, “evil and alien forces had usurped the ancient birthrights of Anglo-Saxon Protestants” and degraded the “American democracy.” All of this was the rationalization of disturbing realities implicit in the corrupt and almost chaotic political economy from the 1870’s on.

Well after the turn of the century,

this same myth found expression in a series of significant books of which those by Lothrop Stoddard and Madison Grant (both of old line middle-class American backgrounds) are, perhaps, the most revealing. The counter-tradition even developed its own sociology, in such works as those of Professor E. A. Ross of the University of Wisconsin who believed that the “Anglo-Saxons” were committing “race suicide.”

In an increasingly insecure world, the maintenance of minute class and race distinctions created the illusion of power and security. In this mad scramble for place and position, the old democratic tradition tended to be forgotten or discredited, or to survive only in unreal and compromised versions.

The growing dualism in the American system of values became increasingly apparent, until it sometimes seemed that genuine faith and feeling for democracy reposed chiefly in the marginal and outcast groups who had been effectively shut out of the

(Continued on page 106)

1947—A Voice of Today

A great-grandniece of Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederacy, affirms an emancipation of the mind and spirit.

ANNA G. GOLDSBOROUGH

THE AVERAGE DECENT SOUTHERNER believes exactly what he says about the racial inferiority of the Negro and is equally firmly convinced that he both loves and understands him better than anyone else. He is sure that his attitude, compounded of equal parts of patronage and the amused fondness also reserved for small children and dogs, is what the Negro wants and needs. He can quote you a dozen funny stories to prove the point.

The decent southerner is generally kindly, as any gentleman is taught to be, to the weak or the inferior; he expects, overlooks, and forgives the peccadillos which are, in fact, necessary to the myth of inferiority; he permits an occasional frolic since it is always within his power to give the order, "to heel."

He is just as horrified by the lyncher as any other American. The average decent southerner wants no part in that kind of violence. To try to explain to him that there is any connection between his own attitude and sudden death for the Negro seems almost hopeless.

I know, because I myself have lived with this prejudice and have become a free American only by losing it.

The Old Mores

Born and bred in New Orleans, I come of a family of well-to-do southerners for many generations back. We count among our immediate forebears a governor of Mississippi, the president of the Confederate States, a president of the American Bar Association, and others closely connected with the leading people of the South. I grew up with the accepted attitude toward Negroes as a natural part of my life—good, kind treatment always given, but the badge of inferiority also always in evidence, from the Jim Crow streetcars to the inevitable jokes proving the impossibility of educating the Negro.

In my entire childhood, I met only one person who did not share the white superiority complex—a French



—A member of a New Orleans family long prominent in the South, Miss Goldsborough is now living in Brooklyn, N. Y., with her husband and their three small children.

After graduating from Newcomb College, she came north, and worked first for the Luce Publications, then with Russian War Relief.

nurse who, in her late twenties, had come to New Orleans from France. Her attitude, I later realized, was an unconscious antidote for the poison of prejudice.

My first vague doubt as to southern mores was an attempt to reconcile the tenets of the Christian church with what I saw about me. I found it then, and today, impossible.

The fierce local patriotism of the southerner led me to an intensive study of southern history, particularly of the Civil War and Reconstruction eras. This was before I came to New York to live, at the age of twenty. I wasn't going to let any Yankee talk me down, and I didn't, but the more I argued and the more I studied, the graver my own doubts became.

A New Freedom

The mind's door which southerners shut tight on their prejudice began slowly to open, and as it opened the whole world of logic and of humanity became new and exciting.

A break with one prejudice helps break other traditional attitudes. I

joined a union at the publishing company where I worked, and that further taught me a concept of life and human relations totally incompatible with prejudice against any race.

But still there lingered the emotional flash reaction bred into the southerner's bones despite his intellectual freedom. In one way, only, was this completely vanquished—by the opportunity to know Negroes both at work and in social relationships.

The day I could talk with a group of people and remember only the subject we discussed instead of the color of our skins, I knew that I was finally free.

This freedom of mind and heart is a joy known only to those going every step of the way. Halfway is not good enough, for partial prejudice helps neither Negro nor white, and continues to confuse the individual. The wonderful realization that I could consider any subject in the world, without fear of the contradictions inevitably imposed by racial prejudice, has been the greatest experience of my life.

The re-education of both white and Negro in the South is a vital part of the fight for justice and understanding, but it is a slow process at best and a democratic American cannot afford to delay. Jim Crow must be fought by every legal means, for so long as segregation continues as the physical proof of a belief that Negroes are inferior, so long will small children grow up to accept that falsehood as fact.

Ridding America of Jim Crow must be the *beginning* of the educational process. It cannot be carried out fully in the midst of a segregation so universal that many southerners, like myself, find the road to freedom only accidentally.

A Voice From the Past—1885

The modern base line of progressive southern thinking was laid by a great novelist.

EXCERPTS from "THE SILENT SOUTH" by GEORGE W. CABLE

IN TIVOLI CIRCLE, NEW ORLEANS, from the center and apex of its green, flowery mound, an immense column of pure white marble rises in the fair unfrowning majesty of Grecian proportions high above the city's house tops into the dazzling sunshine and fragrant gales of the Delta. On its dizzy top stands the bronze figure of one of the world's greatest captains. . . .

Great silent one! Who lived to see his standard furled and hung in the hall of the conqueror; . . . to note the old creeds changing, and to come, himself, it may be—God knows—to respect beliefs that he had once counted follies; . . . amid the clamor of the times to stand and wait . . .

with a mind too large for murmuring, and a heart too great to break, until a Messenger as silent as his bronze effigy beckoned Robert E. Lee to that other land . . . where man's common inheritance of error is hidden in the merit of his honest purpose, and lost in Divine charity.

So this monument, lifted far above our daily strife of narrow interests and often narrower passions . . . becomes a monument to more than its one great and rightly loved original. It symbolizes our whole South's better self; that finer part which the world not always sees; unaggressive, but brave, calm, thoughtful, broad-minded, dispassionate, sincere, and, in the din of boisterous error round about it, all too mute. It typifies that intelligence to which the words of a late writer most truly apply when he says concerning the long, incoherent discussion of one of our nation's most perplexing questions, "Amid it all the South has been silent."

"Where it has been silent it now should speak." Nay, already it speaks; and the blessing of all good men should rest on this day if it reveals the Silent South laying off its unsundered sword, leaving brawlers to their brawls, and moving out upon the plain of patient, friendly debate, seeking to destroy only error, and to establish only truth and equity and a calm faith in their incomparable



power to solve the dark problems of the future. . . .

It is pleasant to note how much common ground is occupied by the two sides in this contest of opinions [on the race question]. By both it is recognized that the fate of the national Civil Rights bill* has not decided and cannot dismiss the entire question of the freedmen's relations; but that it puts upon trial in each Southern State a voluntary reconstruction which can never be final till it has established the moral equities of the whole case. . . .

It has been carefully demonstrated that, not from Emancipation or Enfranchisement, or anything else in or of the late war, or of Reconstruction, but from our earlier relation to the colored man as his master, results our [present] view of him as naturally and irrevocably servile. . . . The point is made that these views, as remnants of that slavery which . . . has of right perished, ought to perish with it; and the fact is regretted that in many parts of the South they nevertheless still retain such force . . . that

*The Civil Rights Act was invalidated by the Supreme Court in 1883. The purpose of the measure (a consolidation of several bills) was to close the loop holes implicit in the vague phrasing of the Fourteenth Amendment by defining the freedmen's civil rights in detailed and positive language such as admission to all public facilities, forms of transportation, schools, hotels, and so on. Invalidation of this act by the U. S. Supreme Court made possible the institution of segregation in all its forms and ascendancy of the "separate but equal" subterfuge as a means of circumventing the Civil War amendments.—T.S.

the laws affirming certain human rights discordant to the dominant race are . . . virtually suffocated under a simulated acceptance of their narrowest letter. . . .

As one who saw our great Reconstruction agony from its first day to its last in one of the South's most distracted states and in its largest city—with his sympathies ranged upon the pro-southern side of the issue, and his convictions drifting irresistibly to the other—the present writer affirms of his knowledge . . . that after we had yielded what seemed to us all proper deference to our slaves' emancipation and enfranchisement, there yet remained our invincible determination—seemingly to us the fundamental condition of our self-respect—never to yield our ancient prerogative of holding under our own discretion the colored man's *status*, not as a freedman, not as a voter, but in his daily walk as a civilian.

This attitude in us, with our persistent mistaking his civil rights for social claims, this was the tap-root of the whole trouble. For neither would *his* self-respect yield; and not because he was so unintelligent and base, but because he was as intelligent and aspiring as . . . he was, did he make this the cause of political estrangement. This estrangement—full grown at its beginning—was the carpet-bagger's and scallawag's opportunity. They spring and flourish wherever, under representative government, gentility makes a mistake, however sincere, against the rights of the poor and ignorant. . . .

Our common assertion in the South has long been that the base governments of the Reconstruction period were overturned by force because they had become so corrupt that they were nothing but huge machines for the robbery of the whole public . . . that our virtue and intelligence sought not the abridgement of any man's rights but simply the arrest of bribery and robbery; that this could be done only by revolution because of the solid black vote, cast, we said, without

rationality at the behest of a few scoundrels who kept it solid by playing upon partisan catchwords, or by the promise of spoils.

And especially among those whose faith is strongest in our old Southern traditions, it always was and is, today, sincerely believed that this was the whole issue. . . . It was upon this profession that the manliest youth and intelligence of New Orleans went forth to stake their lives, and some to pour out their hearts' blood in internecine war on the levee of their dear city [a local rebellion in 1878]. Sad sight to those who know that this was *not* the whole matter—that the spring of trouble lay yet deeper down. . . . In all that terrible era the real, fundamental issue was something else which the popular southern mind was hardly aware of. . . .

Many white people of the South sincerely believe that the recognition of rights proposed in the old Civil Rights bills *would precipitate a social chaos*. They believe Civil Rights means Social Equality . . . and it is because of the total unconsciousness and intense activity of this error in the South, and the subtle sense of unsafety that naturally accompanies it, that the [author's] article on "The Freedman's Case in Equity" is so grossly misinterpreted even by some who undoubtedly wish to be fair. . . .

For the sake of any who might still misunderstand, let us enlarge here a moment. The family relation has *rights*. Hence marital laws and laws

of succession. But beyond the family circle there are no such things as social *rights*. . . .

All the relations of life that go by *impersonal right* are Civil relations. All that go by *personal choice* are Social relations. The one is all of right, it makes no difference who we are; the other is all of choice, and it makes all the difference who we are. For the one [relationship] we make laws; for the other every one consults his own pleasure; and the law that refuses to protect a civil right, construing it a social privilege, deserves no more regard than if it should declare some social privilege to be a civil right.

Social *choice*, civil *rights*—but a civil *privilege*, in America, is simply heresy against both our great national political parties at once.

Our cause pleads for not one thing belonging to the domain of social relations. Surely nothing a man can buy a ticket for anonymously at a ticket-seller's hand-hole confers the faintest right to even a bow of recognition that anyone may choose to withhold.

But what says the other side? "The South will never adopt the suggestion of the *social intermingling* of the two races." So they beg the question of equity, and suppress a question of civil right by simply miscalling it "social intermingling"; thus claiming for it that sacredness from even the law's control which only social relations have, and the next instant asserting the determination of one race to "control the social relations," so-called, of

two. Did ever champions of a cause with blanker simplicity walk into a sack and sew up its mouth? . . . The domination of one fixed class by another without its consent, is Asiatic. And yet it is behind this error, of Asian antiquity and tyranny, this arbitrary suppression of impartial, impersonal civil rights, that we discover our intelligent adversaries in this debate fortified, imagining they have found a strong position! . . .

Suppose a case: Mr. A. takes a lady, not of his own family, to a concert. Neither one is moved by compulsion or any assertion of rights on the part of the other. They have chosen each other's company. Their relation is social. It could not exist without mutual agreement.

They are strangers in that city, however, and as they sit in the thronged auditorium and look around them, not one other soul in that house, so far as they can discern, has any social relation with them.

But see, now, how impregnable the social relation is. That pair, outnumbered a thousand to one, need not yield a pennyweight of social interchange with any third person unless they so choose.

Nothing else in human life is so amply sufficient to protect itself as are social relations. Provided one thing—that the law will protect everyone impartially in his civil rights, one of the foremost of which is that both men and laws shall let us alone to our personal social preferences.

A NOTE ON CABLE AND HIS TIMES

One of the leading opponents of segregation in the very years of its inception was George W. Cable of New Orleans, the foremost southern novelist of that period. He served in the Confederate Army, was wounded in a calvary engagement, and finished the war on the staff of the famous General Nathan Bedford Forrest.

Cable's great essay "The Silent South," published in 1885, was a broad-minded and brilliantly reasoned protest against the reinstatement of a kind of slavery through segregation. He lived, like Lincoln, in a pre-scientific era when today's anthropological evidence of the basic equality of races was nonexistent; he adhered like his contemporaries to the belief that there was a kind of superiority in the white race, but the modern reader can see clearly that Cable understood this to be a cultural rather than an innate biological superiority, though his terminology is, of course, inadequate for this modern concept.

His realization of the true issues of democracy, religion, and humanity involved in segregation is all the more remarkable for having been achieved in the Reconstruction South. He pierced through the "social equality" arguments which were being raised for the first time purposely to obscure the question of the Negro's civil rights. Some of his statements and his writings on this point remain today among the best on the subject.

Certain excerpts from the "Silent South" are printed here for their pertinence to today's discussion. Cable's lofty and rhetorical style, his invocation of the spirit of Robert E. Lee, as an Elizabethan might have invoked the muse of poetry, sound quaint to modern ears; but they unmistakably identify the man with his place and period. Above all, they give the lie to the assumption of many contemporary histories, even those written in the North, that the white South was provoked to rise

to the last man against unspeakable "corruption" and "terrorism" in the Reconstruction period.

Cable speaks from the past to tell us of the great betrayal of human rights which history has cloaked with this lie. He speaks for that silent South of yesterday and today, for the South of intelligence, kindness, and generosity, whose voice has been overwhelmed, as was the voice of Cable in his own time, by the tirades of the race-haters who impose themselves upon the scene as southern spokesmen.

He also points a moral to those southerners of today who, though men of good will, and who undoubtedly desire the Negro's well being, nevertheless have taught themselves to believe that a public stand against segregation in all its forms would never be countenanced upon the southern scene. Cable faced this issue with courage and intelligence sixty years ago. —T.S.



NEGRO HEADS

PETER PAUL RUBENS

Shifting Attitudes in Art

"The sensitive medium of the artist has indirectly and unintentionally played the role of the social historian," wrote Alain Locke in his excellent book "The Negro in Art" (1940), from which most of the examples here reproduced are taken. The handling of the Negro as a theme in European and American painting is indeed a revelation of changing attitudes in the course of time.

European masters, like Rubens in the study above, and Velasquez (page 32) regarded the person of dark skin as a part of the universal life about them.

A century later, the fluctuating fortunes of the Negro and the artists' reactions to these changes, are reflected in two French paintings (page 30), that of the page boy of Mme. Du Barry (done in 1762), and that of Belley, deputy to the Versailles Convention (made in 1797).

"Zamor," the page, shows the influence of the institution of slavery, and offers a transition to Amer-

ican painting, which was so early to be affected by the slave tradition.

Mount's painting (page 31) presents the Negro in the role he came to occupy in American *genre* art for many years. Unintentionally a pictorialization of segregation itself, it begins the long road of portrayal of the Negro in terms of the white man's attitude toward him rather than as a real human being. Even the portrait of the leader of the Amistad captives, by the Abolitionist Jocelyn, is romanticized. He is presented as "the noble savage."

Present-day American artists are freeing themselves from the influence of the slave tradition. Compare the two women of Gordon Samstag and Velasquez (page 32). The trend to realism, absorption in forthright presentation of the American scene, is giving our artists the clearer eyes of the earlier Europeans.

Again the Negro, whatever his status, is becoming a person to the artist, a part of universal life.



Portrait of A. L. Belley, Deputy to the Versailles Convention
GIRONDET DE ROUCY-TRIASON
Musee National, Versailles



Zamor, Page to Mme. Du Barry
C. A. VAN LOO
Musee Carnavalet, Paris

Cinqué, Chief of the Amistad Captives
NATHANIEL JOCELYN
New Haven Colony Historical Society



Music Hath Charms

WILLIAM SIDNEY MOUNT

Century Association, New York



The Maid Servant

DIEGO y VELASQUEZ

Art Institute of Chicago



Maid

GORDON SAMSTAG

Toledo Museum of Art

The Nation's Capital

Here are the attitudes and practices which make Washington, D. C., a travesty on the politics and culture of our American democracy.

JOSEPH D. LOHMAN and EDWIN R. EMBREE

IF RACE PREJUDICE AND SEGREGATED citizenship are incompatible with democracy, then Washington, the city, is unworthy of Washington, the capital of the United States. It is more than a mere domestic curiosity that this federal community must be listed among the most race-prejudiced and undemocratic large cities in the country. It is a grave political weakness as well, and compromises our cause in the court of world opinion.

If it were the express purpose of our people to lay before the world the seamy side of our politics and culture, we could hardly find a more dramatic way to do so than exhibiting the patterns of segregation and discrimination which prevail within the capital.

It is often remarked that Washington is unduly responsive to the influence of the political pressures of rural America. But the reverse of this is equally true. The national capital has not only shaped the architecture of the nation in the form of village post offices and state capitol buildings; its influence in setting a social pattern is of far greater moment.

Influences at Work

The atmosphere of Washington, the capital, is expressed in the policies formulated there which reach out into the far corners of the nation. It is precisely for this reason that the pattern of Washington, the city, is confounding in its inconsistency.

A few such agencies as the former Farm Security Administration and National Youth Administration, with policies of equal and inclusive public service regardless of race, were of positive importance in reducing undemocratic practices in some areas of America. But over a period of years, Washington has exerted an even greater *negative* influence by its thoroughly "Jim Crow" example.

Geographically, Washington is a kind of never-never land, an enclave lying between a southern state and two border states. In the Sixties the confederate capital was only about a hundred miles away. But the re-

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He has also written numerous monographs and magazine articles on race relations and cultural anthropology.

mark that Washington is a "southern city" by geography is an inadequate explanation of its undemocratic segregation practices, and certainly cannot be accepted as a justification.

On the other hand, it is as much an error to explain these idiosyncracies by classing the capital among typical border cities which exhibit simultaneously strictures of caste along with racial freedom. Washington has a personality of its own. It is the product of its own special history, of the dramatic convergence of forces in a great nation still bedeviled by unreconciled regional, ethnic, and economic pressures. It is these pressures which reach into the city and struggle beneath the Capitol dome.

Washington's segregation practices are in part a direct expression of that struggle. From the days of Woodrow Wilson's "New Freedom" through Franklin Roosevelt's "New Deal," reactionary southern Democrats (along with that region's quota of genuine progressives) have loomed large in the affairs of the nation. The same legislators from the South are returned with monotonous regularity by their constituents. They have accumulated seniorities which place them in strategic positions on com-

mittees, giving them influence all out of proportion to their own numbers or the constituencies from which they come. They have actually dictated internal affairs of the District of Columbia.

The City's Government

Mississippi's Bilbo served for years as chairman of the Senate District Committee—which means as "Mayor of Washington"—until his party lost control of the Senate. Southerners, for a generation, have appeared repeatedly in key roles on the subcommittees on appropriations of the House of Representatives, which hold the purse strings of all the bureaus and departments at the capital.

Nearly all government bureaus point in two directions in rationalizing their limited employment of Negroes, or the difficulties encountered in advancing them. One finger invariably is pointed at the assumed prejudices of white employes who are native Washingtonians; the other is pointed to "the Hill"—to Congress—where sit the influential southern watchdogs of "White Supremacy." And these explanations are not wholly rationalizations.

The United States Employment Service, for example, found it possible to abandon its policy of segregating the employment files of the Washington office itself only after Representative Malcolm C. Tarver of Georgia, who had served as chairman of the subcommittee on appropriations for the Department of Labor, was defeated in the primaries.

However, the pressure of powerful southern congressmen does not explain away the pattern in its entirety. Variations in the employment practices of the government agencies are notable, and character and courage on the part of top officials can accomplish much when they are exerted. Contrast the personnel practice of the Department of Interior under Harold L. Ickes, or OPA under Leon Henderson and Chester Bowles, with the racialism of the tradition-bound Department of State, or with the pa-

ternalistic Department of Agriculture—and you will find that a large area of administrative discretion actually exists.

Segregation and related discriminatory practices in government take essentially three forms: first, denial to Negroes and other minority groups of equal opportunity for employment and advancement; second, segregation of service facilities for employes such as restaurants and rest rooms in government agencies; and third, unequal and segregated service to the public.

Federal Employment

Fully one third of Washington's employment opportunities are in government service, and federal employment policies are fundamental in shaping the pattern of the whole community. Notable gains in obtaining government employment were made by Negroes during the war.

The Committee on Fair Employment Practice revealed in its survey of 1944 that 19.2 percent of the employes in departmental services (for the most part located in Washington) were Negroes. This figure is especially significant since it represents a four-fold increase in employment of Negroes by the federal government during the war years (10,000 in 1938 to over 40,000 in 1944). Though the

population of the capital increased greatly during this period, there was not a disproportionate increase in Negroes. In 1940, the city population of Washington was 663,091, of whom 187,266 (28 percent) were classed as Negroes. The ratio remained about the same during the war, according to recent estimates.

The employment increases can be too optimistically construed. Although Negroes are found in jobs at various levels, for the most part they are confined to the lower paid and least skilled classifications. Their chief occupational gain has been their appearance for the first time, and in increasing proportions, as clerical workers.

Even here, however, free and equal access to employment is not firmly established, for the new clerical opportunities were too largely limited to wartime agencies such as the Office of Price Administration. The Negro, lacking seniority, faces the loss of many of his new gains as postwar cutbacks in government employment proceed. A considerable number of the wartime governmental employes are in temporary or "nonclassified" appointments and do not enjoy the tenure which Civil Service affords.

In recent years restaurants in government agencies have become increasingly available to all employes.

Secretary Ickes laid down a clear policy of equal access to cafeterias of the Department of the Interior. This custom has spread, and Negroes now eat in nearly all government cafeterias.

This particular "new freedom" has not yet influenced Washington's public restaurants. And in the Capitol itself, we find the most striking instance of segregation in the rule which denies Negroes the use of the Senate and House dining rooms.

A recent incident illustrates the absurdity of this rule in practice. A distinguished Negro educator was invited to eat in the restaurant of the House. One of the southern representatives, seeing him there, approached and asked, "Sir, are you a colored man?" On receiving an affirmative reply, he pressed, "Are you an *American* colored man?" When the Negro again said "Yes," the southern congressman announced, "Then you can't eat here." Foreign emissaries and native Americans who reflect upon the matter must be somewhat bewildered by the fact that in the nation's capital color itself is not the real disability, but the fact of being an American of color.

Negro Americans found Washington more accessible during the Roosevelt years. However, there are in-



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War Department workers punching "code slips"—one for each soldier—as a first step toward family allowance checks

formal devices which can effectively nullify top policy directives. Among agency personnel men there is a sort of subterranean clearance of information which works forceably to circumvent Civil Service offerings. "The rule of three"—the Civil Service practice of sending three equally rated applicants from whom an official may select an employe—does not offer the obstacles to discriminatory practice that many people assume, even if all of the names submitted in a given instance happen to be those of Negroes. An obscure but prejudiced receptionist or clerk can often slant the whole racial character of an agency's services. The informal powers of non-policy-making employes take on the force of policy-making when bureau heads are weak, or when those heads seemingly refrain from anything more than lip service to anti-discrimination.

For a time, the USES insisted that its services were fair and equal, even though segregated files existed. It stated that requests for workers were immediately referred on an equal basis to both the Negro and white offices. Upon investigation, it became clear that the information took longer, sometimes days longer, to reach the Negro offices. By that time the position usually had been filled.

In a number of agencies where top personnel has insisted upon the implementation of a policy of non-discrimination at all levels, there have been striking departures from the early USES attitude. In the Federal Housing Administration, and certain sections of the Bureau of the Census—along with OPA and Interior—vigorous and forthright action by conscientious administrators resulted not alone in more democratic employment practices, but in common employe facilities and equal extension of service to the community and the nation.

The Voteless District

One of the peculiar circumstances which makes segregation possible in the District is the political disfranchisement of all its citizens—itsself an anomaly in a democracy's capital. Since Washingtonians do not vote, they do not govern themselves. And since they do not govern themselves it falls to the lot of outsiders, too frequently of the stripe of Senator Bilbo, to do so.

Such progressive forces as exist among the residential population of the District are powerless to make



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Substandard Negro housing within a stone's throw of the Capitol

their opinions on the matter felt in a political sense. According to two unofficial polls, conducted in 1938 and 1946, a majority of citizens desire to win the franchise.

The 1946 poll was conducted by a number of local organizations on what was Election Day in the rest of the nation. Two questions were asked on the ballots: "Do you want local self-government? Do you want representation in Congress?" One hundred and sixty-nine thousand ballots were cast. Of these the affirmative vote on local self-government was in the ratio of 7 to 3 and on national representation, 6 to 1. In view of this growing desire on the part of Washingtonians to have a voice in politics, the franchise may eventually be established and progressive elements and Negro voters themselves may then have a chance to oppose the racial practices in the capital.

Meanwhile, the District is governed by congressional committees, and responsibility rests with the Congress and the three district commissioners, appointed by the President. Local Washingtonians can exert their influence only through neighborhood associations in which they are organized. In the administration of the District, itself, segregation is the rule.

Throughout the municipal services of the District, the job ceiling for Negroes is uniformly low. Negroes are confined to unskilled and menial jobs. Only in the public schools, rigidly segregated, and in units of the

police and fire departments, do Negroes hold jobs of a professional character. There is one Negro municipal court judge, but practically no Negroes are found in professional or technical capacities outside these limited areas.

Senator Bilbo, as chairman of the District Committee, repeatedly opposed suffrage for the District and remarked upon the parallel, as he saw it, between Mississippi and Washington. To give the District the vote, he asserted, would be to enfranchise the Negroes and deliver the capital into their hands. In this respect, he made of the District, and the pattern he helped maintain there, a campaign issue among his own constituents.

Bilbo was himself on sound ground in making the pattern of the capital an issue in the states; but since he was singularly alone in this, the whole matter is decided not by the voters of the nation, but by Mississippi and the representatives of the southern states adjacent to the District.

The District Schools

The public schools of Washington are a much contested subject. Segregated as they are, they offer employment opportunities for qualified Negro educators who might not otherwise secure professional assignments. Paradoxically, this creates a stake in certain forms of segregation among some members of the professional class and brings support of this undemocratic practice from quite

unexpected quarters. (See "Human, All Too Human," by E. Franklin Frazier, page 74.) The dual system is nevertheless discriminatory. It is the old story of the southern school system. Budgetary allocations operate continuously to the disadvantage of the overcrowded Negro schools. In 1940, Negro pupils made up 32 percent of the public school enrollment, but the Negro schools received only 18 percent of the 1941 funds.

The pattern of the public schools has broad ramifications. It affords an example which reinforces segregation in other areas. In institutions of higher learning, the practice varies. Although American University is now admitting Negroes to its evening school, it still excludes them from the liberal arts campus. Catholic University has begun to admit Negroes. George Washington University accepts no Negro students, a fact which recently prompted the actress, Ingrid Bergman, to announce publicly her regret that she had accepted an engagement in that university's auditorium. "Before I came to America," she said, "I didn't know there was any place where colored people could not come in."

Howard University, located in the District of Columbia, is predominantly Negro, though white students are enrolled also, particularly in the notable medical and dental colleges. While it is indirectly the product of America's segregation history, Howard has been quietly turning into the general population first rate Negro scholars whose achievements have been helping to undermine the segregation philosophy.

Though one could live a lifetime in white Washington without becoming directly aware of this university, he would feel the end results of the work of its graduates and faculty in effecting changes of national significance through the federal courts and through the policies of government agencies in Washington.

The "Black Cabinet"

During the New Deal period and the war years, the legend of a "Black Cabinet" sprang up in the country, and sometimes was pressed into service by political orators for whatever "scare" value it might have. Actually the so-called "Black Cabinet" never had the power attributed to its members. It was never an organized group.

Its beginnings went back to the early Thirties when a few Negroes

were brought into the government agencies, usually as "advisers on Negro affairs." These pioneers became the much discussed "cabinet." Their duties were often vaguely defined, their authority limited, their superiors timid, and many congressmen hostile. Fortunately, these Negro advisers, for the most part, were able young men and women. One of the ablest—a sort of elder statesman for all the rest—was Mary McLeod Bethune. Mrs. Bethune and her associates in the "Black Cabinet" became a very real influence in their effective work to enlarge opportunities for Negroes in public service.

While the progress has been slow, varying in rate from department to department, the pattern of government employment—largely reacting to titanic stresses of the times—has changed a great deal since the early days of the Black Cabinet.

These efforts have scarcely modified policy in the District itself, particularly the rules and regulations which control the details of community life.

Thus, the District Board of Recreation rigidly segregates the Negro and white populations in a few major play areas. Since Washington's Negro population is widely distributed and has only recently begun to concentrate in a "black belt," this has placed unusual burdens upon the white or Negro group which happens to be unfortunately located with reference to the recreational restrictions. E. B. Henderson, an experienced Negro recreational worker in the Washington public schools, speaking at the White House Conference on "War-time Recreation," reported the following as a typical incident:

On a vacant lot in southwest Washington, people of all races and ages living in the neighborhood played marbles, horseshoes, and baseball. There were no supervisors, no fights, no fences. One year later, the ground became part of the playground system. Negro boys sat on the curbstone and mused anent the sudden quirks of democracy, while their white friends continued to participate in the organized activities. Fights and property damage were frequent. The following year, when the playground was again unsupervised, everybody played. There was no friction.

Hospitals and public health provisions are rigidly segregated. Five of the nine general voluntary hospitals do not admit Negro patients although they do provide segregated clinics.

Negro physicians are not permitted to practice in any of Washington's hospitals with the exception of Freedmen's, which is supported by federal funds. Most of its patients are Negroes. Among the hospitals which exclude Negro physicians is Gallinger General Hospital, with 70 percent of the patients colored. The District Medical Society which controls the staff of Gallinger opposes the admission of Negro physicians.

The restrictive and inadequate health services for Negroes further aggravate already shocking conditions of morbidity and mortality. The economic plight of the Negro throughout the nation limits his ability to secure health as a purchaseable commodity. Among Washington's Negro citizens, the health problem is further complicated by the requirement that Negro physicians withdraw from attending their patients if they are admitted to any hospital other than Freedmen's.

No Room at the Inn

The depth of Washington's racial discrimination is revealed in the action of a church-supported hospital which refused to open its doors to a woman in childbirth.

On a wintry morning of 1945, a colored woman in labor, unable to find a cab, set out in the company of her sister for the maternity ward of the Gallinger General Hospital. Reaching the vicinity of the church-supported hospital, the women discovered that the birth was so imminent that the expectant mother could not reach Gallinger in time. The sister rushed up the steps of the denominational hospital and sought admission for the suffering woman as an emergency patient. This was curtly refused and the baby was delivered on the sidewalk in front of the hospital. Its staff supplied a sheet to cover the mother and child until the municipal ambulance arrived to take them to Gallinger.

There is no major Washington hotel which will accept American Negroes as guests if the request for accommodations can in any way be avoided. When the *Pittsburgh Courier* last spring canvassed the major hotels as to their policies, eight responded that they would not accept Negroes. One manager stated that his establishment "might take Negro guests on advance reservations, but if they appeared in person (without reservation) they would be refused."

The Washington community is alert, however, like the southern congressman in the House restaurant, against insulting dark-skinned foreign diplomats. The result is that venturesome colored Americans can, and sometimes do, go where they might otherwise be excluded. One American Negro demonstrated the point by occupying a room in one of Washington's fashionable hotels by the subterfuge of wrapping a turban about his head and registering under a foreign-sounding name. On the other hand, another first class hotel refused accommodations to a Negro who had regularly occupied quarters there when it became public knowledge that he was an *American Negro*.

An interesting sidelight on the recent hotel strike in Washington was the variation in the picket lines at the several hotels. At one Connecticut Avenue hostelry, segregated picket lines prevailed, with white workers picketing the front entrance and Negroes picketing the rear. At Washington's newest hotel, a thoroughly mixed picket line of both Negroes and whites patrolled the front.

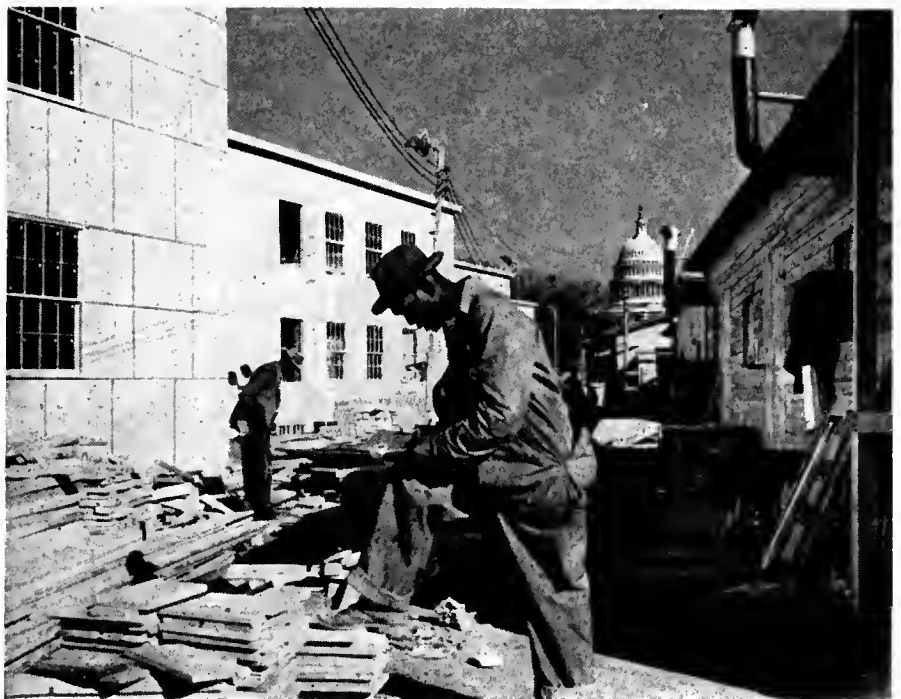
Un-American Anomalies

The Negro must literally "stand up to eat" in public restaurants. With a few exceptions—the cafeterias in the government agencies, the restaurant at the Union Station, and the YWCA cafeteria—a Negro will not be served in Washington's downtown restaurants. Several private concessionaires operating on property of the federal government, including the airport restaurant and the new National Zoological Park restaurant, do not serve Negro patrons.

In Washington's "dime stores," Negroes are permitted to eat at the counters where there are no seats. They are refused service when seated. Since the end of the war, one of the larger department stores which for a time had accepted Negro patronage at its soda fountain has reversed its policy and will no longer serve Negroes.

There is no end to the anomalies that can be cited. Negroes and whites intermingle freely on the buses and street cars, but both the company and the union are opposed to hiring Negro platform men. In one of the major commercial recreation centers, Negroes are free to attend various sporting events, but they are excluded when the "Ice Show" comes to town.

The refusal of the Daughters of the American Revolution to rent Con-



Collier for Farm Security Administration

Negro workers checking material for wartime emergency construction

stitution Hall for a concert by Marian Anderson, under its policy of "white artists only," was a national incident. The same organization made the premises available to the Tuskegee Institute Choir, but significantly without charge, during the campaign on behalf of the United Negro College Fund. The local college fund committee was joined by a number of civic organizations in picketing the concert in protest against the "lily-white" rental clause and the patronizing attitude of the DAR in permitting Negroes access to the premises only on the basis of "charity."

The theaters of the District are rigidly segregated. Washington's major legitimate theater, the National, allows no American Negroes in its audience. The film, "It Happened in Springfield," which reports a Massachusetts experiment in successful non-segregated race relations, was shown before segregated audiences.

Housing illustrates most effectively the capital's racialism. Gains have been made in eliminating alley slums, yet the process of beautifying the city, especially development of the Mall, has worked hardship on Negroes. Many of their hovels were condemned but no adequate new quarters provided. In the older Washington, Negroes and whites were widely dispersed, with Negroes living in nearly all sections of the city. However, the capital's planned development, with its irresponsible disregard for displaced

Negroes, has fostered a corresponding growth in restrictive covenants. As a result, Negroes are crowded together in a few segregated areas. This is the pattern so frequently encountered in northern industrial cities. The National Capital Housing Authority in 1944 summarized the situation thus:

"The core of the slum area which is slightly more than three square miles—less than 5 percent of the land area of the entire District—houses approximately 15 percent of the District's population and nearly 30 percent of the entire Negro population of Washington."

The Canon of Washington Cathedral (Episcopal) recently remarked that the capital city with all its symbolism of great men and historic events possesses no "symbol here for the sovereignty of God." He has announced plans to raise funds throughout the nation for the completion of the southern wing of the Cathedral.

The journalist George Sessions Perry wrote of Washington recently as "the great seal of the U. S. . . . set down in granite on the banks of the Potomac."

The sovereignty of God and the seal of our democracy can be proclaimed by the stones of cathedrals and of public buildings but America will continue to be symbolized by the life of the people who live in the shadow of these structures. And Washington is not yet the symbol we must make it.



Giles from Black Star

THEODORE G. BILBO
U. S. Senator



Harris & Ewing

JOHN E. RANKIN
Member of Congress



Pictures for Democracy

GERALD L. K. SMITH
America First Party

FIERY WORDS—



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TORCHES

The preaching of hate and intolerance helps kindle the fires of prejudice, helps stir the irresponsible to deeds of mob violence.

Southern Ways

“Jim Crow” has the force if not the dignity of law in the southern states where a “separate but equal” myth fences the Negro in and shuts him out.

IRA DE A. REID

THE CHIEF DEVICE OF RACIAL SEGREGATION in the South is law. In all southern states the law defines one's racial identification and then proceeds to define status and rights, all in relation to race. A formidable example of “the southern way” is to be found in the statutes of Georgia, the state having the largest Negro population in the United States.

Under Georgia law the term “white person” includes “only persons of the White or Caucasian race, who have no ascertainable trace of either Negro, African, West Indian, Mongolian, Japanese, or Chinese blood in their veins. No person, any one of whose ancestors has been duly registered with the State Bureau of Vital Statistics as a colored person or person of color, shall be deemed to be a white person.” (*Georgia Code, 1932 Annotated; Chapter 34, Section 312.*)

Georgia also declares “All Negroes, Mulattoes, Mestizos, and their descendants, having any ascertainable trace of either Negro or African, West Indian, or Asiatic Indian blood in their veins, and all descendants of any person having either Negro or African, West Indian, or Asiatic Indian blood in his or her veins, shall be known in this State as persons of color.” (*Georgia Code, 1932, Annotated; Chapter 79, Section 103.*)

Under the Law

There the southern color-caste system begins. Every aspect of life is regulated by the laws on race and color. From birth through education and marriage to death and burial there are rules and regulations saying that you are born “white” or “colored”; that you may be educated, if colored, in a school system separated on the basis of race and “as nearly uniform as possible” with that available for whites; that you may marry a person of your choice only if that person is colored, this being the only celebration of marriage a colored minister of the gospel may perform; and that when you die (in Atlanta, at least) you may not be buried in a cemetery where whites are interred.

—By a leading southern sociologist, who is a visiting professor this year in both Haverford College and New York University.

Mr. Reid, author of studies of Negro sharecroppers, migrants, and union members, was born in Virginia and lived in a number of southern states during his growing up days. He attended Atlanta University and later the Universities of Pittsburgh and Columbia, and has taught in a number of colleges from Texas to New York. He is professor of sociology at Atlanta University.

But that isn't all. Between birth and death colored persons find that the law decrees that they shall be separated from white persons on all forms of transportation, in hotels or inns, eating places, at places of recreation or amusement, on the tax books, as voters, in their homes, and in many occupations.

To be specific, it is a punishable offense in Georgia for a barber shop to serve both white and colored persons, or for Negro barbers to serve white women or girls; to bury a colored person in a cemetery in which white people are buried; to serve both white and colored persons in the same restaurants within the same room, or anywhere under the same license. Restaurants are required to display signs reading *Licensed to serve white people only*, or *Licensed to serve colored people only*. The law also declares that wine and beer may not be served to white and colored persons “within the same room at any time.” Taxis must be marked *For White Passengers Only*, or *For Colored Passengers Only*. There must be white drivers for carrying white passengers and colored drivers for carrying colored passengers.

Furthermore, in Atlanta, it is an offense against the public order, peace, and morals for any amateur white baseball team to play baseball on any vacant lot or baseball diamond within two blocks of a playground surrounding a Negro public school and set apart by the city for athletic purposes

during the summer. It is unlawful for white and colored persons to use or frequent the same public park. The only exception to this rule is that Negroes may visit “so much of Grant Park as is occupied by the zoo.”

Finally, state laws regulating the seating of colored persons on all public carriers are enforceable in Atlanta by the local police, as well as by the operators of the vehicles, who have police power.

Local Mores

There the law ends and custom and usage begin to function. Thus, a Negro in Atlanta may be born in the municipal hospital at which no Negro doctor is allowed to serve. The mother may remain there for twenty-four hours after delivery, while a white mother may remain seventy-two hours for post-delivery care.

Though Atlanta has a colored school population of approximately 30,000, until 1945 there was only one public kindergarten for Negro children in the whole city—so overcrowded that only a small proportion of the applicants could be admitted. If he goes to the public schools, the Negro child may find the school day divided into two or three “staggered” sessions because of overcrowding. There is only one high school for colored girls and boys, and that runs on double and triple shifts in some grades.

If a colored student wishes vocational training, the public schools provide for him only a fraction of the opportunity offered a white student.

If the student wishes to do “outside reading,” he finds the segregated public library for Negroes as poorly equipped, in comparison with the main library for whites, as is his school library in comparison with that for white pupils.

If he wishes to pursue his higher education at one of the state colleges for colored persons, the inferiority and discrimination persist. He may decide to attend one of the many private colleges in Georgia. There is no law to prevent his doing so, but if

any private educational institution should accept both white and colored students, its endowment would become subject to tax—a formidable device.

Jim Crow Enroute

When this colored Georgian travels, he gets on the front end of the street car, sits at the rear, and gets off at the rear. White persons get on at the front, choose seats from the front toward the rear, and get off at the front. The Negro finds that the system seldom works when cars are crowded—white passengers take all the seats, front and rear.

If the colored person plans to leave the city by bus, he may eventually be able to buy a ticket at the terminal. Colored travelers are served at the convenience of the white clerks. Then he may or may not get a seat, for usually colored persons are permitted to enter the bus only after white passengers have been seated. If the bus is a "de luxe" express, he may be told "All Negroes take the second bus." The second bus will make all stops, and probably be old and dirty.

If a colored person leaves the city by train, he will purchase his ticket at the city ticket office because the clerks are less discriminatory there than at the railroad station. It is easy to get a ticket for the "Jim Crow" coach on any train save on such crack trains as "The Southerner" to Wash-



Marion Pálfi for American Missionary Association

A grade school—modern and attractive—for white children in an Alabama town

ington and New York, and "The Flagler" to Chicago. Only twenty-one seats are available to Negroes on these "all reserved" trains.

If he wishes Pullman accommodations, he telephones the city ticket office and makes the reservation, hoping that he will not be asked whether he is "white or colored." If he says "colored," the chances are that he will not get a lower on the best train; he may get "lower 13"—a berth in a drawing room or a compartment—on a later train.

If the traveler goes to the station for his ticket, he enters the side entrance where the "colored waiting room" is located. He purchases his coach ticket, not when his turn in a line comes, but when the attendant decides to serve him. If he wishes a Pullman ticket he goes out of the colored waiting room into the "general" or "white" waiting room where the Pullman windows are located. If he is obviously colored, he has, perhaps a 50-50 chance of getting space "1" or "12" or "13"—depending upon who wants what is available.

Service on the trains is determined to a great extent by the individual conductors, stewards, porters, and waiters. Pullman conductors and porters usually are accommodating and reassuring. Train conductors may be bothersome since they have police power. Dining car stewards may "pull the book" on serving colored persons and seat them behind a green curtain separating the two rear tables from the remainder of the car. On a coach train the colored passenger may be called for breakfast at "first call"—5:30 A.M.—so that Negroes will be "out of the way" by the time white travelers want breakfast.

If he travels by air, the Negro will find the devices of segregation either absent or in the making. It saves trouble if he goes to the airport in his own car or that of a friend. He is barred from the company limousines, but he may ride the omnibus. The established taxi rate printed on the airlines' folders does not apply to the

Separate but Unequal Schools

(1943-44 Figures from the U. S. Office of Education)

Average public school expenditure per child per year for the country as a whole	\$116.99
Average public school expenditure per child per year in the 31 states having non-segregated school systems	131.36
Average public school expenditure for each white child in 11 of the states which have segregated systems*	84.79
For each Negro child in the same 11 states	36.97
Average public school expenditure per child per year in these 11 states with segregated systems:	

State	White	Negro
Alabama	\$70.20	\$25.65
Arkansas	61.03	25.81
Florida	95.96	47.44
Georgia	73.79	23.63
Louisiana	121.32	40.25
Maryland	115.52	90.82
Mississippi	71.65	11.96
North Carolina	71.60	50.07
Oklahoma	88.13	95.21**
South Carolina	82.43	26.85
Texas	92.69	63.12

* Comparable figures not yet available for Delaware, Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia, and District of Columbia.

** Almost wholly urban, while many of white schools are rural.

colored passenger unless he rides this omnibus.

If he wishes to eat at the airport he probably will be served in the kitchen—no other provision being available for him. There are makeshift toilet facilities for colored persons. As he boards his plane on one of the southern lines, the hostess will suggest—with a quick smile—that she has saved the front single seat for him. He can see only one reason for it. At meals he is the last to be served.

When he alights at another southern field, he may find the same taxi problem. If he wishes to use a car-for-hire, he finds it is not available to colored persons. And if you wonder why this Negro American has endured all of these nuisances, remember that in Georgia conductors, motormen, and bus drivers have police power—and use it.

Citizen of Atlanta

Upon his return to the city he may wish to see a first-run motion picture. The only seat available to him as a person of color is in the gallery, which may be reached by climbing a long flight of steps on the outside of the theater. Perhaps the film is at a theater which has the “colored entrance” through a side alley, or even at one that does not admit colored persons at all.

If he has an appointment with a real estate agent in a downtown office building, he is likely to find that there is only one elevator a Negro may ride—and that one labeled “Colored” or “Freight” or “Service.” The agent, verifying the client’s address in the city directory, may find a “(c)” after his name.

When this colored man goes to a bank, he probably will have to transact his business at a window marked *For Our Colored Patrons*. As a customer at a downtown store, he may find that there is no washroom he can use, that the restaurant is barred to him, that the clerks—even in a store of a nationwide chain—call him or his wife by their first names. He knows that there is an arbitrary credit limit on all “colored accounts.”

The house he purchases will be located in a Negro neighborhood, or in one that is changing from white to Negro. If the latter, he arms himself for protection against hoodlums. Near his home may be a sign—“The dividing line between white and colored which was mutually agreed to by both.”

In short, he is a citizen of Atlanta, who recently voted in the first Georgia primary in fifty years which was open to Negroes. Yet his vote was labeled “colored” and if he or any other colored person decided to

run for public office he would become the victim of all of the region’s devices of discrimination—some subtle, some violent in their cruelty.

These are the things a colored person must know—the things he may or may not do in one southern city.

But to learn the segregation devices of one city in a single state does not mean that one is equipped to operate on either side of the great wall of race anywhere else in the South. The segregation pattern varies from city to city, county to county, state to state. To know and keep one’s place as a colored or a white person involves knowing its every quirk. All these details and variations are quite beyond the ken of the average man.

Up and Down the Liberty Pole

Of four things you can be certain everywhere in the Deep South:

—white and colored persons may not travel together in the same compartments, cars, or sections of the same cars, on trains or buses;

—white and colored persons may not intermarry;

—white and colored persons may not attend the same publicly supported educational institutions;

—white and colored persons may not utilize the same facilities in any public agency or building.



Marion Pálfi for American Missionary Association

One of the same Alabama town’s better schools for its Negro children—new but ill-planned, with makeshift equipment



On a southern railroad. The hand-holds show that this baggage car is not an emergency provision, but the regular equipment for colored passengers

Beyond these four major taboos certainty becomes uncertainty, for custom and usage determine the existing practice. A Negro is not permitted to enter a moving picture theater patronized by whites in Jacksonville, Fla.; he may attend some of them in Atlanta, if he sits in the "Jim Crow" section; in some cities of the border and upper South, he may attend any theater but he must occupy seats in special sections.

A white taxi driver may not transport a colored person in most southern cities, but he will carry him in Nashville, Tenn.

There is no racial discrimination against Negro patrons in the waiting room of the airlines terminal in New Orleans, but a special seat is reserved "for our colored patrons" in Nashville and in Birmingham.

The salaries paid Negro teachers are likely to be on a lower scale than those paid white teachers in Birmingham, Ala., Jackson, Miss., Nashville, Tenn., Charleston, S. C.; but the same salaries are paid both groups in San Antonio and Houston, Texas, and New Orleans, La.

News of the Negro community may be printed on a special page in one city, in a special edition in another, printed in a special column in a third, or omitted from other newspapers—unless it deals with crime.

A colored person may be expected

to enter the front end of a street car in one city, and the rear end in another.

He may be expected to take off his hat in an elevator in one building, and regarded as silly if he removes it in another.

He may not deposit his savings in a bank in one city, yet be the largest depositor in another.

He may be admitted to a private hospital in one community, but find it impossible to get either ambulance service or hospitalization—even for surgery—in another.

He may own and occupy real property in any section of some southern cities—if he dares; in others he may own and not occupy; in still others he may neither own nor occupy in certain "restricted" areas.

He may be kept off trains in Columbia or Charleston, S. C., because there is no space in the colored coach; leaving Atlanta, he may be herded into a baggage car and compelled to stand or to sit on trunks.

He may sit where he wishes in the concourse of Atlanta's Terminal Station and enter the train approach with other passengers, but in Birmingham he is shunted in and out of the station through a special walk on which he can have no contact with a white person save over an iron fence.

He may ride into Louisville, Ky., from the deeper South in a "Jim

Crow" car and leave that city from a "colored" waiting room in a coach carrying white and colored passengers.

The kinds of segregation devices used in southern cities vary widely. They are limited in inconvenience and humiliation only by the ingenuity of the designers and their enforceability, as determined by political and economic pressures, and population mobility.

Change—and Resistance to Change

Political pressures—that is, the acquisition of voting strength and political power—have done much toward equalizing opportunities for colored persons in areas where the law requires "separate but equal" facilities. So far, these pressures have operated most successfully in the fields of education and public conveniences. In many instances, political action in the South has served to maintain the separation while removing some of the inequalities.

Thus, to equalize colored teachers' salaries is to reinforce the dual school system. No technical or professional higher education is provided for colored teachers in some states, but separate colleges may be established for them or special out-of-state scholarships provided.

In Tennessee or Texas, for example, Negro students are not admitted to the state universities but both states make seven-figure appropriations to "equalize" the education offered by segregated state colleges.

Each new step taken tends to increase the devices of segregation in the region. The new patterns acquire special significance when one considers them in the light of the comment of Charles H. Thompson, editor of *The Journal of Negro Education*, who estimates that at the present rate of equalization it will take two hundred years to bring education for Negroes in the South up to the white level. Meantime, will those two centuries add many new twists and turns to the South's educational pattern and bolster the "separate but equal" system while thwarting efforts toward full democratic participation?

It almost goes without saying that in the South, the question of biracial housing is never even raised. Many northern cities have apartment houses occupied by both Negro and white families. There are none in the South. White and Negro individuals and

(Continued on page 107)

Northern Ways

What is happening in communities north of the Mason-Dixon Line which have developed both the attitudes and instruments of the color-caste system.

ROBERT C. WEAVER

SEPARATION OF THE RACES HAS NO legal basis above the Mason-Dixon Line, as it has in the South. Rather, it rests upon habit, extra-legal maneuvers, acts of hostility, and expressions of aversion. Each technique of segregation, once it becomes established, reinforces the color-caste system and serves to strengthen the artificial barriers dividing ethnic groups.

Despite relaxations in job discrimination in war industry, the occupational color line remains inflexible in the retail trades, in some public utilities, and in many service industries. Management says that white workers, white women in particular, refuse to use the same washrooms as Negro workers. Therefore, to take on Negroes would mean costly separate arrangements for them.

In a few instances northern employees, encouraged by management in this sort of squeamishness, have supported this assertion. But wartime experience in industry suggests that often the point is exaggerated. Certainly, where management above the Mason-Dixon Line has taken a firm stand, the problem has not been serious.

To inject this problem into the economic issue of equal job opportunities serves to emphasize segregation and gives management's blessing to the institution.

On the Job

That the public in general is more than casually concerned with the color of the hand that serves it over the counter remains to be established. Most people in the North probably have given the matter little thought. It seems safe to assume that the majority would accept a new racial pattern in this type of employment, just as they accepted Negro streetcar conductors and bus drivers when they first appeared in northern cities.

Public resentment is often cited as the reason for job discrimination in stores and service industries. The real reason for the discrimination is that such employment departs from the color-caste system accepted by many

—By an economist, Washington born, Harvard trained, who was for ten years in the public service. The author worked in various federal agencies—Department of the Interior, PWA, United States Housing Authority—prior to the war, when he became an assistant to the late Sidney Hillman in the War Production Board.

For the past two years, Mr. Weaver has been director of community service for the American Council on Race Relations, with headquarters in Chicago.

He wrote "Negro Labor," published early in 1946.

businessmen and insecure white collar workers. And once the issue is raised, the unthinking acceptance of a "place" for darker Americans fills the discussion with emotion.

Advocates of separate facilities of all types often argue that minorities prefer to be together, or that control of their own institutions gives special opportunities to minorities.

The first assertion, to the limited extent that it is true, is a most damning indictment of segregation. It illustrates the fact that people who live in ghettos become ghetto-minded; chauvinism grows among them, becoming a serious impediment to national unity and often expressing itself in anti-white attitudes.

The second assertion has historical roots. It reflects the attitude of some missionaries sent to work with "backward peoples" in all parts of the world. In most instances, the white man was doing something "for those people" (not *with* them), and often held himself apart from them.

Barriers in School

Public schools, because they are tax supported and subject to state laws barring segregation in some parts of the North, have less racial segregation than Christian churches which are dedicated to the brotherhood of man but exempt from legislative restrictions. Most separate schools outside the South are the result of residential segregation. Even in those northern

cities where there is not complete residential segregation, separate schools often exist.

This pattern is being challenged. Trenton, N. J., has abolished segregated schools, and Gary, Ind., is doing likewise, and will initiate the change by the beginning of the 1947 school year. Philadelphia is also attempting to modify the segregated patterns that have developed in its public schools.

Dayton, Ohio, reflects the growth of segregated schools in an area where there is no legal basis for them. First, a colored high school, named after Dayton's native son, Paul Laurence Dunbar, was set up. The separate school was proposed in order to afford employment for trained Negroes who were denied white collar and professional jobs in the community. That is, the cure for the color-caste system was to draw it tighter and extend its application.

Soon after Dunbar High School was established, two elementary schools for Negroes appeared, and last winter a third elementary school was added to the list. The perpetuation and spread of segregation in the schools and elsewhere in Dayton has been encouraged by the selection of a Negro, an avowed proponent of segregation, as the principal of Dunbar. Gradually, he has come to function as the "recognized" Negro leader in the city. The circle is closed.

The spread of segregation in the schools is tied in with the expansion of employment opportunities for colored youth; the principal center of training for colored youth is guided by a champion of racial segregation, and that champion has been given status and prestige by Dayton's white leadership.

How heavily the pattern of segregation, of "not belonging," bears on young minds and spirits is shown by current figures on juvenile delinquency. Of course both physical and psychological factors are at work. But along with bad housing, inferior schools, limited job opportunities, meager facilities for recreation, must

be reckoned the unhappiness and frustration of segregated living, of being set apart and made to feel "different." Figures as to the numbers of young delinquents in court, and as to the incidence of delinquency in segregated Negro neighborhoods, unfailingly serve to drive home this point—from city to city and state to state, in the North as well as in the South.

The bright side of this somber picture is the proof that "something can be done about it." For example, the development of a housing project which includes Negro families always produces an improvement in juvenile delinquency figures in the community, and particularly Negro delinquency.

Even more striking, perhaps, are the encouraging results that follow when a neighborhood house—for example Fellowship Center, St. Louis—carries out a successful interracial program of clubs, classes, canteens, and so on, in which Negro and white youth meet and mingle on an equal footing. Here there is no change in the make-up of the population, such as sometimes follows with slum clearance and new building, but only a change in community attitudes and opportunities.

Jim Crow Meals

Anyone familiar with the literature on American race relations knows of the various methods employed by managers of theaters, restaurants, and hotels to deny service to colored people and discourage their patronage.

Cincinnati has seen most of the old methods and many of the newer ones used in efforts to defeat a recent campaign to open restaurants to colored citizens. The story of that campaign throws light on this whole question of racial barriers in eating places. It begins with the arrangements made with the restaurant owners' association to serve Negroes during the 1946 National Convention of the NAACP in the city. Instantly, many restaurants closed "for repairs." In one of the hotels, waiters and waitresses refused to serve colored patrons. This seemed to be a good device until the cooks and waiters union of the AFL reprimanded its members and threatened them with union charges.

The next efforts to break down segregation in the city's restaurants were centered upon cafeterias. Five of the first six selected capitulated.

But the sixth held out, and its owner then took the lead in finally defeating the movement to wipe out racial segregation in these eating places. He persuaded the restaurant owners' association to make things uncomfortable for the one cafeteria owner who had hired competent Negro personnel and had voluntarily stated her willingness to serve colored people.

Then this leader of the opposition devised a series of complicated steps to discourage Negro patronage. When a colored person entered the line to be served, the manager asked in a loud voice, "Are you looking for employment? If so, come around to the back door."

When the customer assured him that he was seeking food, not work, the manager stated, in an even louder voice, that the cafeteria would not be responsible for bodily harm done Negro patrons and predicted a race riot.

When a Negro approached the serving table, a bell was rung, and the manager came to the steam tables to "alert" the employes. The colored patron received portions smaller than the usual service.

When Negroes were served, the manager passed out cards quoting the Ohio Civil Rights law and stated he was serving Negroes only because the law required him to do so. If a white customer sat at a table where there was a Negro, the manager insisted that the white patron move.

Needless to say, half the ingenuity and time all this involved, if otherwise directed, would have made a success of the drive to open cafeterias to Negro patronage.

But the most telling force in defeating the efforts to open downtown eating places to Cincinnati Negroes, was the apathy of the Negro community. This was a direct result of living in a segregated society and another expression of the minority group's accommodation to racial separation. This conditioning colors all phases of living and often appears in the disinclination of many colored people to associate with whites or to frequent places where a large number of white persons are present. It will continue to harass labor unions and liberal organizations when they attempt to secure widespread participation of members of segregated minority groups.

This is not only important in recreation and entertainment because the

Negro who goes out for a meal or to the theater wants food or relaxation under pleasant conditions; he does not want to solve the race problem. As a matter of fact, he wants to forget the race problem; consequently, he avoids situations which may lead to embarrassment. But this disinclination of Negroes to patronize certain restaurants, theaters, night clubs, and so on, makes the occasional presence of a dark face seem peculiar. Many of the white patrons, who think in terms of white places and Negro places, see in the unusual presence of a Negro a threat to "the color line."

Swimming Pools—a Test

It is difficult for a Negro to find a meal or a hotel room in the downtown area of most northern cities; it is an achievement if he can swim in a public pool in most of the same cities. Until recently, this was so well understood in many northern cities that few colored people even tried to gain admittance. But recently the matter has been pressed in a score or more communities, and local officials have perfected devices to exclude Negroes.

In 1945 and 1946, city officials closed swimming pools in Cincinnati, Warren, and Lima, Ohio, rather than admit Negroes to them. In 1943, the pool in the Froebel High School in Gary, Ind., (where there was a "hate strike" of the pupils in 1945) was closed for four months; after that it was open on certain days for Negroes and on other days for whites. This is a fairly typical formula, in northern cities, for segregation in swimming.

But public authorities have used other means to enforce segregation in this recreation. When municipal authorities are advised that they can not exclude Negroes legally, they lease swimming pools to private operators, and the latter exclude colored persons. Often guards and police resort to intimidation to keep Negroes out, the most common practice being to deny them protection from hostile whites or to discount gang fights between Negro and white youths, lightly, as the "normal activities of growing boys."

When a Warren, Ohio, swimming pool opened, Negro citizens attempted to use it. After much negotiation, the pool was operated two days a week for the exclusive use of colored swimmers, but in 1945, Negroes began to disregard the racial schedule. The

mayor then closed the pool. Later, the city solicitor advised the city administration that the pool, as a tax supported facility, could not operate on a segregated schedule. In accordance with this ruling, it was opened in June, 1946, and Negroes admitted. When there was trouble, the city negotiated a lease with a private operator, and now the pool is again closed to Negroes. This time the exclusion is absolute.

When the local Negro children attempted to use the swimming pool in the Cook County Forest Preserve, just outside Chicago, they were warned that, while colored swimmers would be admitted, there might be fights. In that event, the management of the preserve refused to guarantee protection and declared that Negroes would have to use the pool at their own risk. This failure to use the preserve's own police force to maintain law and order was usually enough to keep colored people away from the pool. When an occasional Negro braved the situation, he was rejected on the basis of a cursory physical examination or because of the type of bathing suit he wore. These devices have been effective in discouraging Negro participation, since in addition to their invitation to violence, they convinced the colored community that to try to use the pool would mean unpleasantness and humiliation.

In Lima, Ohio, where the Negro population has little political or economic power, methods of enforcing segregation and exclusion were less subtle. When Negroes arrived at the municipal pool, they were told that there was to be no swimming that day and that all were expected to leave. In a city where colored people had few rights and little consideration, the hint and the veiled threat were enough. Negroes knew that if they insisted, they would be shown in no gentle fashion that they were unwelcome.

American Ghettos

Devices used to establish and perpetuate segregation in the North can be divided into two broad categories: legal and extra-legal acts which exclude or restrict participation; psychological factors that discourage Negroes' entering places where they know they are not wanted. Closely associated with the second are the conditioning of whites to expect Negroes to keep out and the adjust-



New York Post

The actor, Canada Lee, leading a protest in Wall Street against the race bias in building and renting apartments shown by the Mortgage Conference of New York (37 banks, insurance companies, and other corporations)

ment of colored people to the pattern—two features of northern life largely a result of residential segregation.

This same concentration of colored people in well defined, restricted areas leads to separate public facilities within the ghetto. As a result, the education and the recreation of most northern Negroes go on in a closed, isolated community.

Color minorities in northern urban centers are relegated to inadequate, neglected districts by extra-legal devices (called race-restrictive covenants), social pressures, municipal action (through planning boards and housing authorities), "gentlemen's agreements" among real estate operators, and violence to person and property. Of these, the most important is the restrictive covenant, defined thus by Gunnar Myrdal in "The American Dilemma": "The restrictive covenant is an agreement by property owners in a neighborhood not to sell or rent their property to colored people for a definite period."

Restrictive covenants have become all but universal in many cities. For example, it has been estimated that as high as 80 percent of the residential area of Chicago is covered already by these restrictions. Fully as serious as their extent is the fact that covenants are becoming habitual and automatic in property transfers in many communities, so that once established in a land title, they cling to the title and are passed on automatically whether or not the new owners especially desire them.

This Jim Crow formula is becoming so universal that even government policies have served as devices to strengthen residential segregation. The Federal Housing Administration has actually adopted the policy of the private financing institutions by advocating restrictive covenants—on the assumption that such agreements are necessary to safeguard the value of mortgages insured by FHA.

The Underwriters Manual of FHA warns valuers to consider the im-

portance of the prevention of the infiltration of "... lower class occupancy and inharmonious racial groups," and advises "effective restrictive covenants . . . recorded against the entire tract, since these provide the surest protection against undesirable encroachments and inharmonious use. To be most effective," the manual continues, "deed restrictions should be imposed upon all land in the immediate environs of the subject location," and finally refers to the "prohibition of occupancy of properties except by the race for which they are intended."

For the record, it must be said that this manual has been in the process of revision for several years, and FHA Commissioner Raymond M. Foley, soon after he took office a year ago, publicly stated that for some time the manual has had no official status. He indicated further that in the new

manual (to appear early this year) all references to race and covenants in this connection will be eliminated.

Many of the segregated Negro neighborhoods in northern cities are slum areas because ethnic islands are overcrowded and under-serviced, and because their inhabitants are, as a rule, people of limited and uncertain earnings. Crime and disease breed in such surroundings, regardless of the color of the occupants. But ghetto conditions become convenient justifications for the perpetuation of residential segregation and its spread into other aspects of community life.

Segregation North and West

The rise of segregation in the North and West during and after World War I followed the entrance of colored labor into new areas of employment. In that period, the black worker was resented by established wage

earners as a new addition to the "labor pool." Management and the craft unions were quick to champion segregation.

The rise of industrial unions, and the new recognition of organized labor together with the manpower shortage have forced a wider acceptance of colored labor. At the same time, the insistence of management and unions on the spread of segregation has lessened. Today, the chief advocates of racial separation are small businessmen, neighborhood merchants, and most important, real estate operators.

The West Coast, often called the new frontier in race relations, offers some of the most striking examples of the new trend. In the San Bernardino area, for example, businessmen in a township defeated the amalgamation of an Anglo American school with a Latin American and

The Power of Restrictive Covenants

LOREN MILLER

Vice-President, National Bar Association

Although race restrictive covenants are most often used to effect segregation of Negroes in urban areas, they are essentially a device to limit land ownership or use by any unwanted or unpopular ethnic or religious group. The first reported case involving such agreements concerns an attempt to forbid use of a laundry by a Chinese in San Diego, Calif., in 1892, and Californians have shown a great deal of ingenuity in their use of such devices since that time.

Covenants in that state proscribe land use by Armenians, by Chinese, by Japanese, by Hindus, by Mexicans, and by "persons who are descendants of former residents of the Turkish Empire." The latter agreement was obviously an attempt to prevent Armenian use and occupancy, without naming the group directly.

That same kind of delicacy is displayed in latter day covenants in Virginia, where an agreement obviously directed against Jews proscribed land use by "persons who customarily observe the seventh day of the week as the Sabbath." Ironically enough, the first person to get entangled in it was a Seventh Day Adventist.

Earlier covenants used specific racial definitions such as "Negro," "Chinese," or "Japanese" but of late years those terms have been abandoned in favor of the sweeping generalization "non-Caucasian." That change has bred its own problems, with the courts being called upon to define the term.

In a recent California case, a wit-

ness for the defendants was a distinguished anthropologist who testified that the terms "Caucasian" and "non-Caucasian" are almost meaningless and that, contrary to popular belief, neither skin color nor hair texture are infallible guides to racial identity. That particular judge resolved the conflict by holding that the terms are used in their ordinary, rather than in their technical, sense and are sufficient to bar land use by persons customarily called Negroes.

The next complication arose when an attempt was made to oust an American Indian couple who had occupied a home covered by a race restrictive agreement forbidding use by "non-Caucasians." The trial court held summarily that American Indians are non-Caucasians and ordered the couple to vacate. On the other hand, courts, following census classifications, are apt to rule that Mexicans, no matter how large their degree of Indian blood, are "Caucasians" and are not proscribed by covenants barring non-Caucasians.

In fact, the attempts to prevent use of land by Mexicans have not been very successful in California where most such attempts have been made. The courts have rested their decisions on the good neighbor policy in those cases and have resisted most attempts to oust Mexicans even where agreements specifically forbid their residence.

Occupancy, by mixed couples, of covenanted land has also vexed the courts. A Michigan judge forbade a Negro husband to visit his white wife, but of course could not disturb her occupancy under a covenant forbidding

Negro use. The judge stated, however, that in his estimation about the only circumstance that could relieve the husband of contempt of court if he were found on the premises would be his presence there to rescue his spouse in case of fire.

Even the term "non-Caucasian" has undergone some refinement, and up-to-the-minute covenants often forbid use of the land by "any person whose blood is not entirely that of the white race." There again, anthropological difficulties have intruded. It's indeed a wise litigant who knows all his ancestors; and stubborn defendants have pressed the courts to make the ostensibly white plaintiffs prove that their own blood is "entirely that of the white race."

An increasing number of covenants in midwestern cities have directly proscribed Jews, and still others have been drawn up with what look like attempts to bar Jehovah's Witnesses and other dissident religious sects. Proscriptions against non-Caucasian use of land are on the increase everywhere.

There are numerous sizable suburban cities in which it is boasted that no "non-Caucasian" may live except as the employe of a white occupant, and Chambers of Commerce in those cities will gladly furnish maps showing complete covenanting of all land. If the courts continue to uphold these exclusionary agreements there is no sound reason why landholders may not bar any group against whom there is dislike or prejudice. Then each city might become a chain of isolated little islands of ethnic or religious groups.

Negro school. The basis for this opposition, frankly expressed, was the fear that if colored and white students attended the same schools, there would be an immediate influx of Negroes and Mexican-Americans into the neighborhood of the consolidated school and these groups would "take over the property and ruin business."

In a nearby town, real estate operators and the former president of the local Chamber of Commerce led a movement—fortunately unsuccessful—to have a Negro teacher who had been appointed to a school with only one colored pupil transferred to a school that served minorities almost exclusively. Again, the reason was fear lest the presence of the colored teacher would bring more Negroes and Mexicans into the community.

Some years ago, similar attempts to transfer all colored teachers to schools with large Negro enrollments were made in several midwestern cities including Cleveland and Chicago. In Chicago, the move followed the rise of neighborhood protective associations and the spread of restrictive covenants.

Gary, Ind., in the summer of 1945, offered an extreme expression of the same attitude. When war industry spread over the section of the lake front where Negroes had bathed, efforts were made to open another section — separate, of course — to colored swimmers. It failed because influential white residents objected to having Negroes pass their homes or share public transportation with them on the way to the beach.

Housing for War Workers

World War II. brought a tide of war workers—white and colored—to northern industrial centers. Few cities provided additional living space for Negroes, and this intensified all the hardships of residential segregation. The establishment of "Negro districts" automatically fixes a pattern of white and black housing. Given this attitude, strong community forces opposed any shelter for colored people outside the prescribed areas, and in a period of large-scale migration, there was no room for the newcomers in the already overcrowded sections where whites insisted Negroes must live.

In Chicago, for instance, a public housing project open to Negroes in an outlying area surrounded by factories and vacant land was fought as a

threat to property values in residential areas miles away from the proposed project. In other northern cities, attempts were made to pass municipal legislation which would block the expansion of Negro occupancy.

In Toledo, Ohio, priorities were allocated for the construction of 150 new homes for Negroes. But, priorities or no priorities, the scheme hung fire. Not a single home was built for colored war workers. Every site proposed proved undesirable for residential use, or the choice met with violent neighborhood opposition. The controversy almost exploded in violence, in August 1944, when hearings on a suggested site were held in the City Hall. A large number of white residents had signed a petition to the City Council to pass an ordinance prohibiting the use of a desirable site for the housing project. Colored citizens appeared to oppose the ordinance. Although the white petition was defeated, no houses were built.

A similar situation developed in Milwaukee. At the beginning of the war, eighteen Negroes bought lots near the outskirts of the city, a long way from the Sixth Ward where practically all the city's 16,000 colored citizens are involuntarily concentrated. Since the lots had been purchased from the city, white people living nearby appealed to the City Council to "do something." One of the councilmen thereupon introduced an ordinance rescinding the sale and reserving the land for the development of parks and playgrounds. The ordinance passed. This precipitated a stormy meeting at which the council restored title to the lots to the eighteen Negro purchasers, but no other sales were made in the area.

In May 1944, a local contractor announced his plan to build 108 dwellings for Negroes in another district outside the Sixth Ward. There was a wave of indignation from whites in many sections of the city, and a petition of protest was filed with local officials. Immediately, the municipal planning body discovered that the land in question was needed for the construction of a viaduct, and the housing project was abandoned.

Detroit and Pittsburgh

Detroit today has as acute a housing problem as any city in the nation, and the most urgent aspect of it is the need for more space for colored

residents. All authorities admit that the sections where Negroes now live are dangerously overcrowded. All recognize the need for more housing for Negroes. The mayor, whose handling of the 1943 race riot was so widely criticized, recently stated again his fixed belief that the racial composition of neighborhoods should be preserved.

The local housing authority, after comprehensive study of the matter, recommended that 1,000 public housing units available to Negroes be constructed in the southwest area of the city. This aroused protests which culminated in a public hearing in the city hall on March 9, 1945. The opposition was carefully organized, and thousands of letters supporting its position poured into the councilmen's office.

Typical of the level of the discussion was a letter written by the leader of the opposition:

Please don't cry discrimination—it is a very badly misused term. We firmly believe in the God-given equality of man. He did not give us the right to choose our brothers, but, with reservations, He did give us the right to choose the people we sleep with.

After a stormy hearing, the common council by a five to four vote rejected the housing commission's recommendation. Two councilmen urged that no housing be built for Negroes within the city of Detroit.

Pittsburgh and Los Angeles have followed relatively progressive interracial housing policies. Public housing projects in Los Angeles observe a general rule that every development shall be open to all groups in the urban population. The interracial character exists to some degree in every housing project in the city. The racial minorities present are sometimes Negroes, sometimes Americans of Japanese or Mexican descent.

The Pittsburgh practice of establishing a separate building or group of buildings for Negro families in each public project is a less democratic policy than that followed by Los Angeles, but is more advanced than the practices of most other northern cities.

The Chicago story is an interesting one because of the various levels of interracial development which exist in the housing field, and because of sharply defined issues that have been

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In the Cotton Delta

A native Mississippian surveys the semi-feudal system of plantations where Negro life "half slave and half free" is still part of the picture.

J. LEWIS HENDERSON

THE ROTARY CLUB OF A MID-SOUTH county seat of about 3,000 was in weekly session and the speaker was the county superintendent of education. His subject: Negro schools.

The superintendent had just distributed school books to 2,900 Negro children of the county. The books, he said, were valued at more than the county's 36 Negro schools—buildings, equipment, and all physical property included. Some of the schools didn't have windows or doors, one had no roof, several had no heating stoves. All were overcrowded. School terms were very short, teachers underpaid.

The county superintendent was serious as he related the facts to the county's most respected and influential business and civic leaders. The Negro schools were a disgrace, and he plainly told them so. His listeners were silent and attentive.

One community, said the school official, which was composed almost entirely of Negro residents, had set out to bring better educational opportunities to its children. Negro leaders, disgusted over repeated failures to get relief from the county school board, decided to tax themselves so that their children might have a better school. They learned that an extra school tax for the district would require the approval of the state legislature in the form of an enabling act. A lawyer at the state capital was employed to draft an appropriate measure.

But here the story took an abrupt turn. The Negro leaders were waylaid one night and flogged by a party of white men, who threatened them with further violence if they persisted in pushing their tax bill.

You could have heard a pin drop as the superintendent sat down.

"You have had the report," said the chairman. "This club is dedicated to community service, and here is a problem that needs attention. What shall we do about it?"

More silence. The chairman, becoming impatient, looked around. Seemingly to break the silence, one member arose and moved that the matter be referred to a committee.

—By an author who became acquainted with the South's rural problems by being born into them, son of a tenant farmer in the cotton country.

He worked his way through the agricultural school at Mississippi State College and later took a Masters degree at Wisconsin. He has had varied experience in the South, as country editor, businessman, and field worker for federal agricultural agencies.

Mr. Henderson recently completed an extensive study of farmers' problems in Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi. This inquiry into plantation practices was carried out on a Rosenwald Fellowship. He now lives in southern Mississippi.

This committee has not even bothered to report. No action has been taken. The only newspaper reporter present was cautioned not to publish any part of the superintendent's remarks. No member of the group wanted to be called a "nigger lover."

The above was an actual and a recent episode. It happened in a county typical of the Mississippi Delta and the Alabama Black Belt, in which Negroes outnumber whites. It illustrates how the taut lines of racial segregation, which are maintained throughout the South, serve to keep Negroes suppressed; and how white people are discouraged from trying to change the order of things.

High Wall of Discrimination

We southerners like to boast of our patriotism and our traditions. We elect congressmen and senators with lusty voices who proclaim their special allegiance to the flag and to the Constitution. And yet, whether consciously or not, we are too often parties to a deep-rooted conspiracy to deprive the Negro of any semblance of equal opportunity. Through every possible measure of law or custom that can be devised, we in the South tend to make certain that the Negro shall not attain full American citizenship.

Negroes who live in rural areas

and who are engaged in farming for a livelihood are more completely subjugated than are their city cousins. Negro farmhands have not yet tasted the benefits of labor unions. The lack of education and effective leadership has placed them far back at the tail end of America's parade toward prosperity and security for all.

It is true, a few Negroes do vote and a few own land. A few with special gifts—George Washington Carver and Joe Louis, for example—have won fame and status. But the mass of Negroes, particularly those in rural areas, face a high wall of discrimination and segregation which is designed by master-race advocates to be well nigh unscalable.

Let's have a close-up look at a few bricks of that wall, with special reference to rural farm areas of the Deep South.

Land Ownership

An estimated 85 to 95 percent of the best farm land of the South is owned by fewer than 10 percent of the white farmers. Almost no local credit agencies would lend money to a Negro to buy a farm, regardless of the security, if the transaction displeased any influential whites. The Negro would be eligible to buy a desirable tract only if it were located in an established Negro community. In many southern counties, the sheriff refuses to sell tax-forfeited state lands to a Negro if these are contiguous to land owned by whites.

The only government agency that has ever seriously tried to avoid discrimination against Negroes in promoting land ownership—the Farm Security Administration—has been under constant attack by the wealthy landowning whites who already hold a virtual monopoly on choice cotton, cane, and rice acreages. (This agency was recently merged with the Farm Credit Administration to form the Farmers Home Administration in the Department of Agriculture.)

The case of a Negro sharecropper in the rich Mississippi Delta area, who, with FSA help, was elevated to

ownership status in four years, clearly indicates why large cotton planters oppose that federal agency.

This sharecropper, Will Blank and his wife Clara, (these are not their real names) had reared eleven children. For twenty years the couple had toiled long hours—and the children, too—but at the end of each season the cotton crop barely paid the “furnish” account at the plantation commissary. In one season the family produced and harvested 48 bales of long staple cotton, then worth about \$2,000, but as usual the plantation boss figured Blank’s account so that there was little left after the yearly settlement. Blank had to ask for credit before the next crop season began.

FSA came along, and the Blanks were recommended for a \$5,500 loan, which was approved, to buy a 60-acre tract of fertile soil. After four years the couple had repaid the loan in full, had \$900 cash in the bank, held some war bonds, were out of debt. Besides a new six-room house, which put to utter shame the surrounding plantation tenant shacks, the Blanks had title to several horses, five cows, a dozen fat hogs, 200 chickens, a fine young orchard, ample farm equipment and tools. The children now attended school for the full term and had good clothes to wear. The entire family had attained standing and prestige among Negroes of the community.

Try to imagine the effect of this demonstration on the hundreds of less fortunate Negroes of the community who still were plantation tenants. Will Blank’s success naturally caused the others to be envious. Is it any wonder that FSA brought worry



Shahn for Farm Security Administration

Pickers on an Arkansas plantation “weighing in” their cotton

to the large landowners, whose very prosperity had depended for years on the exploitation of disfranchised farm workers—close to serf status?

The concentration of land ownership in the rich alluvial areas of the cotton belt has reached alarming proportions, a matter that should be of concern to whites as well as to Negroes. The old saying that the rich grow richer and the poor poorer is nowhere better illustrated than among the South’s cotton farmers, particularly in the plantation areas. For more than four decades the majority of farm operators have drifted steadily

downward into the low income brackets, or have been forced off the land. At the same time the large operators have made more money and have bought more land.

If you don’t believe cotton planters have grown rich during the war, just try to buy one of their farms. At this writing, cotton is selling for more than 30 cents a pound, and it is estimated that with modern machinery and good land, cotton can be produced profitably at 8 cents. A professional man in one small Delta town told me that many planters obscured evidence of their wealth.



Stills from “As Our Boyhood Is,”

After school: They mind the baby and do the washing—



He works as a hoe-hand in the boss’s corn patch

The large landowners in the plantation country are few in number but they are well organized, and they have a bigger voice in the state and national legislative bodies than the far more numerous small owners and tenants.

Taxes for Big and Little

Throughout the South since the great depression there has been a pronounced shifting of the tax burden onto the common people—onto wage earners and farm tenants. Nearly every southern state has a retail sales tax law, enacted as an emergency measure but now considered a permanent source of public revenue. Inheritance and income taxes, as well as corporation, privilege, and manufacturer's taxes, have recently been generally reduced in southern states as a favor to the property-owning class.

Ask any average white citizen what he thinks of the sales tax. Nine out of ten will say it's a good tax. They think so, first because it places a burden on Negroes, many of whom would otherwise escape any direct taxation. Further, the sales tax has popularity as the largest source of revenue in not a few states.

Many states have adopted a homestead exemption law under the guise of encouraging home ownership. Since Negroes do not vote, county officials do not as a rule concern themselves to see that the few Negro home owners get tax exemption under such a law. The usual procedure requires that the home owner go to the county courthouse and apply for exemption.

Inquiries in four southern states revealed that no check-up is made to see that all eligible home owners actually get the exemption. Nor has any attempt been made to see whether the homestead exemption law is accomplishing the purpose claimed for it, namely to increase home ownership. As a matter of fact, instead of helping the landless to become owners it makes it harder for them, as the law causes a reduction of the resident landowner's taxes and shifts the burden to consumers, mostly non-owners, through the retail sales tax.

In the matter of assessments for tax purposes, Negro owners, like most small white owners, are assessed at rates higher in proportion to the actual worth of their property than are the large proprietors. One study

made in Arkansas in 1937, which almost cost its sponsors their necks when it came to the attention of the big property owners, indicates the common practice. Researchers under the direction of the state university took samples over a wide area and found that the average small property owner paid taxes based on assessments approximately four times as high, in proportion to actual value, as the assessments on large property owners. The Arkansas study touched off a big explosion in political circles and, so far as I know, no similar study has been attempted elsewhere.

Selling and Buying

As a general rule, Negro farmers who are permitted to have any voice in handling their own transactions sell their products at the lowest market prices and make purchases at the highest.

It is customary in most areas for the landlord to receive half the cotton raised as his share of the crop, and to buy out the cotton of his Negro tenants. I made an intensive check with informed persons in a number of plantation counties in several states, which revealed that landlords normally make a profit of from \$10 to \$30 a bale when they resell the tenants' cotton.

Why, I asked, don't the tenants sell their own share of the cotton direct to the cotton buyers? There's a reason, as many Negroes have learned the hard way. In the first place, it is usually considered a part of the landlord-tenant agreement that the landowner handle all sales of farm products. But in some instances the landlord will say to the tenant, "You may sell your cotton in town, if you wish."

The catch is that the cotton buyers are continually playing for the favor of the landlords and will either refuse to buy the tenant's cotton, or offer such a ridiculously low price that the tenant will conclude that the landlord, after all, can sell to better advantage than he.

The Negro farmhand, as a rule, is also at a disadvantage in bargaining for the things he buys. He pays the highest list price if he pays cash and still higher if his account is carried on the books. The war, with a small labor force in the plantation country, placed the Negro tenants temporarily in a better trading position. Instead of having to accept "furnish" at the

plantation store, many tenants asked for—and got—cash and then shopped anywhere they pleased.

Cooperatives have been slow to take root in the South; what few exist are often manipulated so benefits and savings do not extend to the mass of small farmers and tenants. The Farm Security Administration tried to organize small farmer co-ops, and did a pretty fair job until reactionary southerners in Congress sabotaged the program and most of the co-op advocates were fired. No other public agency has tried seriously to promote farm co-ops that would serve low income farmers.

Cooperative cotton gins, oil mills, rice and grain elevators, and marketing services have been set up in the most important production areas, in many instances with the help of low interest government loans from the Farm Credit Administration. Negro tenants, however, seldom receive the benefits of such co-ops, as any patronage dividends usually stop when they reach the landlord. Despite this unfair distribution, the FCA has continued to approve loans in at least three states.

Undoubtedly the racial pattern is one of the basic reasons why farmers' cooperatives have not developed as they should in the South. The very principle of cooperatives, which means sharing of benefits and democratic control, would be an immediate threat to the bi-racial pattern. With one or two exceptions, what few cooperatives do exist are operated by and for whites only.

County Agents—for Whites Only

It is not at all strange that the Agricultural Extension Service, supported partly from federal appropriations, partly from state and local funds, neglects the Negro farmers. In the plantation counties, where the Negro population is heaviest, not one Negro farmer in a hundred ever has been visited by the paid workers of the service. The fact that county extension agents must be approved by the local political body is enough to insure that they, too, will maintain strict racial segregation in their programs. County agent reports generally claim service rendered to all farmers of the county, white and black, but it is no secret that the agents hue to the "white supremacy" line except in reports that go to Washington.



Public Works Administration

A Negro sharecropper's cabin in the Delta, with cotton piled on the porch

A few years ago somebody got the idea that southern counties with large Negro ratios should have a Negro county agricultural agent, who, of course, would serve under the direction of the white agent. Federal money was appropriated for that purpose and now Negro agents are employed in many counties.

The Negro agent's principal job in many counties today is to do chores for the white agents—vaccinate hogs, cows, and horses; spray and prune orchards; cull poultry; service farm machinery, and so on. These chores are performed, not for Negro farmers, but for the well-to-do white farmers, who least need assistance but whose opinions carry weight with county politicians.

According to official county records, the Negro county agents—most of them college graduates, as are the white agents—get, in general, about one third as much salary as the white. The white agents, with their several assistant agents, in most instances enjoy comfortable offices with telephone, stenographers, clerks, and ample equipment. County politicians have long told their rural audiences that “nothing's too good for the farmers” (who vote). In contrast, the Negro extension agent, if he has any office at all, must get along with shabby

quarters somewhere on a back street in the Negro section.

Other agricultural agencies which work with farmers are run according to policies satisfactory to the large landowners, the bankers, and farm supply merchants. If one agency should get “out of line”—that is, violate the white-black double standard racial pattern—the agency's top officials would hear about it, and soon. If the procedure is not corrected speedily, the district's congressman will hear from the people (who control votes) back home. This is particularly true of any agency that depends on federal funds.

In the Plantation Counties

During the New Deal era it was generally believed that many cotton planters diverted subsidy and relief funds, meant for Negro sharecroppers and other tenants, into their own pockets. This reported misuse of federal relief funds in the plantation counties of the South smacked of wholesale fraud. Honest landlords deplored the situation, but the small enforcement crews sent from Washington were unable to correct it.

Go into the office of the county agricultural advisers in almost any southern agricultural county, where corporation or plantation farming

predominates, and ask what are the main problems of the farmers. Nine times out of ten the salaried worker will answer—from the biased viewpoint of the big landowners, and not from the viewpoint of the great majority of the farm families of the area—“labor shortage,” “high labor costs,” and so on.

During the harvest season of 1945, planters paid their cotton pickers less than the previous year, though they were enjoying a higher market price for cotton. This was due to a wage ceiling of \$2.10 per hundred-weight for cotton pickers in the plantation areas of Arkansas and Mississippi—enforced by the federal government under the authority of an emergency war measure. The program represented the only instance of a rollback in wages anywhere in the USA during a period of inflation.

It was estimated by a spokesman for the planters that in eighteen Mississippi counties alone the planters saved between \$15,000,000 and \$20,000,000, that otherwise would have gone to Negro cotton pickers in wages if picking rates had been left free to advance in relation to labor supply and demand. When a spokesman for a group of cotton pickers pointed out that in fairness to the pickers there

(Continued on page 108)



Georgia planter, from whose car a lynch mob took four Negroes



Coroner, with rope used to tie the victims

BITTER HARVEST —

In the South



Dead and mourners. After five months, not a member of the unmasked mob has been identified by police or FBI

All photographs courtesy of *Pittsburgh Courier*

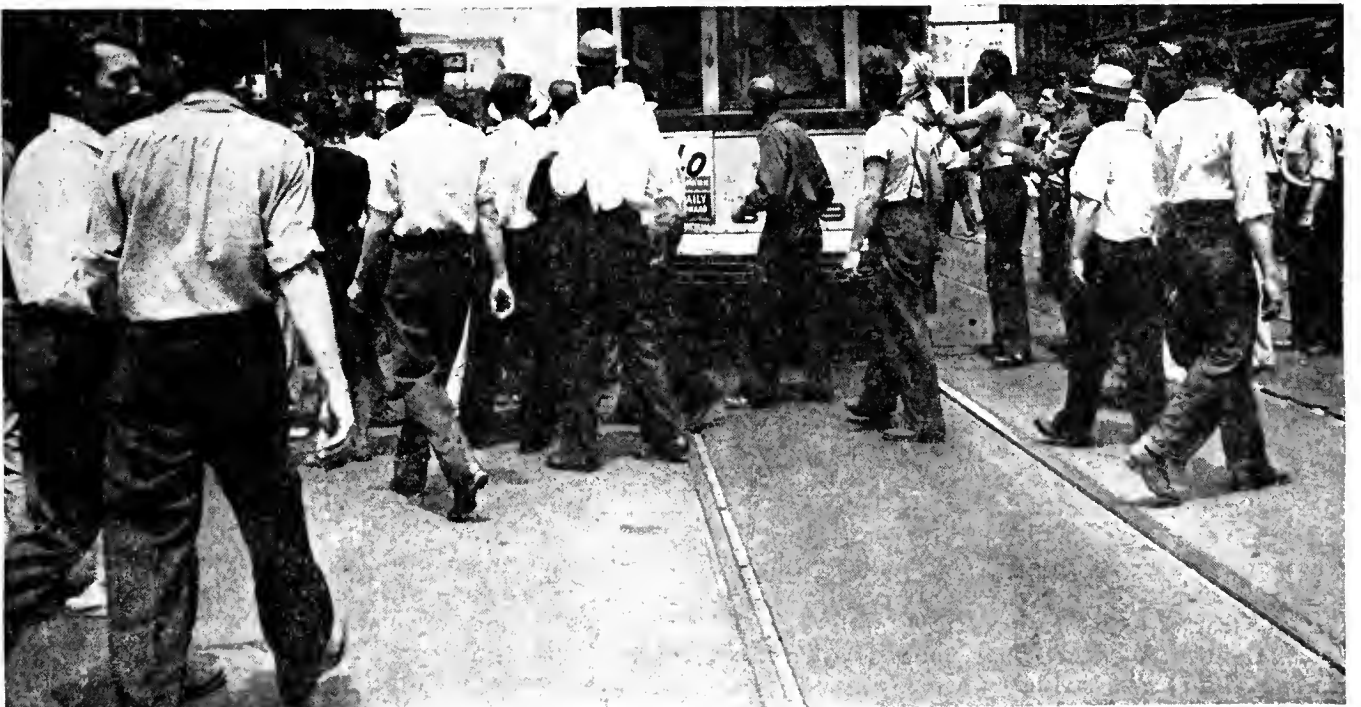


In Detroit's 1943 riot no Negro was safe on the streets



Negro homes were bullet riddled and wrecked

In the North



Mobs stopped cars to search for Negroes. The toll: 34 dead (25 Negroes); 340 badly hurt; \$2,000,000 property loss

In the Unions

The inconsistent record of American labor. Where and how its doors are now opening to workers of all races and creeds.

HERBERT R. NORTHRUP

THE RACIAL POLICIES OF AMERICAN labor unions always have varied widely—from outright exclusion of some minority groups by some unions, to their complete acceptance, with all the rights and privileges of membership, by others.

The war years, which brought about major changes for the Negro worker in so many directions, also served to shift and modify his position as a unionist. With the manpower shortage and the desperate drive for all-out production, even ironclad trade union tradition and practice were forced to bend, and at some points to give way. On the other hand, the influx of Negro workers into new areas—communities, industries, occupations—sometimes resulted in tension and discrimination where none had existed before.

It must be borne in mind that the racial policies of the unions follow national, regional, or local patterns. They also reflect the economic conditions under which a particular union operates: the type of industry, the organizational structure, the character of leadership, the racial composition of the labor force under its jurisdiction, and the character and policies of competing unions in the field.

With this variation in union racial policies, it is not surprising to find that segregation on the basis of race always has existed in all its forms in the union movement. This is true despite the fact that most trade unions oppose both discrimination and segregation and have done much on a practical level to achieve equality in conditions of employment for workers of many minority groups. Most of the unions affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations are pro-democratic in their racial policies. So are many American Federation of Labor affiliates—the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, for example. But even these labor groups cannot prevent segregation in union social activities in certain areas,

—By the professor of industrial relations at the New York School of Social Work, Columbia University.

Mr. Northrup, who formerly taught at Cornell and New York Universities, served as consultant to the Fair Employment Practice Committee, and as senior hearing officer on the National War Labor Board, Region 2.

He is the author of "Organized Labor and the Negro" (1944) and of numerous articles in professional and popular journals.

notably the South, where the union must conform or be destroyed.

At the other extreme is segregation imposed on minority groups by unions which refuse to admit them. The segregation takes two forms: independent Negro unions; or "Jim Crow" auxiliaries. Both are well illustrated by developments in the railway industry.

Segregated Railroaders

The first two railway unions (the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, organized in 1863, and the Order of Railway Conductors, 1868) were fraternal and benevolent societies which limited their memberships to white workers, as is customary in fraternal bodies. As other railway unions were founded, they adopted the by-laws of the older organizations, including the discriminatory rules, even though these labor bodies had then become more important as collective bargaining than as fraternal agencies.

Recently, with employment in the industry declining, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen have succeeded in getting nearly every railroad in the South either to limit the number of Negroes hired as brakemen and firemen, or more often, to eliminate Negroes altogether. Negroes are thus being deprived of some of the highest paying jobs to which they could aspire—jobs held by members of their race

since the southern railroads were built.

To prevent this loss of employment, Negro firemen and brakemen have made numerous attempts to organize unions of their own. This strategy has been tried again and again in the past forty-five years. Few of the independent unions have had even moderate success. Some, such as a small union on the Louisiana and Arkansas Railway, have won limited job security by accepting a racial wage differential.

These Negro railway unions have no political or economic influence. They cannot affect railway labor legislation and, as a minority, they cannot even win bargaining rights for their group, except in unusual situations. The position is roughly analogous to that of a company union; for what few concessions are obtained probably are attributable to the employers' generosity or sense of justice. As the record shows, these unions are incapable of protecting Negro firemen and brakemen from the discriminatory policies of the railroad brotherhoods.

The only success of independent Negro unionism has been in areas where Negroes enjoy a job monopoly—for example, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL. But even this organization is constantly on the defensive because of the attempts of other railway unions to carve out some of the work under its jurisdiction for their members.

In the nonoperating departments of the railroads—shops, maintenance of way, clerical, and so on—the unions found that complete exclusion was bad economic policy. It meant that they had to raise the wages of Negro workers in order to raise those of their own groups and at the same time discourage the replacement of white workers by Negroes, Orientals, and Mexicans. Therefore, they decided upon "Jim Crow" auxiliaries.

They organized Negro workers of nonoperating departments into auxili-



Harry Rubenstein for Justice-ILGWU

The new members of an ILGWU local in Kansas City, Mo., meet together to study the history and aims of their union

ary unions under rules which deny the colored worker any voice in union affairs, and usually limit the type of work on which he can be employed, as well. Outright exclusion would seem a more straightforward union policy, and from the Negro worker's standpoint, it is difficult to see any benefit in this sort of second class membership.

Segregated Locals

A number of unions do not exclude Negroes and other colored workers, or confine them to inferior status, and yet do tolerate segregation in their locals. Thus, the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the Brotherhood of Painters, Paperhangers, and Decorators, both AFL, have no rules or stipulations providing for the exclusion or segregation of colored artisans. Nevertheless, both unions organize Negro workers into separate locals. It is true that these separate bodies have equal status with the "white locals." Further, in certain instances, Negroes have been frank to favor separate organizations. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that in the building trades, as well as in most other industries, the Negro workers who are thus segregated are at a distinct disadvantage.

The difficulties encountered by Negro building tradesmen in a segregated local are well illustrated by the experiences of colored bricklayers in Atlanta, Ga. Atlanta bricklayers first organized as a biracial local in 1899. More than twenty years later, the Negroes, who controlled the local, permitted the whites to establish a separate local. The white union succeeded in obtaining most of the jobs, the Negroes retaliated by undercutting the union wage scale, and by 1927 both locals were defunct. The next year, a new mixed local was chartered, this time with the whites in the majority and in control. The Negroes became dissatisfied about job allocations, withdrew, and in 1934 obtained a separate local charter. This proved a step in the wrong direction—the Negroes found they were less successful than ever in obtaining work in competition with the white mechanics. About twenty Negro bricklayers then formed an independent association to secure work at wages below the union scale.

As this sorry record indicates, Negroes in mixed locals may be discriminated against, but they usually are in a better position than under a segregated system. They can make their protests heard. They are more

likely to know when jobs are available. Finally, it is much more difficult to confine members of a mixed local to work in the segregated section of a community.

One further type of segregation in unions is that based upon the racial employment pattern of an industry. The Tobacco Workers International Union, AFL, is the best example. It organizes stemmers and factory hands in separate locals. Since the former are usually colored and the latter white, segregation is maintained.

In War Industry

The war years saw breaks in the segregation pattern in employment and in union policies and practices in important industrial areas—conspicuously, aircraft, shipbuilding, iron and steel, autos, aluminum and magnesium products, plastics, tires and tubes. The National Maritime Union (CIO) was outstandingly successful in modifying the traditional segregation practices in the hiring hall and aboard ship. (See page 57.) Even in the South, there were occasional examples of change in the general union situation.

Since 1895, the American Federation of Labor had maintained the fiction that it had no control over the

internal policies of its constituent unions. Nevertheless, it was largely through the active influence of William Green, AFL president, that during the war Negro machinists finally were given work permits and clearance in West Coast aircraft plants, despite the exclusionist rules of the International Association of Machinists. Similarly, the Metal Trades Council helped modify the policies of the boilermakers in Portland, Ore., and was an important factor in ending the segregation practices of the locals in Oregon and California shipyards.

Enter FEPC

The whole pattern of racial segregation in the labor movement was challenged by the Executive Order creating the Fair Employment Practice Committee, expressing the federal government's antidiscrimination policy in war industry. The agency was without power to enforce its own orders. It did have authority to investigate, to publish findings, to persuade—and finally to appeal to the courts; and it operated in a period when the effective use of all available man (and woman) power was essential to the war effort. Undemocratic union practices were aired in FEPC hearings in various communities.

Two important early cases (October 1941) charged the machinists' local lodges No. 68 and 741 with refusing to admit Negroes to membership or clear them for employment at the Bethlehem shipyard in San Francisco and the Boeing Aircraft plant in Seattle. It was these cases which, with pressure from President Roosevelt and Mr. Green, finally broke the racial barriers of the Machinists International.

Two years later, local lodge No. 54, apparently with the approval of the International, accepted Negro workers at the Warner and Swasey plant in Cleveland into full membership. At that time, the organizing chairman of the shop committee of the plant told the colored employees:

"I remind you that no matter where you go, if you have your union card with you then you will be recognized as a member of the machinist lodge No. 54. . . . There will be no separate meetings of white and Negro. You will sit in our regular meetings, with full voice and voting rights. . . ."

The segregation pattern has never been as stringent in CIO affiliates in

general, as in the older craft unions of the AFL. This is due partly to the broad, mass-organization structure and program of the CIO, partly to the specific constitutional provisions of many of the unions banning race discrimination, partly to the machinery established by a growing number of the internationals for carrying out their stated policies. In recent years, able Negroes have been appointed to the executive board of the CIO, and have held important offices in some of the strongest of the constituent bodies, notably the United Steel Workers and the United Automobile Workers.

To help translate policy into action, the CIO established a National Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination, with a full time director, and a number of local committees. The UAW-CIO Policy Manual includes a section on fair employment practices, introduced by this clear-cut statement:

Realizing the necessity of ending for all time discrimination in our locals and in our plants, the UAW-CIO has established its Fair Employment Practice Committee and has authorized that committee to determine and report to the International Executive Board appropriate action to be taken in all cases of alleged discrimination by any local union officers or members.

The policy of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (AFL) and of all its northern unions is complete non-segregation. It now has some biracial unions in the South. The Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers (CIO) has separate locals in the South, but maintains common training institutes for union officers and organizers.

But the various forms of racial segregation in the American labor movement demonstrate that segregation in this area of life, as in all others, is an active aspect of discrimination. "Separate but equal" is as meaningless in unions as it is everywhere else. Those who are segregated against are discriminated against. Such discrimination adversely affects the livelihood of minority groups. Its significance is the greater under present legislation which encourages labor organization without any penalizing of unions which refuse to accept their legal responsibilities toward minority groups.

Is there any hope for improvement from within the union movement? It is true there has been some self-improvement. In addition to examples

already cited, three AFL affiliates—the Masters, Mates, and Pilots, the Hotel and Restaurant Workers, and the Commercial Telegraphers—which formerly had discriminatory by-laws have recently removed them. All three are really admitting colored workers.

Industrial local unions of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL, have begun to admit Negroes, in contrast to the older craft locals of that organization. By and large, however, those organizations which habitually discriminate against minority groups have shown little desire to change policy or practices.

Government's Role

The federal government could effectively attack discrimination in employment (by unions or employers) either by amendment to the National Labor Relations [Wagner] Act to provide that discrimination is an unfair labor practice; or by the creation of special fair employment practice commissions.

The first method has many advantages. The problem of discrimination in employment is essentially a question of labor relations. The National Labor Relations Board is experienced in handling such problems, and the Wagner act is more easily enforced than are vague antidiscrimination laws. In such industries as railway and air transportation, in which the NLRB has no jurisdiction at present, it could be given authority to deal with discriminatory practices by further amendment to the Wagner act. Discrimination could thus be curbed without adding to the administrative complexity of the government.

Thus far, however, most programs aimed at curbing discrimination in industry provide for administration by special agencies, probably a result of the wartime example of the Fair Employment Practice Committee. Despite its lack of power, the FEPC was able to open up a number of jobs to Negroes and to other minority groups. The chief difficulty experienced by the FEPC in securing compliance with its orders came not from prejudiced employers, but from unions. For example, the FEPC never succeeded in halting the program of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen to deprive competent Negro firemen and brakemen of their

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In the forecabin, while off watch

Courtesy *The Pilot*

How We Did It

The dramatic story of a labor union's success in exploding the myth of racial hatred and wiping out segregation of seamen, aboard ship and in the hiring hall.

JOSEPH CURRAN

THE YOUNG NATIONAL MARITIME Union which was formally established on May 3, 1937, has played a dramatic role in the battle against segregation.

That first year, the new union launched a campaign for a ship for Hugh Mulzac. This slight, bespectacled man had passed his examination as master of ocean-going steamers fifteen years earlier. He was thus qualified to command any merchant ship of any tonnage on any ocean. But that didn't matter to the shipowners.

It didn't matter, either, that this man, who had been going to sea for over thirty-five years, was a graduate of the United States Shipping Board School and was awarded its certificate in 1918. Nor did it matter that he

held a diploma in navigation and radio from the International Correspondence and Nautical School and a certificate from the Sperry Gyro Compass School. Nothing mattered to the

—By the president of the National Maritime Union, who is also a vice-president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Mr. Curran went to sea in 1922, a boy of sixteen, and has been a seaman ever since. His dynamic leadership is generally credited for much of the improvement in wages and working conditions aboard ship in the past decade. During the war, he was a member of the advisory committee for the War Manpower Commission in the New York area.

shipowners except one thing—Hugh Mulzac was a Negro.

For five years the NMU carried on the fight for a captain's berth for Mulzac. Resolutions and telegrams were sent from every port and from ships at sea. The union was not merely pushing an individual—it was pushing open the door to admit Negroes to a profession long closed to them, except in subordinate posts.

Finally, the struggle was won. On September 23, 1942, the War Shipping Administration offered Mulzac command of the new Liberty freighter SS "Booker T. Washington." When Captain Mulzac, who for more than twenty years had had to ship as a steward or cook, made his first voyage as skipper of the "Booker T. Wash-

ington," a mixed NMU crew representing eighteen nationalities was aboard. After two trips the naval officers in charge of the convoy praised Captain Mulzac for "brilliant handling of his ship."

Since the victory in the Mulzac case, four more Negroes have been placed in command of ships manned by NMU crews.

The New Outlook

Before the birth of NMU, Negro seamen were subjected to harsh discrimination. Not only were they denied equal job opportunities, but they were segregated aboard ship in a single department, assigned the most menial tasks, and generally treated like outcasts. In those days, the old International Seamen's Union, out of which the NMU was born, had a Jim Crow hiring system. Even today, some maritime unions not affiliated with the CIO practice racial discrimination in employment on American merchant ships.

When the rank and file seamen set up NMU they took into account instances where shipowners, and employers in other fields, had pitted Negro against white, Jew against Christian, in order to keep workers divided and thus hold down the wages of all.

Having learned that discrimination against one group of seamen meant less money in the pockets of all seamen, the NMU wrote into Article 1 of its constitution the determination "to unite in one organization, regardless of creed, color, sex, nationality, or political affiliation, all workers eligible for membership, directly or indirectly engaged in the maritime industry."

How does the NMU apply this?

Let us say that a seaman objects to sailing with a Negro brother. Here is the approach used by a union patrolman who services that vessel: The first step is to call a meeting of the entire crew, except those needed for safe navigation of the ship.

At this meeting the problem is presented: a union member refuses to accept a Negro brother. The patrolman asks all members who object to the Negro to stand up. Each is asked to state his reasons.

The arguments—invariably fallacious and easy to expose—are answered point by point. If the men refuse to accept logic, they are asked whether they believe in the NMU constitution. They invariably say yes.

They are asked whether they believe in *all* the constitution, not just in parts of it. They again say yes. Then they are asked whether they believe in the clause that states that there will be no discrimination. If they say no, obviously they do not believe in all the constitution. If they say yes, then what is all the arguing about?

If that isn't successful, the brothers are told they are not obligated to sail with a Negro; they can get off the ship. And they can leave their union books behind because their books will be of no further use to them.

Handling the problem in this fashion makes possible a complete discussion of the race question which educates new men in the industry.

As a result of our uncompromising battle against discrimination, members of our union in southern ports, as well as in the North, now sail on a rotary hiring basis, which means complete protection and full equality to all. In July 1944, we finally succeeded in writing into our contract with the operators this clause: "There shall be no discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin."

While there were comparatively few Negro seamen prior to the NMU, there has been a constant influx since. By 1945 there were about 14,000 Negro seamen and officers on American merchant ships.

During the war, seamen of every race, creed, and color manned the ships and delivered the goods to every battlefield. More than 6,000 merchant seamen died in the service, many of them Negroes.

In an editorial the *New York Herald Tribune* commented: "Neither storms, nor mines, nor torpedoes, have shown discrimination. Ships which sail every ocean may fitly be officered and manned by all such free men as have shown themselves able to steer a course, save a life, and win a war."

Craig S. Vincent, formerly Atlantic Coast director of recruitment and manning in the War Shipping Administration, declared that many ships, "would have had to postpone their sailing date but for the availability of competent Negroes to complete the officer roster during crucial shipping periods."

The union is constantly on the alert to prevent violations of the constitutional clause and the contractual provision among its membership.

On May 3, 1946, a Negro was assigned from the union hall in Chi-

cago to the SS "Meteor," an NMU contract vessel. Crew members aboard that vessel refused to sail with the Negro brother. The union's Chicago agent discussed the matter at a meeting of the entire crew, but the recalcitrants were adamant. On May 11, when these men continued to insist that they would "under no circumstances" sail with the Negro brother, they were removed from the vessel by the union and a new NMU crew—the Negro member among them—placed aboard.

Later, a membership meeting in the port of Chicago adopted a report by a rank and file trial committee, and the crew members who had refused to sail with the Negro brother were expelled from the union.

The mixed NMU crew aboard the SS "America" is the latest example of the success of the union's no-discrimination policy. At the end of the maiden voyage of this liner, passengers wrote the company, praising the efficiency of the ship personnel.

Wider Horizons

What the NMU has done, and is doing daily, to eliminate prejudice and promote interracial harmony is also the policy of the CIO under the leadership of Philip Murray.

And what the CIO is doing nationally on this problem is being applied on an international level by the World Federation of Trade Unions, representing approximately 70,000,000 workers in 56 countries.

The World Federation of Trade Unions grew out of an international labor conference held in London, in February 1945. The Yalta Agreement had just been signed. The Allied drive against Fortress Europa was moving into high gear. Addressing the conference delegates, I said:

We cannot accomplish a healthy reconstruction of the international trade union movement unless we provide a sound basis by cutting out the cancers of discrimination, racism, and group hatreds. We shall be rid of Hitler, Goering, Goebbels, Himmler, and the other fascist gangsters. But if their poisonous myths remain in the minds of men, facism will still have its roots among us and in a matter of time will rise again in some new outward form.

On the basis of our experience in the NMU, which has resulted in interracial harmony aboard our ships, I am convinced that the task ashore can be accomplished if men of good will continue to fight unceasingly the deadly virus of discrimination.

Caste in the Church

Two authors, one Protestant, the other Roman Catholic, assess gains and losses in the conflict between doctrine and practice in Christian institutions, North and South.

I. The Protestant Experience

LISTON POPE

CHRISTIAN TEACHING ABOUT RACE TRANSCENDS immeasurably the practices of the Christian churches in America. This is especially true of the Protestant churches, on which most of the responsibility for racial segregation in religious groups, and for its abolition, must fall.

In this discussion the Negro will be singled out for special attention, as he is the chief victim of segregation in the Protestant churches. But patterns of treatment in his case would, in most particulars, apply equally well to minorities in general—Japanese Americans, Mexicans, and other groups.

Of the more than 13,000,000 Negroes in the United States, about half (roughly 6,800,000) belong to some Christian church, according to careful estimates. Of these more than 95 percent belong to a Protestant church. Segregation in religious organizations can be overcome widely, therefore, only if the Protestant churches change their practices.

The Roman Catholic Church in the United States has approximately 300,000 Negro members, of whom about two thirds are in segregated churches. By comparison, there are some 6,500,000 Negro Protestants in the United States, practically all of whom are in segregated churches.

The Protestant churches are chief heirs of the Negro Christian simply because the South, in which more than three fourths of the Negro population in 1940 still resided, has always been overwhelmingly Protestant in religious affiliation. By the same token, the large southern white bloc in its constituency renders the problem of segregation especially difficult for Protestantism.

If it is assumed that the Negro is not going to continue to accept segregation, either the Christian churches must alter their racial practices or the Negro will discard his church membership. It will be especially easy for Negroes to choose the latter course as

they learn that racial segregation has been largely eliminated in the one nation where religion has been most frowned upon—the Soviet Union.

On the other hand, if the churches attempt to abolish racial segregation within their fellowship, it is probable that many whites, having missed or rejected the import of Christian teaching about race, will repudiate their church membership. It is even more likely, however, that they will seek to preserve their dominance in the churches and to oppose all attempts at racial integration.

Religious leaders are pondering these various alternatives soberly, both in the North and the South. Whether in the light of Christian ethical affirmations or on the level of the struggle for members, the problem of racial segregation in the churches is being examined as never before.

In Local Congregations

Protestantism is not confined to any one ethnic or racial group in the United States; its churches reach practically all elements of the population. But nearly every Protestant congregation is composed exclusively of persons from one particular racial group.

According to a survey by Frank Loescher, for the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, less than one percent of the "white" congregations have Negro members,

—By an associate professor of social ethics at Yale Divinity School.

A North Carolinian, graduate of Duke, with a doctorate from Yale, Mr. Pope has served in the pastorate of a southern church, and of one in New England.

He is chairman of the industrial relations division of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and in 1942 published a book about the Church in a southern industrial community, "Millhands and Preachers" (Yale University Press).

In addition to his faculty post, Mr. Pope is editor of *Social Action*.

and less than one half of one percent of the Negro Protestants in the nation are included in "white" congregations. In most instances where it occurs, the mixture of racial groups in a congregation hardly deserves the name, as it comprises only two or three Negro members in an overwhelmingly "white" church—a proportion reminiscent of the famous French rabbit stew which had one horse to one rabbit.

Thus, among the 13,000 churches he covered, Loescher found 294 white churches with Negro members, and this Negro membership totaled only 1,321. Five of the churches accounted for 452 of the Negro members, leaving 869 Negro members distributed among 289 churches—an average of three Negroes per congregation.

Further, Negro members tend to be included in white churches only in villages and small towns where they are so few in number that they do not form a distinct social group or find it possible to organize a separate Negro church. Comparatively few "mixed" churches are to be found in urban centers with large Negro populations, though there are examples of such churches, of course, in New York, Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco, and other cities.

Most of the white congregations with Negro members are in New York State and New England. But there is very little difference between southern and non-southern white churches, on the whole, in the degree to which they have failed to incorporate Negroes. The segregation of Negro Protestants into separate churches is practically universal throughout the country.

Most white churches appear to have very little consciousness of a race question in their own affairs or in those of their community, except when a riot or other episode disturbs their serenity. Throughout the United States the Negro is isolated residentially, and only those churches located near the

"Negro section" are exposed directly to race problems and pressures.

Segregation—with a Difference

When one looks at the Negro churches instead of the white, the prevalence of segregation is likewise apparent. There is one crucial difference: the Negro church is a segregated but not a *segregating* institution. About a decade ago, 800 Negro churches were asked whether they objected to having white worshippers in their congregations. Not one replied in the affirmative.

But the Negro church is constrained, by obvious social pressures and perhaps by desire for independence of white control, to solicit members only from its own racial group, and white Christians seldom present themselves for worship or membership in a Negro congregation. When they do attend a Negro service, they often are given "the best seats" as a mark of deference, especially in the South—and this practice serves to reinforce the pattern of segregation.

There are a very few white members of Negro churches in the North. However, they never constitute more than a token representation of their group, and their conduct is so atypical that they are likely to be regarded as queer deviants, by Negro and white alike.

The upshot of the matter is that there is almost no intermingling of whites and Negroes in local Protestant congregations anywhere in the United States. At this fundamental level of church life, no region or denomination has been conspicuously more successful than any other in overcoming racial barriers. The Protestant Episcopal and Congregational Christian denominations appear to have slightly more "mixed" churches than do the other major denominations, but the phenomenon is very rare even in them. Some of the smaller Protestant sects—notably the Primitive Baptists, the Quakers, and Jehovah's Witnesses (if this group can be considered "Protestant")—are substantially more interracial in practice than the larger denominations, but other small sects are extremely nativist and anti-Negro.

The size of a denomination, the liturgical or informal character of its manner of worship, the centralized or congregational form of ecclesiastical authority, the type of theology prevailing—none of these factors seems to have had any special relevance to

segregation in local congregations.

Of the 6,500,000 Negro Protestants in the United States, about 500,000 belong to "white" denominations, that is, denominations made up almost exclusively of white adherents. As noted, nearly all of them are segregated into separate white and Negro congregations. There are significant regional and denominational differences, however, in the patterns of relationship between the Negro churches and their parent denominational bodies.

White Denominations

In the South, most white Protestant denominations have organized their Negro churches into separate synods or presbyteries. This procedure is in sharp contrast to that of ante-bellum days, when white denominations in the South insisted that for purposes of control Negro churches should come under white synods or conferences.

The most noteworthy exceptions to this rule are the Northern Baptist Convention and the Protestant Episcopal Church. Efforts to organize Negro Episcopal churches in the South into separate dioceses have been made, but they have not been approved by the General Convention of the denomination. It is reported, however, that some of the Negro churches in the South have felt that they were discriminated against in the diocesan conventions.

There is little difference between northern and southern denominations in this matter of segregated organization. For example, the Presbyterian Church, U.S. (Southern), has put nearly all its Negro churches into a separate synod; the Presbyterian Church, USA (Northern), follows a similar practice for its Negro churches in the South—though the fact that a large part of its southern membership is composed of Negroes may help to explain this practice. But the Congregational Christian denomination has many white as well as Negro members in the southern states, and it also segregates them into separate state organizations. It is rather ironic that some of the northern denominations which were in the forefront of the abolitionist crusade a century ago have now adapted themselves very neatly to local practices in the South.

Outside the South, most white Protestant denominations incorporate their Negro churches into the regular

denominational conferences or synods, with two striking exceptions. The Methodist Church, which has more Negro members than all other white denominations combined, divides the country into six jurisdictional units; five of them, including all the white churches, are based on geography—but the sixth, the so-called Central Jurisdiction, is composed almost entirely of Negro churches and based directly on the principle of racial segregation.

This means that Negro churches in the Methodist Church meet with white churches only at the General Conference of the denomination, which comes every four years. In effect, the Methodist Church has virtually made a separate denomination of its Negro churches, though they are expected to function through the general boards and agencies of the parent denomination. A somewhat similar scheme has been developed by the Disciples of Christ, which has about 60,000 Negro members.

All white Protestant denominations with Negro members, including those in the South, incorporate their Negro churches into their national bodies and supreme denominational meetings. The patterns of integration at this level vary a great deal. Negro leaders are rather well represented on national agencies and permanent committees in some denominations; in others, there are hardly any Negro officials or committee members.

The entertainment of Negro delegates at denominational meetings has posed many problems for church officials. When the policy calls for entertainment without discrimination, as it does in several major denominations, it is often difficult to secure adequate hotel accommodations on that basis. Where there is no such policy, Negro delegates are frequently inconvenienced and insulted. Some southern denominations segregate Negro representatives within their own meetings, seating them in separate pews, feeding them at a separate table, and the like.

The degree of segregation in hospitals, colleges, theological seminaries, public eating places, social agencies, and other such enterprises under denominational control appears to be even greater than in the life of the churches, themselves. Protestant hospitals seldom surpass secular hospitals in admitting Negro patients without

(Continued on page 101)

II. The Roman Catholic Experience

JOHN LAFARGE, S.J.

SOME YEARS AGO, I WAS INVITED TO take part in a symposium on religion, at one of our well known Negro institutions of higher learning. With me on the program was an eminent white professor of sociology in a northern university. In the course of his appeals to the students to abjure religion—for religion annoyed him no end—he mentioned that he had gathered together a bulging file of cases concerning the practice of discrimination in the Catholic Church.

I forget now just what line of reasoning he undertook to develop from his collection. This, however, is a minor matter, since his cases demonstrated a situation with which everybody interested in theology should be already familiar: namely, that in the Catholic Church, as well as out of it, there can be a considerable lag between doctrine and practice, coupled with a good deal of ignorance of the doctrine itself.

The Church's Attitude

Nevertheless, while a mere recital of grievances and human lapses may have little point, a brief survey of practices and attitudes in the matter of segregation is not without interest, precisely because of the conflict that appears to exist between the practice of segregation and the innate character of the Catholic Church itself.

For the very essence of Catholicism lies in its universality. The Church is not universal merely in a passive sense, as containing and serving all types of mankind, as the Pennsylvania Railroad or the Travelers Insurance Company might be called universal. Its universality is something vastly deeper. From the beginning of its history, its leaders have conceived of the Catholic Church as the church of the human race and as an inseparable part of the human race; and in this concept lies the true catholicity of Catholicism.

Yet the Church is not an abstraction, nor does it exist for an abstraction. It exists for living individual persons, each of whom is sealed with an infinite value, and this value is determined by eternal, divine, and imperishable standards, not by mere human conventions. Hence, when the

—By a distinguished Catholic clergyman and educator, long on the staff of *America*, the national Catholic weekly, and since 1944 its editor-in-chief.

Father LaFarge, who for fifteen years carried on missionary and educational work in southern Maryland, is a director of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference.

His books include "Interracial Justice" (1937) and "The Race Question and the Negro" (1942).

Church undertakes to apply its abstract universal standards to individual human beings, it meets with an apparent conflict of rights. This conflict becomes clear, however, when it is realized that the right of men to be non-segregated is fundamental, since segregation as social or religious policy contradicts the natural unity and equality of mankind.

Yet on many levels of its day-to-day experience the Church finds itself unable here and now to do away with segregatory patterns in fashion similar to that of various types of education, public welfare, and philanthropy, and it is faced with the problem of ministering to the individual even under a segregated status.

Today's General Picture

My purpose here is simply to present something of the picture as it actually exists in the Catholic Church in the United States today. This is not done to praise or to blame either Catholicism or Catholics, but rather in the thought that for all persons interested in the welfare of the Negro, of whatever line of approach, there is much to be learned from the specific Catholic experience.

Two facts of general import should be borne in mind:

First, Catholics have no separate or segregated "Church" or denomination in America or anywhere else—no "Catholic Church North" and "Catholic Church South." Whatever differences in practice are found, as later described, are merely lags in the full realization of what it means to belong to one and the same Catholic Church.

Second, Catholic usage follows the

division of the Church into dioceses, since the Church is organized along episcopal lines. The Catholic bishop conceives it as his duty to achieve, as far as is possible, uniformity within the limits of his own jurisdiction. In areas of the North, certain dioceses have taken a more vigorous stand against segregation than have others in the same general region. Hence there are differences of practice existing in given regions which are attributable to diocesan, rather than to merely regional conditions.

Four Segregation Patterns

Within these general outlines we can distinguish in the Catholic Church in the United States four types of segregation.

1. *The traditional*: This is a pattern which is a relic of earlier slavery and post-slavery conditions. It can best be observed in some of the very old parishes of the Catholic districts of Maryland and Louisiana. It is often coupled with a mild form of paternalism and is considerably varied in its discriminatory effects according to local attitudes and psychology.

Where segregation prevails merely as a survival of earlier patterns, one finds two races worshipping in common in the same church. They receive the same sacraments at the same altar and baptismal font; but a complete biracialism prevails in public worship and in all details of the ministry and of church organization. Individual organizations are biracial, such as the sodality and the Holy Name Society, and church committees are biracial. In the matter of administration there is a complete equality. Separate church seating is provided by "reserving" certain sections of the church for the Negroes.

2. *Compensatory segregation*. In this class are listed the separated institutions which are maintained because they are thought to be the only means under existing circumstances by which the Church can provide facilities for minority groups. In this case the segregated feature is not a mere survival but is regarded as a necessary alternative to complete neglect.

Under this category could be classed, in one way or another, practically all the Catholic Church's mission work for the Negro in the South and in some of the northern states. We have in this framework the Negro parish established as a parallel to the white parish, the parallel Negro school, hospital, and so on.

The establishment of such institutions carries no implication, *per se*, of any approval of segregation as a policy, though it can easily have this practical result, unfortunately. Whatever the views of individuals connected with them may be, from one Church's point of view they are simply a recognition of, and compromise with, existing circumstances—an attempt to do the best that can be done under those circumstances.

As a matter of fact, however, a distinct evolution has been taking place in the minds of most of the missionaries and educators connected with these separate institutions. There is a steadily increasing recognition that such institutions can only be a passing phase, a partial fulfilment of the Church's duty toward a minority group. This point has been frequently developed in various clergy conferences on the Negro question.

3. Theoretical or planned segregation. This practice, where used, is a deliberate instrument of ecclesiastical policy, paralleling its use in civil matters by secular authorities. This can take two forms: first, a rationalization of the separated institution on the theory that that is a good thing and, to use the popular expression, the "best way to handle the problem" of the Negro. The other is correlative, namely, the exclusion of the Negro from white institutions with the same flimsy justification. In other words, the exclusion here is initiated by the Church and not by external conditions.

For such exclusion and for such rationalization there can, of course, be nothing but unqualified condemnation, on general ethical principles as well as for the complete incongruity with the concept of the Church itself.

In many cases segregation has been taken up as a policy in perfectly good faith by well meaning but ignorant persons who thought thereby they had discovered a solution for an annoying difficulty. I know of instances where special pastoral work for the Negro has been started in northern cities.

A first step towards this establish-

ment of new work was investigation of the methods in the South, the naive theory being that in the South the problem had already been faced and that there existed a great font of useful experience. To this were joined sentimental rationalizations concerning the alleged "happiness of people having their own church," their pride in "having their own institutions," and so on—all familiar themes in the traditional defense of segregation.

In the past, this idea was by no means always imposed by the whites. It frequently received confirmation from the Negroes themselves. When Negro Catholics have experienced a benign biracial pattern in the South before migrating to the North, acceptance of this status has often become habitual. They are sometimes disturbed, therefore, by what seems to be the loss of their group identity in an entirely integrated or interracial religious community.

Thus, the demand for a separate church or a separate institution, even in northern communities where there is no pressure for them, may receive considerable impetus from the desires of the Negroes themselves. This has led to a confusion of ideas and motives in some areas of the Church; a confusion, however, which is now gradually disappearing.

There is less and less inclination outside of the South today to look to the South as the pattern for integrating the Negro into the life of the Catholic Church in the North.

4. Voluntary segregation. Separate institutions of this nature will be found within any minority group, racial or national. An example of this would be certain of the all-Negro sisterhoods, the existence of which does not or need not imply exclusion from the sisterhoods which are predominantly white. They may have started in a segregated or separatist atmosphere, as they undoubtedly did, but that need not carry over any such demeaning implication for the future.

Toward Integration

Within the Church the scope and effect of these segregation practices have been limited, and in some areas obliterated, by counter tendencies and policies which have been striving for integration of the Negro Catholic into the full life of the Church in the physical as well as spiritual sense. The manifestations of this integrating force also can be divided into four types,

though these do not parallel the four segregation patterns:

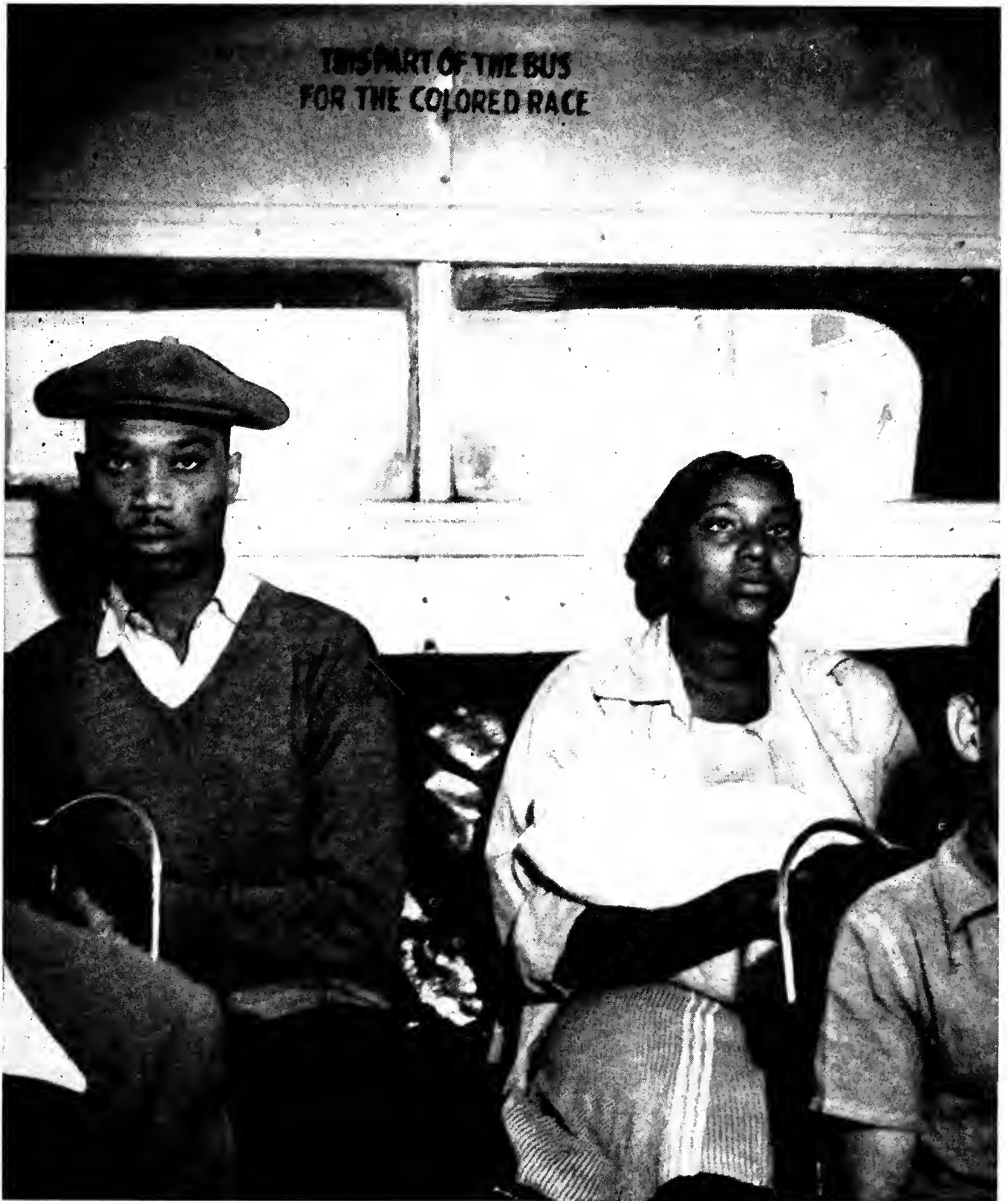
1. The minimum policy. There is no separation at the altar rail, and the Negro is integrated into all essential activities of the Church and many of the nonessential, but the biracial pattern is still kept save in actual worship and ministry, particularly where there is direct personal contact between communicants involved. Many varieties and degrees are found in this matter, according to local conditions and spirit, depending on the personality of the pastor.

There are many instances in Maryland and Louisiana where biracial arrangements have been introduced by individual pastors, sometimes by curates on their own initiative, which were unknown in these parishes in slave days. This was a result of the deterioration of the element of paternalism in the old pattern, and a mark of the widening division brought on by economic changes and the increased antagonism of the white group following the Civil War.

2. A definite but incomplete break with biracialism: namely, the abolition of any official biracial pattern along with the opening of all official church institutions to the Negro, while at the same time a racial parish is still maintained in the diocese, with full fledged parish jurisdiction over marriages, sick calls, burials, and the like. These are, in other words, the survival of a compensatory plan.

An example of this was found in New York until the arrival of the present Archbishop, Cardinal Spellman, where a distinct Negro parish, St. Benedict's parish on West 53 Street, still remained. The Negro parish was later transferred to St. Charles Church in Harlem, but it has since been abolished as a strictly separate racial parish by Cardinal Spellman whose policies are consistently interracial.

3. Complete official integration. In such a diocese there is no special parish or special school for the Negro, but only such racial or minority group institutions as are entirely voluntary. These latter are a matter of convenience, and in no sense compulsory. Complete integration in the official sense now is found in most of the Catholic dioceses of the North, particularly in New York State and in
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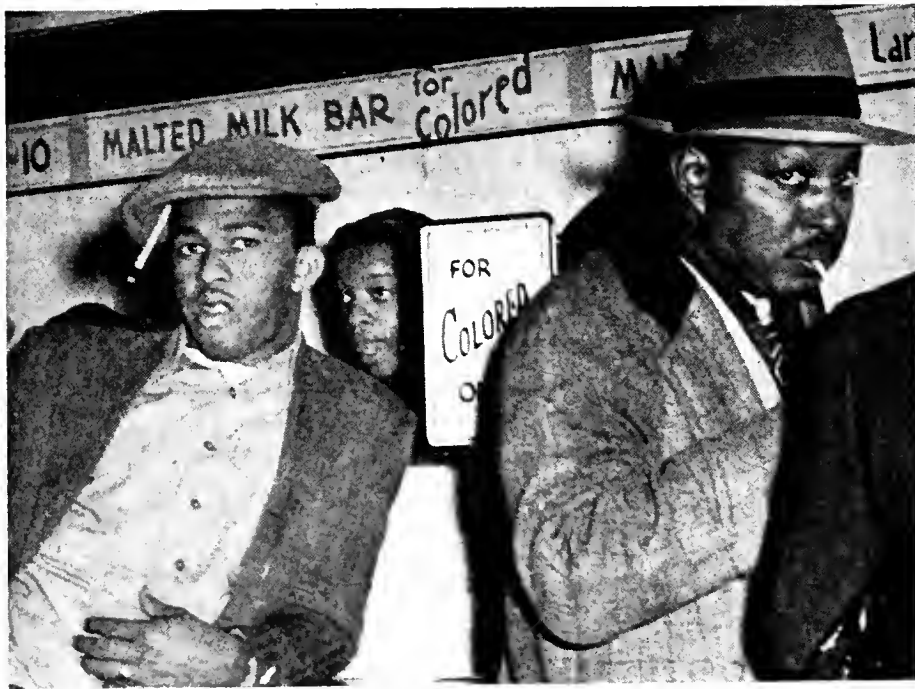


Marion Pálf

The rear of the bus, Knoxville, Tenn.

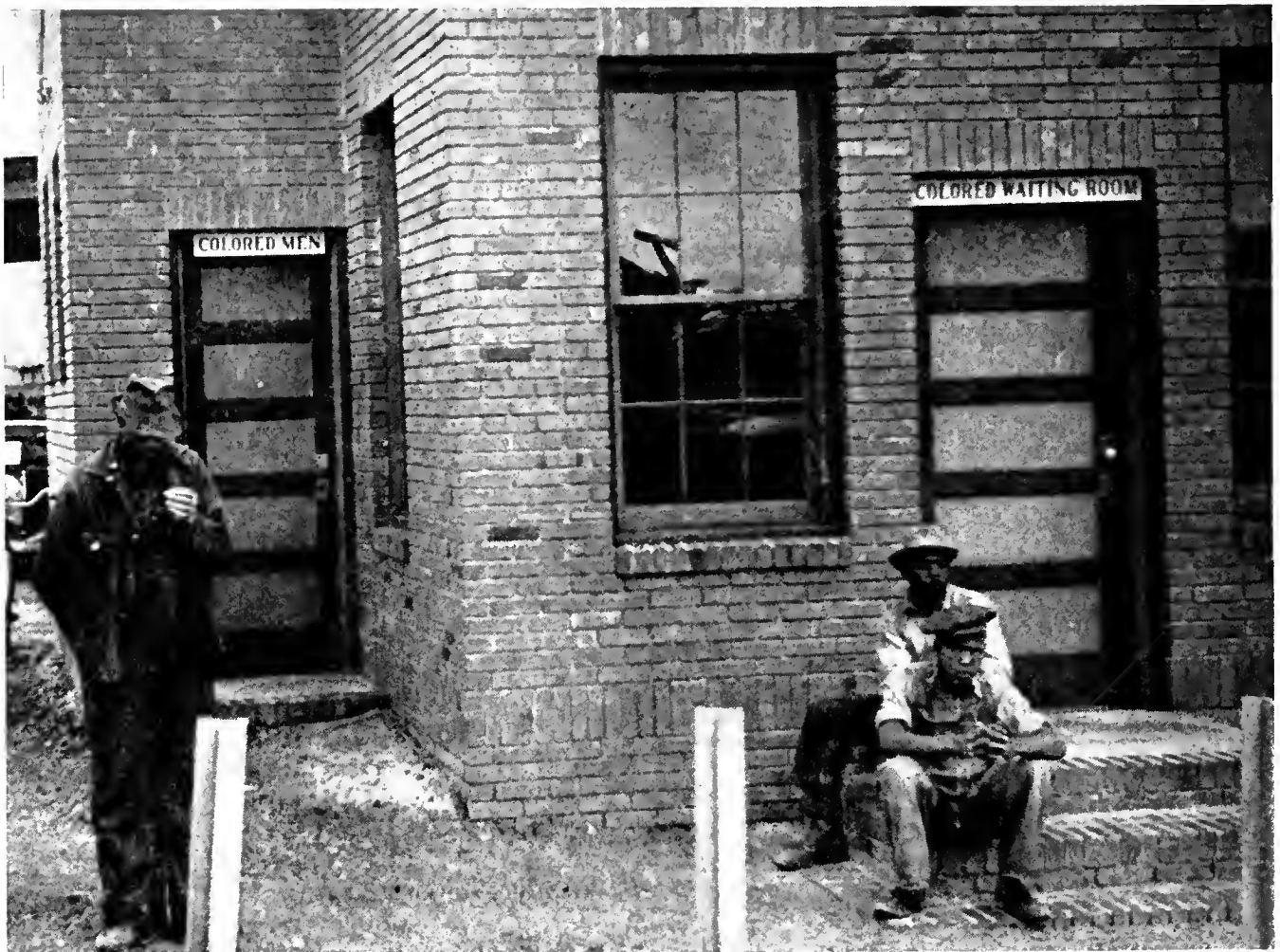
JIM CROW

On this page and the two which follow are photographs taken in southern states. These scenes are not unusual in any way—they could be duplicated in town after town. But on page 65 are signs that indicate that Jim Crow moves all too easily from one section to another.



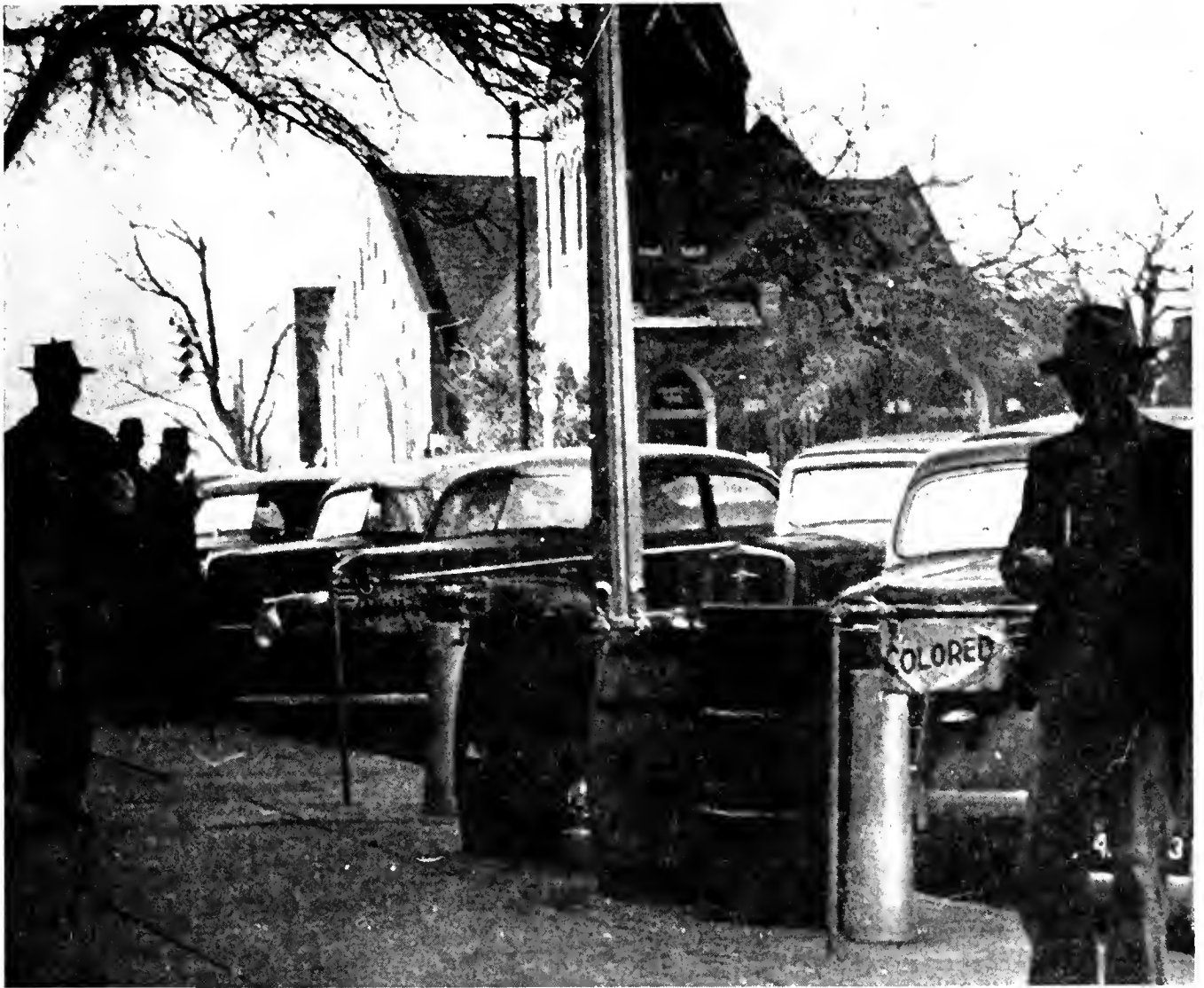
Marion Pálfi

Separate milk bar in a 5 and 10 cent store, Memphis, Tenn.



Vacation for Farm Security Administration

Segregated waiting room and washroom, railroad station, Manchester, Ga.



Separate faucets for drinking water, Athens, Ala.

Marion Pálfi



Library of Congress

Sign near a new housing project, Detroit, Mich.



Library of Congress

Restaurant window, Lancaster, Ohio.

In the Armed Forces

Army and navy experience in World War II afforded convincing lessons as to the waste and inefficiency of segregation. Have we learned them?

CHARLES DOLLARD and DONALD YOUNG

BOTH THE ARMY AND NAVY DURING World War II suffered grossly from racialism, and sacrificed military efficiency in the use of Negro personnel through prejudice, stupidity, and indifference. Yet before the end of the war, both services were meeting racial problems at least as rationally as any urban community in the country. Their culpable failure was in not taking full advantage of their wartime opportunities to move faster toward racial democracy.

Segregation in the armed forces may not be understood unless it is appreciated that the services are no less a part of the national community than the church, industry, the school, and other agencies. The rank and file of military and naval personnel share the attitudes, prejudices, and other qualities of their civilian relatives, friends, and neighbors. Commissioned personnel, however, includes a somewhat higher proportion of individuals with strong racial prejudice than does the civilian population, both because of an over-representation of officers of southern extraction and because of the class consciousness fostered by military tradition.

Nevertheless, it was evident during World War II that the War and Navy Departments and most of the top commanders did their utmost to assure subordination of prejudice to the requirements of military objectives in accordance with their judgment of the facts. The basic fact is that the departments have neither invented the undemocratic notion that Negro and white citizens must be kept apart, nor have they stubbornly clung to it against the national will.

Community Influences

The army and navy are not only part of the national community and therefore constrained to operate in reasonable harmony with national custom, tradition, and sense of propriety; it is also true that all their training and other operations on home territory must be conducted in cooperation with some specific town

—By authorities who were chiefly responsible for two outstanding wartime army manuals, 20-6, "Command of Negro Troops" and M-5, "Leadership and the Negro Soldier."

Mr. Dollard, executive associate of the Carnegie Corporation, was from 1942 to 1946 a member of the staff of the Army's Information and Education Division, with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel.

Mr. Young is director of the Social Science Research Council, and professor of sociology at the University of Pennsylvania. He is the author of "American Minority Peoples" (1932) and of numerous monographs and articles on the problems of minority groups in this country.

or city. Soldiers and sailors are a part of the civilian community in or near which their camp is located.

During the war, any sharp differences invariably produced unrest and sometimes serious trouble. This was true whether the camp was more or less liberal than the civilian community with regard to segregation.

It also has to be taken into account that a large proportion of white soldiers and sailors, like their civilian counterparts, were by earlier experience accustomed to relatively complete racial segregation. Under military regulations, commanding officers are responsible for the "repose of their command" and are necessarily given wide latitude in the formulation and enforcement of local regulations designed to insure the required peace and order. One may be as flatly and unalterably opposed to racial segregation as are the authors of this article and still wonder just how he would have accomplished his assignment if he had been given command of one of the mushrooming camps during World War II.

This comment on recent practices of segregation in the armed forces is decidedly not an attempt to whitewash the authorities. They did not do all they could and should have done solely in the interests of military efficiency to move from segregation

toward a more democratic structure. The point is that an effective program for the elimination of segregation in the armed forces must be based on a realistic understanding of the circumstances which have created and now support such discrimination.

The public, in general, tends to think of the army and the navy as autonomous agencies practically independent of the compulsions of tradition, legislation, politics, and public sentiment. Racial liberals, in particular, seem to have difficulty in realizing that the War and Navy Departments are not entirely free to enforce complete racial democracy as called for by the Constitution and the Selective Service Act. They know that the federal government has been, on many occasions, an effective spearhead in the battle against segregation. This has helped create an understandable expectation that the military establishments could, by mere fiat, operate without regard for color.

The fact is that neither the army nor the navy now or in any earlier time in our history has been in a position to depart radically, in the treatment of its personnel, from civilian practices openly or tacitly supported by the bulk of the population. The armed forces are open to criticism not because they do not defy public opinion, but because of their tendency to lag far behind the possibilities for step-by-step racial integration in advance of ordinary civilian practice.

How Segregation Came

At the time of our American Revolution, there was no fixed policy requiring the segregation of Negro enlisted personnel in either the army or the navy. Comparatively few Negroes saw army service until the Civil War, and up to that time they were rarely assigned to separate units. With the increase in the number of Negro soldiers following the Emancipation Proclamation and in subsequent years, the pattern of practically complete segregation became thoroughly established.

During the Revolution, there were

relatively more Negroes in the navy than in the army. Negroes also played an important role as seamen in the War of 1812 and for some years thereafter. During the later wars of the nineteenth century, few Negroes served in the navy, and it was not until World War II that large numbers were accepted for general service.

No clear policy as to segregation has developed in the navy. This is, perhaps, partly because of the nature of naval operations and organization, as well as the absence of any traditional Negro units in the navy other than the commissary and stewards groups; and partly because of the political pressure against initiating new patterns of segregation in 1942 when recruitment of Negroes for general service ratings began. The final result is that within the naval establishment today there may be found numerous and varied examples of relatively complete segregation and of relatively thorough integration.

Thus, by what might be called a series of historical accidents, segregation is now a well fixed army pattern; while in the navy, popularly considered the more conservative of the two services, there is much greater latitude in the assignment of enlisted personnel.

Since the limitations of space do not permit exhaustive treatment of the problem of segregation in all the armed services, the balance of this article deals only with the army situation—with which the authors are most familiar. It may be observed, in passing, that whether or not the several services are merged in a single department, future practices regarding segregation by race or color will in all probability tend to follow parallel lines; further, that despite its past record, the advance is apt to be paced by the army.

Wartime Patterns

World War II inductees allotted to the army were classified by race, and the Negroes assigned to "special" (a favored army euphemism) companies at induction centers where they were tested and classified separately, but according to uniform procedures. From the induction centers, they were shipped to replacement training camps or directly to units in training on separate requisitions. Most training camps had accommodations for both Negroes and whites, the normal procedure being to set off a separate



Signal Corps photo

First Sergeant Rance Richardson, a veteran of World War I, served with the 93rd Infantry Division in the South Pacific theater in World War II

area within the camp for Negro trainees who were always organized in segregated units.

The backbone of segregation in the army is this business of separation by unit. While this practice remained unchanged at V-E Day, the years 1941 to 1945 witnessed certain breaks in the general pattern. Of these, the official order banning segregation in theaters, post exchanges, service clubs, and buses operating within army establishments was the most publicized and perhaps least important.

By the time the order was issued, each camp had its Harlem, complete with recreational facilities and, in the typical case, any Negro who wished to test the policy would have been required to go well out of his way to do so. Camps which had only one theater often solved the problem by designating sections of seats for different units, thus maintaining segregation while still technically conforming to regulations. A decision by the

Assistant Secretary of War that the language of the anti-segregation order should be construed to include officers' clubs was in practice almost totally disregarded.

On the plus side, the order forced improvement in transportation facilities for Negroes and expanded the provision for all types of recreation. More important, it reflected the honest determination of the War Department not to tolerate segregation beyond the limits of what it conceived to be the needs of military efficiency. But as far as the total pattern was concerned, the net effect in most instances was to change the designation of the service club in the colored area from "Negro Service Club" to "Service Club No. 2."

Two other cracks in the pattern—one a change in War Department policy, the other an experiment sanctioned by a theater commander—while less publicized, were of much greater symbolic importance. The

first was a decision to abandon segregation in all officers' candidate schools except those for Air Force flying personnel. At the peak, there were about a score of such integrated camps, each producing specialists for some one branch of the service—artillery, tank corps, infantry, and so on. White and Negro slept, ate, and trained together with a minimum of friction and with no "incidents" worthy of record.

The importance of this step was two-fold: it indicated that when factors of economy and efficiency were sufficiently obvious and compelling, the War Department was willing to frame and enforce a policy which enfeebled the whole principle of segregation. And it put on the record, for all time, evidence that integration could be accomplished without loss of military efficiency.

The second crack in the pattern resulted from a single experiment. On December 26, 1944, Lieutenant General John C. H. Lee issued an order permitting Negro enlisted men in service units within his command to volunteer for duty as infantryman, with the understanding that after the necessary training, they would be committed to front line service with white companies. In spite of the fact that all volunteers had to sacrifice any ratings they held, about twenty-five hundred took advantage of the opportunity and eventually saw combat duty. For the first time in the recent history of the army, Negroes and whites operated as members of a single company.

The Army's Case

The army's basic defense of segregation is that it is necessary for efficiency because it is desired by a large majority of the white troops who comprise 90 percent of the personnel; and that abandonment of the policy would, at the least, adversely affect morale and, at the worst, result in riots and bloodshed. It is also argued by many in high places that Negroes prefer segregation as a pattern to which they are already accustomed by civilian experience.

Both these assumptions were subjected to study by the War Department early in 1943 through a sample survey conducted in camps throughout the country. Negro and white troops were asked, "Do you think Negro and white soldiers should be in separate outfits or should they be together in the same outfits?"

About nine tenths of the white soldiers interviewed expressed preference for separate outfits. Among Negroes, 38 percent favored separation, 36 percent were for mixed outfits, and the balance either had no opinion or expressed no preference. Similar questions regarding separate recreational facilities drew only a slightly more liberal response from whites and not much greater sentiment for common facilities from Negroes.

At their face value, these data confirmed the official view that white sentiment was overwhelmingly in favor of separation and that a large minority of Negroes also preferred it. But two things should be noted.

First, few questions of army policy are decided primarily on the basis of soldier preference. (The notable exception to this rule was the demobilization plan; the major criteria for priority of release from active duty were determined by a worldwide soldier vote.) In no institution in the world is the infallibility of "higher authority" more stoutly maintained than in the U. S. army.

Second, the extent to which a verbal response predicts how the respondent will behave in the hypothetical situation which he has never experienced is the question which most troubles students of public opinion. Both points may be illustrated by citing another study conducted among white and Negro soldiers by the same research group. Here the attempt was to determine the soldier attitudes towards service in the army.

The question asked was, "If it were up to you to choose, do you think you could do more for your country as a soldier or as a worker in a war job?" In their replies, 65 percent of the Negro soldiers and 47 percent of the white expressed a warm confidence that they would be immensely more useful in war jobs than in uniform—a sentiment which the army wisely and necessarily accepted only as evidence that better orientation was needed. The draftees' preference for tweeds did not move them to revolt or to mass desertion. Similarly, it is unlikely that their expressed preference for segregated outfits foreshadowed violent resistance to a carefully planned program of integration.

Segregation is an expensive luxury. No exact estimate of what it costs the army to keep the Negro "in his place" can be reached. It is possible, how-

ever, to suggest some of the items which made up the total bill during the period of armament and war.

Why Segregation Is a Luxury

In the first place, consider the cost of maintaining two sets of units in every branch of the service between which no exchange of personnel is permissible. White engineering battalions might be begging for replacements while Negro engineering units were at full strength. The reverse situation was equally possible. To anyone familiar with the personnel problems of large organizations, the arrangement will appear about as "efficient" as that of a railroad which arbitrarily ruled that its blond engineers could pilot northbound trains only, while those with dark hair specialized in southbound traffic.

In addition to under-use of personnel, segregation involved overbuilding and under-use of facilities. Fort Huachuca, the only large, all-black camp in the country, was used to capacity for only a portion of the war, yet its hospital and other overhead services had to be maintained continuously. In many camps, recreational facilities were duplicated on the "separate but equal" principle. During the war, it was not uncommon to see a handful of Negro officers monopolizing a regimental officers' mess, while four times as many white officers packed into a building of the same size a mile away—uncomfortable but safe from contamination.

Some of the costs of the system resulted from the army's pious determination to be scrupulously fair and democratic, *short* of integration. This determination led it to commission some Negroes who would not have qualified as officers in a free-for-all competition. Many of these men ended up in replacement depots overseas. Too many of them made ineffective company officers and furnished ready ammunition to critics who were anxious to prove that Negroes lack any capacity for leadership. At the same time other Negroes, men qualified in specialties in which no Negro units had been organized, were not used effectively.

But the least measurable and the most serious cost of all was the decreased efficiency of Negro units. The constant reminder of their second class citizenship which the whole business of segregation involves is

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He Fought for Freedom

Now the Negro veteran, after service in every theater, lays aside his uniform. What are his postwar experiences—as voter, job seeker, student?

CHARLES G. BOLTE

AFTER V-J DAY, 1,200,000 NEGRO veterans began to come back "home." Many of these men had been in far corners of the globe; all had been taken out of their familiar home setting. The elements of space and mobility—those insurmountable handicaps to the underprivileged in modern industrial society—were no longer the barriers they once had been.

Many of the Negro servicemen had been in countries where no color line is drawn. They had been trained to use modern weapons of war. They had acquired skills as a group, in greater abundance than any segment of their race ever had had before. On the statute books was a vital program in which they shared as veterans. It offered them education, vocational training, and a measure of security for a job-seeking period of as much as fifty-two weeks, through a \$20 a week readjustment allowance.

With these assets the Negro veteran's integration into the fabric of national life might have been rapid and thorough. But he has encountered the durable prejudices of the color-caste system, more often than he has met the opportunities of democracy.

The Political Scene

On the political front, the 725,000 Negro veterans who returned to homes in the South were unquestionably of greater strategic importance than the similar number who returned to northern homes where the Negro has long had the vote and played his part in politics. Among these southern Negroes there are thousands who possess maturity, education, and good judgment, who had gained what war and foreign service had to teach them of political understanding.

The so-called "hotheaded" type is relatively rare among the politically minded southern Negro veterans of this war. Political interest and maturity, as might be expected, seem to be found together.

By one of the ever-present ironies of the race problem, it is the mature, responsible Negro who gives the

—By the national chairman of the American Veterans Committee.

Immediately after his graduation from Dartmouth in 1941, Mr. Bolté joined the British Royal Rifle Corps. He served a year in England, a year in the Middle East under Montgomery, and was invalided home after he lost a leg at El Alemein in the campaign against Rommel's *Afrika Korps*.

The vigorous and progressive veterans organization which Mr. Bolté has lead from its beginning grew out of a correspondence group of men still in service, which he started in 1943.

The author has written numerous magazine articles on veterans affairs, and his book, "The New Veteran" (1945), was a best seller.

southern reactionary political machines the greatest concern. This kind of American veteran is the finest citizen, an asset to the life of any community. Yet it is precisely this veteran whom the majority of southern politicians seek to frustrate.

In the recent elections, nowhere was there total disfranchisement of the qualified Negro veteran. In North Carolina and Virginia, southern states where disfranchisement in recent years has been on the wane, Negro veterans participated with other qualified voters without any important incidents.

In Georgia, the U. S. Supreme Court's rejection of the white primary law, coupled with Governor Arnall's refusal to circumvent the decision by legal subterfuge, resulted in open elections and the heaviest Negro vote in recent Georgia history. Of the 80,000 Negroes who went to the polls in that state, many thousands were veterans.

Even in Mississippi, where the strongest legal barriers and the most illiberal attitudes persist, though the number voting in November was negligible, Negro veterans have begun to make their influence felt in politics. Approximately 1,500 Negroes went to the polls in Mississippi. Observers of the voting reported that of this number the majority probably were veterans. They cast their ballots

despite the effort of Senator Bilbo and his supporters to deny by threat of violence what the democratic process had awarded them by means of a clear-cut decision of the U. S. Supreme Court. The most important influence of Negro voters in Mississippi was negative, since their presence alone created for the reactionary politicians new difficulties in handling "the race problem." Nonetheless, that influence was felt.

In addition to the ballots cast by Negroes, the 1946 campaign in Mississippi and throughout the South was notable for the fact that there were thousands of intelligent and courageous young Negro veterans who day by day were studying ways to make the white primary and the open election a reality in their own communities. In this they were not without allies among white southerners. White individuals spoke out in their behalf on numerous occasions, and various church and educational groups espoused their cause.

With the Supreme Court ruling that the vote of a Negro henceforth would have as much weight as the vote of a white man, a number of politicians seemed prepared to accept—however reluctantly—the fact that the Negro would soon be a force in southern politics. In all this, the presence of the Negro veteran was perhaps decisive. If his military record had won him the hatred and fear of demagogues and reactionaries, that very record was beginning to win him white allies in the South.

The issue in this region is far from decided, and much of the struggle goes on below the surface. With the rise of such fascist-minded groups as the Columbians and the Ku Klux Klan, the lines are being drawn, and the day approaches when true friends of the Negro will have to identify themselves openly or retreat into a mist of wordy ineffectiveness and hypocrisy.

In any event, the southern Negro veteran, like his northern comrade-in-arms, is in politics. He has not been offered the attractive political

careers which are opening out before many white veterans. In the South he is a realist, and personal political ambitions do not concern him now.

The southern Negro wants a chance to vote no less than pay taxes, and to have his proportionate effect in nominating and electing candidates who will serve his interests as a citizen and as a former serviceman. He does not want special favors; but he does want an end to the whole oligarchic system, operated for the benefit of a small caste of powerful whites—a scheme of state government which has kept him more serf than citizen in the land where he was born, and for which he has fought.

The Right to Work

In the larger sense, of course, the employment outlook of the veteran, white or Negro, northern or southern, is determined by the economy as a whole. Many returned servicemen have a sobering realization that if this country's tremendous potential of production and prosperity is left to the mercy of profiteers, speculators, and the unregulated operation of the business cycle, their hopes for secure postwar jobs at fair wages are doomed to defeat. The veteran's loan from the government, the home he bought, the business he established would be wiped out by a runaway inflation. And to many veterans, this seems to be the disturbing trend of the day.

In the narrower sense, the Negro does not share the common lot. The first concern of the serviceman when he puts aside his uniform is a job. And in the whole employment field, the Negro is the victim of discrimination, based solely on the color of his skin.

In the North the discrimination takes the familiar pattern of the "job ceiling," which places a severe limit on all Negroes irrespective of personal qualifications, holding them to recognized types of "Negroes' jobs" in specific physical areas in the city's economic life. The northern Negro veteran, on the whole, cannot expect to get a job nearly as well paid as the one he might have secured had he possessed the same qualifications along with a white skin.

Except for civil service work, race relations work, and a limited number of fields marginal to the main business currents—and not always wholly reputable—the Negro GI looks in vain for a clean, well paid job in an

attractive office "downtown." The chances are, even in the North, that he has to accept less agreeable work under the "job ceiling" which white custom established long ago for the Negro.

Here and there a few talented and fortunate Negroes are breaking through the ceiling; but the average Negro GI, like his white brother, is neither scholar nor artist but a plain American, limited in education and not very articulate. His only great good fortune is the fact that the country still maintains a high level of employment. If for any reason production lags—and many conservative economists are taking this prospect as a matter of course—the Negro will find that, veteran or not, he is still the last hired and first fired, and that the war really has made little difference in this respect.

In the South the Negro faces a situation even more serious than the "job ceiling"—the high walls of segregation and much definite hostility toward his progress. The situation inevitably makes many an individual "dole minded."

Jobs

A typical report from Georgia (written by George S. Mitchell of the Southern Regional Council) tells part of the story:

Jobs are a-plenty, but at low pay and in unattractive work. In town after town Negro veterans are being offered old-line "Negro jobs" at twelve, fifteen, eighteen, or twenty-odd dollars a week. A large proportion of the men can show prewar or army experience at work better than common labor, and they are therefore entitled to draw the readjustment allowances. This is "rocking chair" money.

In Arkansas, 95 percent of the placements of Negroes made by the USES are in service and unskilled occupations.

The only Negro veterans who have come out of the "rocking chair" in large numbers are those who have found jobs in small service and repair businesses. Mr. Mitchell writes:

Once employed, they [Negro veterans] are usually liked and they usually stay. In my observation, the gain that is significant here is in comparatively new lines of work where patterns are not set. Small shops with one, two, or three employes are frequently better about using Negro veterans than big industries where racial lines are settled.

Weary of the old rôle of field hand and sharecropper, Negro veterans in large numbers are seeking vocational training chiefly in the radio, electrical, machine shop and mechanics, carpentry, and woodworking trades. But in almost all communities they find doors to such training barred, by segregated schools "for whites only," by the inadequacy of the on-the-job training available, or by discrimination by unions and employers in the apprentice training program.

The record of job training programs for Negro veterans is a record of failure. In a special survey, National Urban League representatives were "unable to find any well organized effort to secure on-the-job training or apprenticeship training for Negro veterans in any city." This survey included both the South and the North. The league estimated that in the South, out of 102,200 veterans receiving on-the-job training benefits, only 7,700 are Negroes. Although Negro veterans constitute about one third of all southern veterans, only one twelfth of them have a job trainee position.

Apprentice training presents an even gloomier picture. Whereas on-the-job training is a new program which may be modified and improved, apprenticeship has been established for generations, and race lines are fixed, in the North as well as in the South. There is virtually no opportunity for Negro veterans in the electrical trades. Even in the carpenters, plasterers, and brickmasons trades, traditionally the most hospitable to Negro apprentices, the lowest ratio to be found is fifty white veterans to one Negro veteran. It is clear why Negroes in general have little faith in the trade union movement.

Housing

All veterans agree that there is no place like home—if you have one. The situation is acute for white ex-servicemen and their families. It is worse for Negroes. In the South, for every four units being constructed for white veterans, only one is being built for Negro veterans—with the ratio of white to Negro veterans only two to one.

Few Negro veterans have enough economic security to contemplate buying a house; most of them want to rent. Here, too, they are at a disadvantage. The average veteran can afford to pay \$48 a month rental; the

average Negro veteran cannot pay more than \$25.

A survey recently made by the Bureau of the Census in Macon, Ga., underscores the plight of Negro veterans in securing decent housing. Whereas 33 percent of the white veterans in Macon are "doubled up" or inadequately housed, 44 percent of the Negro veterans are living with in-laws or in hovels. There are half again as many vacancies in white neighborhoods as in Negro.

The average Macon home sells for over \$4,000, which many white veterans are able to pay. The average Negro veteran can afford to pay \$2,100 for a new home. Obviously the average Negro veteran in Macon cannot buy a new house.

Over 30 percent of all Negro veterans are living in substandard, unhealthy rooms, as compared with 11 percent of the white veterans. Over 50 percent of all Negro veterans' dwellings lack one or more of the standard facilities—bath, toilet, running water, electric light. An army barracks, no matter how segregated, was never like this. But this is home for over 1,000 Negro veterans in Macon. And the situation in Harlem, (in New York City) or in Roxbury, Mass., where similar studies were made, is not much better.

In education, one of the great fields of postwar opportunity for veterans, the Negro has considerably less chance than his white comrade-in-arms. Many of the technical trade schools of the North are neither equipped nor staffed to meet the needs of the former servicemen for specific job training. The segregated schools of the South are few in number and meager in equipment.

College openings for qualified Negro veterans are equally limited. The Southern Regional Council estimates that only 28,000 Negro veterans are receiving institutional training (secondary, vocational, college, and postgraduate) in the South, as compared with 129,000 white veterans.

Educational Survey

A significant survey of educational facilities available to Negro veterans in the South under the GI Bill of Rights was conducted last winter by a group of Methodist women leaders in Mississippi, in cooperation with George S. Mitchell of the Southern Regional Council. This group held a symposium at the Galloway Mem-



NAACP photo

A former bomber pilot injured by flak over Vienna welcomes Isaac Woodward, sightless Negro veteran, into the Blinded Veterans Association. The latter's eyes were gouged out by South Carolina police in an "incident" that occurred as he was on his way home, just discharged after four years service.

orial Church in Jackson, Miss., at which educators (white and Negro), state officials, representatives of veterans' organizations, and of official veterans' agencies, discussed the provisions of GI legislation as these might be realistically applied in Mississippi.

One after another, the heads of the various small, segregated Negro colleges and trade schools told the same pathetic story of inability to provide the educational opportunities offered veterans in the federal act. The heads of these institutions gave facts and figures showing the lack of physical equipment, teaching staff, financial support, and of capacity to expand to meet the need.

What their reports really told, indirectly, was the dismal failure of segregated education in Mississippi. The GI Bill of Rights, along with thousands of young veterans seeking a promised opportunity which can not be fulfilled, only serves to point out a situation which has existed for generations.

The white officials of the state

board of education and of the veterans' groups, chiefly the American Legion, which were given official advisory capacity by the Mississippi legislature, claim without exception a record of good faith and adequate assistance to the state's Negro veterans of this and of past wars. But against these claims are arrayed the facts not only pertaining to education, but to all the long list of public functions in which Mississippi and the other poorer southern states trail far behind the nation. Against the claims of diligent service by veterans' organizations, stand, too, the stories of many individual veterans who testify to the inaccuracy of such claims.

What exists in Mississippi exists to a large extent throughout the southern states. For wherever the Negro veteran is condemned to second class citizenship by the force of state laws, these statutes are in clear opposition to the benevolent intentions of the GI Bill of Rights, and to honest and fair administration of that act at the state level.

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Pictures for Democracy. Photo by Virginia F. Stern

TWO STREETS—

Mis-education for Americans

Here are the mechanisms of daily experience which indoctrinate young people—both Negro and white—with the philosophy of racialism.

CHARLES H. THOMPSON

RACE PREJUDICE, THE DOMINANT ATTITUDE of the majority group in support of segregation, is the product of education rather than of heredity. People are not born with race prejudice any more than they are born with good manners or good morals. One learns race prejudice in the same way that he learns to use a knife and fork.

In fact, the analogy here goes much further than the mere illustration that race prejudice is not hereditary. For race prejudice in its initial stages is the product of rote learning with little or no rational basis. The child learns that "nice" white people do not associate with Negroes (or other minority groups) on terms of equality, any more than "nice" people eat at table with their fingers.

Rationalizations come later: "Negroes will want to marry and pollute the white race"; "This is a white

—By a distinguished American educator, dean of the Graduate School of Howard University, and editor of the *Journal of Negro Education*.

man's country and we must keep the Negro in his place"; "Negroes smell bad"; "Negroes are inferior people"; "Negroes are noisy, loud and uncouth"—or any other excuses customarily used to justify segregation.

Bending the Twig

I went into the University of Chicago Commons one day for lunch. With my tray of food, I entered the rather crowded main dining room, and soon saw a table with a seating capacity for eight occupied by a lone Negro man. As I started toward this table, I was preceded by a well-dressed white woman with a girl of

four or five. The child saw the almost vacant table and ran to it. She pulled out one chair triumphantly, and began to pull out another, while the mother was putting down her tray.

At that moment the mother looked toward the other end of the table and saw the very dark colored gentleman. Hastily she picked up her tray and said to the child, "We can't sit here. We'll have to find another table."

"But Mummy! Why can't we sit here?" The child's voice was high-pitched in puzzlement.

The woman tried the usual pattern of maternal authority, "We just can't—that's all."

The child insisted. "But there are lots of seats at this one."

The mother, now at her wit's end, took the tray with one hand and the child's arm, not too gently, with the



Pictures for Democracy. Photo by Godfrey Frankel

—ONE PATTERN

other, and pushed her off in search of another table.

I have often wondered what explanation she gave the child. I am very certain that the little girl demanded one, for children have a way of being persistently and embarrassingly logical at such times. This particular Negro was neither noisy, loud, nor uncouth; and at the other end of an eight foot table he certainly could not have "smelled bad." Moreover, I doubt seriously whether the child could have been made to believe that he wanted to marry either her or her mother, merely because they sat and ate at the same table.

Most children have begun to "learn" race prejudice as early as the kindergarten and first grade, and some of them are even more precocious. Moreover, not only do white children begin to develop race prejudice at an early age, but Negro children begin to recognize it at an equally early age, as do children of other racial minorities.

I am reminded of a bright little colored four-year-old who lives next door to a white family. The youngster in this family (the owners of the corner grocery) often used to go over next door to play with her colored neighbor. One day as the Negro child

was playing in her yard, she asked the white girl why she did not come over. The white child replied, "Mama told me I mustn't play with niggers any more."

The puzzled playmate asked, "What is a niggers? Why mustn't you play with a niggers?"

The white child said, equally confused, "Mama just says you're a niggers, and I mustn't play with you any more."

The little colored girl ran into the house, perplexed and aggrieved, and inquired anxiously of her mother:

"Mama, what is a niggers? Am I a niggers? Why doesn't Ellen's mother want her to play with a niggers?"

I did not learn what the mother answered. What do Negro mothers tell their children in such circumstances?

This incident not only suggests that mis-education for segregation begins at an early age, but, as the psychologist Eugene L. Horowitz concludes, that "white children's attitudes toward Negroes are . . . chiefly determined not by contact with Negroes but by contact with the prevalent attitude toward Negroes" as reflected in the teaching of parents and others.

As the child grows older, he forgets

the origin of his prejudice, or at least, the role played by his parents in its development. In most instances, he ascribes his attitude to any one or several of the familiar rationalizations which are generally developed to support such attitudes. And this, despite the fact, as Horowitz again observes, ". . . that one of the most frequent causes for punishment described by the [white] children interviewed was their going to play with neighboring Negroes."

The Community as Teacher

The fact that the white child's attitude toward Negroes is chiefly determined by contact with the prevalent attitude toward Negroes rather than by actual contact with Negroes emphasizes the roles played by individuals other than parents, as well as by the community itself. It is probably unnecessary to point out that the pattern of racial attitudes in the adult community is the crucial factor in the development and maintenance of race prejudice.

Parents know or sense the attitudes of the community and transmit them to their children at an early age. The school, the church, and other agencies reinforce this teaching.

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Human, All Too Human

How out of the harsh necessity to "make the best of it," some Negroes—both northern and southern—have developed vested interests in the system of racial segregation.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

BEHIND THE WALLS OF SEGREGATION that prevent the Negro from participating fully in American life, an organized life has grown up similar to that in the larger white community. There are institutions, such as the church and fraternal societies, which are deeply rooted in the culture and traditions of the Negro. There are the more consciously planned business enterprises and professional associations.

Then there are institutions and organizations, notably the schools, which embody both cultural and material interests. Some of these agencies have grown out of the long history of the race, while others represent changing adjustments to the pattern of segregation. The various institutions and organizations reflect the economic and social stratification of the Negro community which owes its character largely to economic discrimination and to the isolation of its members from their fellow Americans.

All these various bodies—even the class structure itself — have become vested interests, of a sort, for some elements in the Negro group. They have become vested interests in the sense that Negroes feel that they have a right to the exclusive enjoyment of the social and material rewards they derive from the system of segregation. As the system is under attack today, it is necessary to take into account these special interests behind its walls.

Separate Churches

The various independent Negro churches represent the vested interests associated with institutions and organizations rooted in Negro traditions and history. These religious bodies came into existence because the Negro was denied an opportunity for self-expression and equal status with whites within the church.

When Richard Allen and his colored associates withdrew from St. George's Church in Philadelphia in 1787, he expressed the opinion that Methodism was better suited to the needs of Negroes than the Episcopal form of worship. Although Allen did

—By a sociologist who has made a special study of race relations. Now head of the department of sociology at Howard University, Mr. Frazier was earlier director of the Atlanta School of Social Work, professor of sociology at Fisk University. As a Guggenheim Fellow, he carried on research in racial patterns in the West Indies and Brazil (1940-1941).

Among his books are: "The Negro Family in Chicago" (1932); "The Negro Family in the United States" (1939 Anisfield award for the best book in the field of race relations); "Negro Youth at the Crossways" (1940).

not attribute the peculiar religious needs of Negroes to racial factors, both racial and cultural influences have been used since as justification for separate Negro churches.

For example, in a recent article in *The Quarterly Review*, published by the Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, E. P. Alldredge states that because of the Negro's religious endowment he should have separate church organizations. While Mr. Alldredge is obviously attempting to justify his racial prejudices, Mr. Allen had referred to something that had nothing to do with race. Sixty years ago, George W. Cable pointed out in his book "The Silent South" that the failure of the white Methodists to incorporate Negroes in their churches after the Civil War was not due to racial differences but to the fact that the Protestant churches had never been able "to get high and low life to worship together."

It is generally recognized today that the form of worship preferred by Negroes is due to their level of culture rather than to some peculiar racial endowment or African background. Both illiterate poor whites and Negroes of like condition always have enjoyed the same type of emotional religious expression. So, separate churches turn out to be factors in the attempt to keep the Negro in the position of a lower caste.

Because of the exclusion of Negroes from full participation in American life, the segregated church has provided a field in which leaders could obtain social and economic security. Moreover, the separation of the races has placed the Negro minister in a very special relationship to the members of his church.

To many Negroes there is something incongruous in having a representative of the dominant white race preach brotherly love and Christian humility and offer them the solace of religion in sickness or bereavement. A white doctor may enjoy prestige among Negroes because he may possess special professional skill; but for the things of the spirit, they feel that only a black minister who has the same peculiar relation to God as have they themselves can give help and comfort.

The Shepherd and His Flock

Many Negro pastors, for their part, feel they have a vested interest in ministering to the spiritual needs of Negroes. Of course this involves certain social and material advantages. Moreover, in the Methodist church organizations, there is the coveted office of bishop, which not only provides a good living but confers considerable authority over large numbers of people. This concentration of power within a segregated Negro institution also places the Negro minister in a strategic position in relation to the white community.

Thus, recently it was suggested in a midwestern city that as a means of breaking down segregation in churches, a white church might take on an assistant Negro minister. The suggestion was immediately opposed by the Negro ministers in the city. Seemingly, they feared that if the plan were carried out members of the segregated Negro churches would be drawn away, into the white church.

In view of the shortage of trained Negro ministers and the difficulty of attracting young Negroes to the theological seminaries, it might be as-

sumed that the vested interest of Negro pastors in the separate churches would be easy to overcome. Because of the historic background of the Negro church and its place in the life of the Negro, this is not the case. The elimination of segregated Negro churches, in all probability, will follow rather than precede the breakdown of the secular color line.

This is also true of fraternal and similar organizations that have provided the chief means by which Negroes have accumulated capital. Consequently, their leaders wield power and enjoy financial rewards.

Job Rights and Segregation

Vested interests in separate Negro schools, libraries, hospitals, and welfare organizations (some, but by no means all of them, rooted in historic tradition) offer resistance to the removal of the color line. In the separate schools, as in the separate churches, many Negroes have found a field for leadership. Some of the separate schools in the South have enabled their heads to accumulate means; more often they have been the source of authority in interracial relations. In border states and even in northern cities, some Negroes have regarded separate schools as an opportunity to acquire an exclusive right to employment.

Some Negro social workers have favored separate agencies to handle the problems of colored people. The Negro's professional interest in segregated schools, hospitals, and welfare agencies is generally accompanied by rationalizations about the peculiar needs of the race; or the exclusion, real or potential, of trained Negroes from employment in non-segregated institutions.

Thus, Negro physicians may advocate separate hospitals on the grounds that in them they would have more opportunities to develop their skill and to serve their "own people." But this, too, is only a rationalization because there is abundant evidence that the standard of medical care in segregated hospitals, where Negro physicians are supposed to have every professional opportunity, is lower than in unsegregated institutions. It is scarcely necessary to point out that to abolish segregation would create technological unemployment for Negroes who secure a living from the existence of segregation.

Clearly, only certain elements in the Negro community have a vested interest in segregation. Since this fact is often overlooked, its implications should be made clear. It is the Negro professional, the business man, and to a less extent, the white collar worker who profit from segregation. These groups in the Negro population enjoy certain advantages because they do not have to compete with whites.

For example, the writer heard a Negro college president excuse the inefficiency of his administration on the grounds that the Negro was a "child race" and only seventy years out of slavery. In thus flattering his white listeners, he was fortifying his own position in the segregated Negro world. Imagine, on the other hand, a Negro steel worker or shipyard riveter excusing his inefficiency thus.

The Negro doctor who favors separate hospitals is in a position similar to that of the Negro college president. In fact, in one northern city, Negro doctors, instead of fighting the exclusion of Negro patients from municipal hospitals, have opened their own hospitals to which only Negroes are admitted, with the city paying a daily stipend for each patient. Very seldom, however, is the vested interest of the Negro professional man in segregation so patently opposed to the interests of his racial group.

Negro Enterprises

The institutions and organizations embodying the more material interests of the Negro have never acquired great importance because they have had to compete with similar institutions in the larger white community. This is shown especially in regard to business establishments. Negro enterprises are no more significant today as a source of income for Negroes than they were fifty years ago when the Negro began to place so much faith in them as a means of economic salvation. Nevertheless, these organizations represent vested interests, and since every such interest by its very nature is opposed to competition, it is in this field that the Negro's vested interest in segregation finds its clearest expression.

But as a rule, Negro businesses are not willing to compete with businesses generally; they expect the Negro public to support them because of "race pride." Colored people are told that Negro enterprises are rendering a

service to the "race." In fact, however, the majority of Negro businesses are operated by the owners themselves, and therefore provide few, if any, jobs for Negro workers. Moreover, patrons of these enterprises usually have to pay high prices for inferior goods and services.

Negro restaurants in the black ghettos of our cities are a striking example of this fact. Not only are Negro patrons forced to pay higher prices than are charged in comparable white restaurants but they must often tolerate poor service and outright incivility on the part of the employees. The chief benefits of Negro enterprises are enjoyed by the operators who have a monopoly on services which Negroes cannot get elsewhere.

If segregation were eliminated, the social justification for the existence of Negro business would vanish and Negro businessmen would have to compete with other businessmen. Undoubtedly, many Negro enterprises would disappear, along with the sentimental justification which helps support them.

Negro insurance companies and newspapers are the largest and most successful business undertakings among Negroes. Both provide employment for Negro white collar workers, both have enabled a few Negroes to acquire enough wealth to maintain the standards of the moderately well-to-do.

If segregation were abolished, the efficient white collar workers would probably be absorbed in the business enterprises of the community—but the Negro entrepreneurs would no longer enjoy the vested interest which segregation provides. Despite all the talk about discrimination on the part of white insurance companies, their rates are lower than those of insurance companies which are compelled to use actuarial tables based solely upon the life expectancy of Negroes.

Segregation and discrimination provide prime reasons for the existence of Negro newspapers. In fact, they thrive upon the injustice under which Negroes suffer. The integration of the Negro into American life offers a threat to their very existence.

During the war, there was a growing disposition on the part of white papers to handle news about Negroes just as they handled similar items concerning white people. On one occasion when white papers were about

(Continued on page 99)



Pictures for Democracy

AT HOME. Playground of Cabrini Houses, non-segregated public housing project in Chicago



Alexander Alland

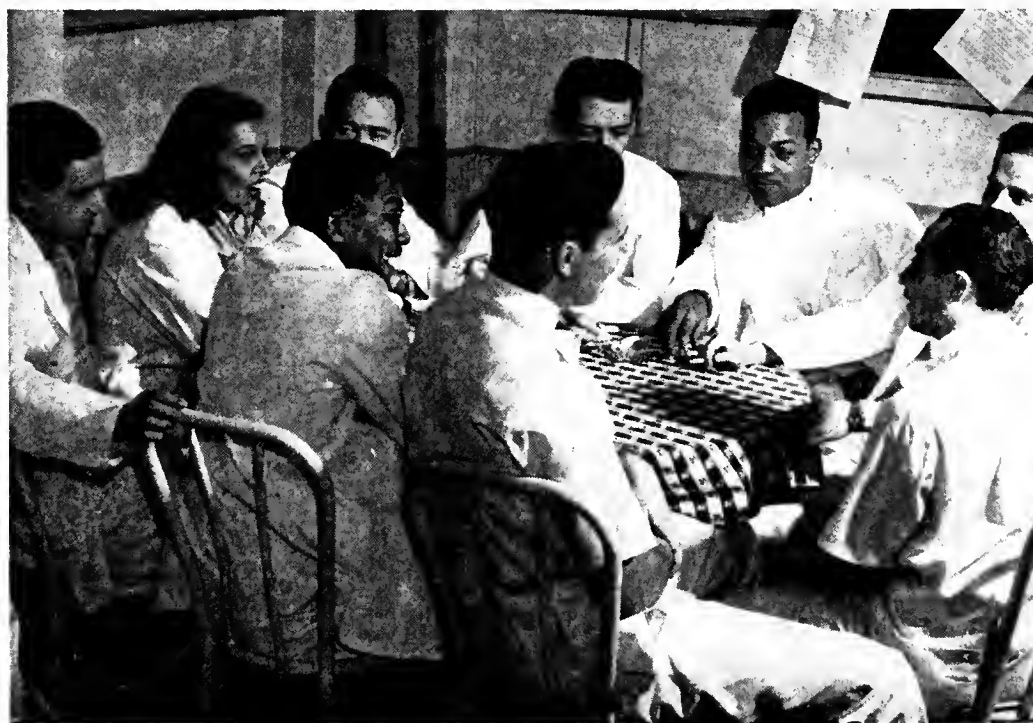
AT SCHOOL. Negro teacher with her class of young New Yorkers of both races

BEGINNING
A NEW
PATTERN



Charles Phelps Cushing

AT WORK. Shipbuilders, white and Negro, at a Pennsylvania yard



Alexander Alland

PROFESSIONALLY. Doctors at Sydenham, New York's interracial hospital

Counted Out—and In

The long disfranchisement of the Negro American; his struggle for full citizenship; how he is now using his political influence both in the South and in the North.

HENRY LEE MOON

FOR ALMOST SEVENTY YEARS NEGRO Americans were "counted out" of politics, and this was the form of segregation which largely made possible the perpetuation of all other forms. In the South, they were not only denied every means of political protest and self-protection, but their very presence provided arguments for extending the institution. In the North they were bound by tradition to a Republican party which had long since lost interest in fighting for their cause.

In recent years this pattern has been undergoing relatively rapid change. The nature of this change and the reasons behind it are of paramount meaning and importance in contemporary politics. As so often happens in current American history, to get at the source of this story one must go back to the ominous decade of the 1870's—the "years of decision"—when old ideals of freedom and equality were going into eclipse, from which they were not to emerge until the struggles of recent times.

The Story of 1876

The disfranchisement of southern Negroes resulted from the disputed Hayes-Tilden election of 1876. Leading historians of this period seem to be in agreement that Hayes' ultimate victory over Tilden was made possible by a Republican deal with white leadership in southern states. Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, the Democratic candidate, had polled a greater popular vote than Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, Republican, but the electoral votes of four states were disputed. An arbitration commission finally awarded all twenty of the disputed votes to Hayes, which gave him the presidency by a single electoral vote.

The white South had extracted a sweeping Republican concession: the withdrawal of the last federal occupation troops, leaving the freedman, in the phrase of W. E. B. Du Bois, "to the tender mercies of his former masters." [See "Black Reconstruction."]

—By a South Carolinian who grew up in the Middle West with undergraduate and postgraduate work at Howard University, Ohio State University, and Brookwood Labor College.

After serving as assistant to the secretary of Tuskegee from 1926 to 1930, he turned newspaperman, working for New York and Chicago papers both here and abroad.

Mr. Moon was a race relations adviser to the U. S. Housing Authority. He is now assistant to the director of the Political Action Committee, CIO.

Paul H. Buck¹ in "The Road to Reunion," Pulitzer Prize history of 1937, writes:

The Compromise of 1877 pleased those northerners who still dreaded the prospect of a national Democratic administration, by placing Hayes in the White House to purify the Republican party. Hayes was tacitly committed to the restoration of white rule in the South, and southerners seemed perfectly satisfied with their share of the spoils. . . . The Federal troops were removed from the South. Carpetbag governments toppled. White men governed from Virginia to Texas, a vast Democratic area, anti-Republican in politics, in which the Negro became again what he had been in 1860, the ward of the dominant race. . . .

The idealism and fervor of the Civil War years had died away, and the succeeding age was one of deepening cynicism and a narrowing of the concept of democracy. Even many of the leading abolitionists now seconded the Hayes Compromise.

This widespread desertion of the freedman by erstwhile friends made possible the steady growth of the segregation system which so clearly nullified the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, and reestablished a milder sort of slavery for the older form which had been outlawed by the Thirteenth.

One by one, the southern states developed a system of election qualification which, by the turn of the century, had nearly excluded the Negro from politics—in the only section of

the country where Negro voting at that time might have been significant. The most effective of these restrictions was the "white primary," which denied the Negro membership in the Democratic party specifically on the grounds of race.

Since the influence of the Republican party was negligible in most of these states, Negroes had little chance to influence election results. Yet even this much participation was severely limited by other requirements.

One was the famous "grandfather clause" which limited the franchise to persons whose parents or grandparents had held the right to vote prior to the passage of the Fifteenth amendment. Another, the "literacy and interpretation" clause, required Negro applicants not only to be able to read any section of the state's constitution, but to interpret it "to the satisfaction" of the white registrar—who generally had no intention of letting the Negro register, no matter what his education. Still another restriction was the poll tax, which remains the most effective of all these subterfuges now that the passage of time has worn away others.

One by one, these tricks of political segregation were upheld by Supreme Court decisions which reflected the basically cynical spirit of the times. The Negro had no "friend at court," and for almost a generation these political restrictions, like the other segregation devices affecting residence, transportation, education, and public facilities, went without effective challenge.

The Drive for Full Citizenship

Finally, about the beginning of the First World War, there opened a wholly new period when Negroes undertook to win back former rights of citizenship by means of their own efforts in the law courts and in politics. The two factors which made this movement possible were first, the increased skill and experience of the Negro leadership; second, early migrations to the northern industrial cities

which had at last given the Negroes a strategic political basis.

The newly organized National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, spurred by the skill and uncompromising leadership of W. E. B. Du Bois, began an attack on the "grandfather clauses" in southern election laws; in 1914 these were invalidated by the Supreme Court.

This success was a signal for which Negroes had been waiting from the days of the Republican compromise. They now began to challenge the segregation statutes one by one, with special attention to political segregation—which in the long run made the other forms possible.

A contributing factor of great importance in this development was the growing maturity of the political judgment of Negroes which, coupled with their increased numbers in strategic states, by the 1930's had helped create a political climate favorable to progressive Supreme Court decisions.

Casting aside the traditional adherence to the Republican party to support the New Deal was a step of prime importance. This contributed in a vital sense to President Roosevelt's ability to carry through his broad system of progressive measures. It added to the popular criticism of the early reactionary Supreme Court, and gave support to the later appointments of known progressives.

New Deal programs like the National Labor Relations Board and the Agricultural Adjustment Act, for the first time since the war between the states and the subsequent Reconstruction period, drew the disfranchised southern Negroes directly into the main stream of government activity. Under these acts thousands of southern Negroes participated in the discussion of trade union and agricultural issues. They voted in NLRB plant elections and for the various crop programs. This not only stimulated Negro interest in regaining the full political franchise but it also accustomed many white workers and farmers to the idea of Negro voting.

During this period the Negro's own feelings of hope and stiffening determination carried his cause a long way from the low point to which it had fallen after 1876. The legal attacks continued, and each new success officially nailed down, as it were, the relatively improved position of the Negro in the general electorate.



Mitchell for USDA
A Delta farmer voting in the cotton quota marketing referendum in 1938

For a long time attacks on the white primary laws had been unsuccessful, but in 1944 in a Texas decision, the U. S. Supreme Court finally reversed its earlier position and ruled that the exclusion of Negroes from the Democratic primary on the basis of race violated the Fifteenth Amendment. This decision, reaffirming in law and broad philosophic terms the Negro's right of citizenship, unquestionably marked the beginning of the end of political segregation, and eventually of the whole anomalous system of second class citizenship.

Negroes in Politics

This new situation raises the question as to the Negro's actual potential influence in American politics, and particularly in the southern states where three fourths of the colored population still resides. The maximum Negro voting strength is 8,000,000—which is the total colored population over voting age. This figure is, of course, far in excess of the total vote that ever will turn out at an election.

What will be the actual effect of this new emancipation on national and regional politics?

Prophecy is always open to challenge but experience and history go to show that this political potential will never prove to be so formidable as many hostile whites fear, nor will it be realized as soon or decisively as

most progressive Americans desire.

Despite the Supreme Court's invalidation of the white primary law, the general franchise for southern Negroes is still a long way from realization. A review of the status of Negro voting in the last congressional elections bears this out.

The white primary ban had been lifted in Virginia, Tennessee, and North Carolina; but in the first two of these states the poll tax still limits the franchise.

With one exception, Negroes took part in some measure in primaries in all the other southern states where their participation had formerly been negligible or nonexistent. That exception, South Carolina, adopted the subterfuge of abolishing all primary statutes to circumvent the white primary decision, and no Negroes were therefore permitted to vote. In Mississippi, open incitement to violence on the part of Senator Bilbo, then running for reelection, held the Negro vote down to about 1,500 to 2,500, according to the best estimate.

In general, the legal or cultural barriers which still remain to be overcome before Negro voting in the South is an accepted fact, may be formulated as follows:

The poll tax, which remains in seven states;

New legal devices, such as the Boswell amendment in Alabama, which is a restatement of the old "literacy and

interpretation" principles, and such as the South Carolina device of abolishing all primary statutes;

The continued resistance of individual white citizens, expressed in threats and sometimes in terroristic acts:

The apathy of many long-disfranchised Negroes.

We may expect, however, that each of these obstacles eventually will go down, as others have in the past, and at an accelerating rate. The Supreme Court is now firmly committed to the franchise for all qualified citizens. Only the ascendancy of an open fascism could reverse this trend.

Prospects

It will be many years before the Negro population in the South will be able to exert an influence in proportion to its numerical strength in the population. In Mississippi, the southern state most densely peopled by Negroes, they are now a minority, totaling approximately 49 percent of the population. The average for all southern states is 23.8. For a long time the number of eligible voters will be kept down with respect to the white group, by educational disqualifications, economic barriers, and general cultural isolation:

No one recognizes better than the Negro his disadvantaged and minority status. Accordingly, he is proceeding cautiously and realistically to make the most of his new opportunities for voting in the South. He desires first of all to establish firmly this right. He is unwilling to jeopardize such a hard-won opportunity by pressing issues—at present impossible of achievement—which might react against him. Nowhere today is he making any organized effort to elect Negro candidates to important local, state or federal office—much less whole slates of Negro candidates, a bogey which is used effectively by many white politicians.

A case in point is that of Aurelius S. Scott, an Atlanta Negro, who, without consultation with local Negro political leaders, filed as a candidate for coroner of Fulton County (Atlanta) last summer. When word reached Negro leaders of this unanticipated candidacy they promptly repudiated Scott and eventually he withdrew.

This was not a rejection of the Negro's right to run for office. It was

rather the recognition that the time was not opportune.

Reconstruction Myths

One great source of the anti-Negro feeling in southern politics, today, lies in the stories, long circulated, of brutal Negro discrimination against whites in Reconstruction days, along with excesses by freed slaves.

Many are old myths fed by merciless anti-Negro propaganda, which, while couched in terms of race terror, had basic economic motives. The chief accomplishment was to divide white and Negro workers, a class group, while at the same time solidifying the racial groups. The white worker was made to believe that he had a common cause with the powerful whites—although they were often his own exploiters as well as the Negro's—and made to believe it with the tenacity of religious conviction.

This propaganda of a "Black Terror" also enabled the leading whites to arouse a sense of common interest among influential white leadership in the North, and within ten years after the Civil War, as we have seen, to subvert a major part of the northern victory.

During the Reconstruction period there were unquestionably many ill-prepared Negroes raised to public office, but the fact that there were also capable Negroes who served, and served well, the interest of the impoverished whites and blacks of the South has been all but lost to history.

Among these Negroes of real stature were Francis L. Cardoza and Robert Brown Elliott of South Carolina, Hiram Revels and B. K. Bruce of Mississippi, James H. Harris, James Walker Wood, and George W. White of North Carolina. Congressman White, the last Reconstruction Negro defeated toward the turn of the century, made a speech of valedictory and prophecy which was quoted the world over.

Establishment of public schools in the South by these Reconstruction state governments was an achievement in which Negroes played a leading part. It ranks in the record as a genuine public service of greater importance than anything of similar nature attempted by white state governments in the earlier slave period.

Any realistic appraisal of the annals of the Reconstruction period must lead to the conclusion that when

"terror" spread in those days it was not so much due to actual deeds on the part of Negro authorities but was rather a record of psychological fears on the part of the then disfranchised whites. The terror sprang largely from the fact that the Negroes held office at all. Confusion and economic chaos had come to the South as the inevitable result of war. The newly enfranchised Negro, always the object of restless forebodings and bad conscience in the past, had become now the unmitigated villain in the scapegoat psychology of a region.

It is not to be forgotten that the Ku Klux Klan, although it has been glamorized in novels, such as those of Thomas Dixon, and in movies—notably, "The Birth of a Nation"—was a "terror" in every sense of the term. The records of the congressional investigation of the Klan in 1871-72 tell one of the bitterest stories in American history.

Nevertheless, the old feeling against the Negro, and the old stories of Reconstruction terror have been kept alive, largely for the obvious purpose of segregating the Negro from the political and economic life of the region. But in recent years, such Reconstruction myths have apparently begun to lose some of the dominance once exerted over southern thinking, a development which is evidenced in a number of constructive political changes which are becoming apparent in the region, and by the emergence of exceptional progressive leaders.

"Bloc Voting"

Closely associated with the fear of "a return to Reconstruction days" is the apprehension which many whites hold—fostered by politicians—that Negroes will vote consistently as a bloc, and for narrow racial aims antipathetic to those of the white group. Here again, it may be demonstrated that Negro voters tend to divide along the same lines as other voters, and for similar reasons.

In instances where the Negro vote has been solidified into a bloc, this has largely been the result of aggressive racial attacks by white candidates, themselves. On some occasions, bloc voting arises from causes implicit in insecure economic status and spatial isolation. The solid support for President Franklin D. Roosevelt resulted from a general conviction, based on overwhelming material evidence, that



The Crisis

Negroes standing in line in front of the court house in Atlanta, to register as voters before the 1946 election

he was as interested in their own welfare as in that of any other group of Americans. (Millions of white Americans underwent a similar reaction.)

Thus, it is only in their being easy targets for race demagogues that the Negroes show any "bloc voting" tendency not also common to whites.

The late Eugene Talmadge of Georgia, by his campaign tactics and by his former record as governor, created bloc voting by Negroes against his own candidacy in Georgia in 1946. Then he cited this bloc vote as evidence of their unfitness for the ballot. A wry footnote to the Negro's capacity for making up his own mind occurred in the all-Negro town of Mound Bayou, Miss., where Senator Bilbo received 12 votes out of a total of approximately 200 in the Democratic primary last summer.

Bloc voting has not been limited to the South. In 1945, in Detroit, 85 percent of the Negro electorate cast their votes against Mayor Edward J. Jeffries, who had campaigned on a platform to restrict the expanding Negro population to the segregated areas in which they were confined.

In California, Helen Gahagan Douglas was reelected with solid support of the large Negro group in her

constituency over the appeals of a well known Negro opponent. Negro voters evaluated Mrs. Douglas' record of progressive service and interest in their progress, and gave greater weight to this record than to the fact that she was white and her opponent a Negro.

Although the majority of Negroes supported President Roosevelt in four campaigns, statistics of the congressional elections in November 1946 showed that, following his death, large sections of this "race vote" went along with the general Republican trend of the public at large. Yet Negro city majorities showed divided results. Negro districts in Detroit, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Cleveland, and a number of other industrial cities, returned majorities to Republicans; while in New York, Chicago, Kansas City, Mo., Denver, and Los Angeles they supported Democrats.

The fact is that the Negro vote, following the pattern of poor residential neighborhoods in American cities everywhere, regardless of race, is frequently tied in with the dominant political machine. In some instances the Negro group is associated with Democratic machines, but traditionally it has been with Republican.

But this pattern, as the past fifteen years have demonstrated, can be broken in times of great stress or under the inspiration of a great leader. Educational efforts by the CIO Political Action Committee have played their part. President Roosevelt was able to break the hold of the Republican machine on the Negro vote in Philadelphia. After his death, his party was unable to do so.

So long as the Negroes in the cities are confined to tightly segregated areas they will be more easily controlled by political machines and more likely to vote as a racial group. The breaking up of these segregated areas, the integration of the Negro population with the general community, is the best possible way to cultivate among Negro American citizens the sense of political independence which is the ideal to be sought in a democracy.

Life in tightly segregated urban areas is abnormal. It creates a sense of apathy, cynicism, and frustration. It is inevitable that this ghetto psychology should condition the political responses of many of these people. This fact is not a legitimate justification for segregation, but one of the most profound arguments against it.



Paul Parker photo

Members of a business girls club get together for a social evening and a "sing" at the YWCA in their community

"Is This for Us?"

Two Negro girls asked the question at the YWCA door. Here is the answer—the story of a national social agency which has put its interracial principles into practice.

MYRA A. SMITH

NOT SO LONG AGO, THE EXECUTIVE director of the Young Women's Christian Association in a northern city came upon two Negro girls standing hesitantly at the front door of the big building. They were shy girls and at first she could not find out what they wanted. Finally a pair of candid brown eyes looked into hers and the question found words: "Is this for us?"

It was a hard question to meet because the building before which they stood was for white members only; Negro members carried on their activities in a branch building. Like so many of her co-workers, past and present, the executive director realized at that moment that the YWCA could never claim to be a positive force in race relations until it could

state explicitly how the girls of minority groups were to be integrated into its program.

The central driving force of the YWCA is expressed in its official purpose: "To build a fellowship of women and girls devoted to the task

—By a veteran of twenty-five years in YWCA administrative work. As head of the department of data and trends, and of program subjects, Miss Smith played a major part in the decision of the organization's 1946 convention to abolish its own forms of segregation. Between 1940 and 1944, she had directed the YWCA's general survey of its interracial practices.

A native of Thomaston, Conn., Miss Smith studied at Mount Holyoke and at Columbia University.

of realizing in our common life those ideals of personal and social living to which we are committed by our faith as Christians." But the idea of Christian fellowship, good as it is, would lose much of its value if it were not coupled with another: that members and leaders are to represent a cross-section of the American community.

Ideally, the YWCA exists to bring together young people without distinction of race, creed, and class; and if such a cross-section does not develop naturally, the Association is to work to see that it does.

In line with this policy, the organization has been interracial in its make-up almost from the beginning. Today, Negroes make up 10 percent of the membership. In the South, the ratio of Negro to white tends to be

lower than in the community at large; in the North, the ratio in the Association often far exceeds that in the community.

The few hundreds of Japanese Americans in West Coast Associations before the war had increased to 18,000 men and women in 1945, reported from all sections of the country. Similarly in campus Associations, white, Negro, and oriental students are enrolled in practically all the places where they are part of the college population. But such inclusion solves only part of the problem.

The Changing Picture

Unquestionably the existence of racial branches—at present, 38 in the South and 39 in the other sections of the country—has led many to doubt the YWCA's sincerity in seeking "to build a fellowship." The doubt is understandable, particularly in relation to branches in the North. Many YWCA leaders at present find it hard to understand why the members of minority races outside the South ever were organized along racial lines. Those with a long record of experience realize that there was little questioning of this policy until the early 1930's.

Today, 194 Associations without branches report Negro women and girls in the constituency. Further, a considerable number of Associations have either given up racial branches or taken the first steps in converting them into geographical branches, open to all without restriction. In this listing are such cities as Los Angeles, Oakland, and San Francisco, Calif.; Newark, N. J.; Rochester, N. Y.; and Bridgeport, Conn.

Big cities like Chicago, New York, Brooklyn, and Philadelphia are opening the formerly "white" branches to all girls, while continuing racial branches or centers in the areas where segregated neighborhood patterns make genuine interraciality difficult.

There is some satisfaction in knowing that the two Negro girls who asked, "Is this for us?" can now be answered, "Yes," in the city where they live.

Associations in the South and in border states are maintaining racial branches. But they are also furthering acquaintance and a sense of unity by the development of interracial boards and committees, and through meetings of the total membership or total departments.

At times, the progress seems painfully slow and inconsistent. But it is certain that the biracial pattern is breaking down in the YWCA, and the great majority of Association leaders are putting their will and their wits to work in the interests of a greater unity.

This trend toward integration was immensely strengthened when, in March 1946, the National Convention came to grips with the question. It accepted an Interracial Charter which says in part:

Wherever there is injustice on the basis of race, whether in the community, the nation or the world, our protest must be clear and our labor for its removal, vigorous and steady. And what we urge on others we are constrained to practice ourselves. We shall be alert to opportunities to demonstrate the richness of life inherent in an organization unhampered by artificial barriers, in which all members have full status and all persons equal honor and respect as the children of one Father.

Anyone who attended the 1946 convention and participated in the long hours of discussion, knows that the YWCA reached a high watermark of experience that day. Opinions representing a wide range of assent and dissent were listened to seriously, respectfully. There was an almost palpable effort to see all sides of the matter. The religious purpose of the Association, though seldom mentioned, colored the mood as well as the content of the discussion. And at last the charter was adopted without a dissenting vote.

Lest this statement of commitment should suffer the all-too-common fate of statements, and be simply filed and forgotten, the convention took action to implement it—with perhaps a score of dissenting votes—through thirty-five specific recommendations. The recommendations were based on a countrywide study of Association practice. They covered in explicit terms the most significant areas—membership privileges, administration, program, use of facilities, leadership qualifications, community affairs—and were related to the basic recommendation: "That the implications of the purpose be recognized as involving the inclusion of Negro women and girls in the main stream of Association life, and that such inclusion be adopted as a conscious goal."

In one sense, the question as to the

terms on which Negroes are to be included in the YWCA has been answered. More than a thousand duly accredited delegates have taken their stand, and done it with such sincerity and conviction as to insure their will to action in the home scene.

However, local Associations are autonomous and, although morally bound to give consideration to convention action, they are not legally under obligation to carry it out. Perhaps this is just as well. In a social institution, good human relations must grow by the laws of the spirit.

What hope there is that the convention actions will be progressively applied in the local Associations, can best be assessed by studying the record up to the present. It is natural to look first at the institutional features.

Everyone who knows anything about the YWCA, realizes that in most communities girls and young women go to the Association for rooms, meals, camping opportunities, recreation in gyms and swimming pools. While other aspects of the Association have with the years assumed at least equal importance in the eyes of most YWCA people, these traditional and characteristic features continue to hold first place in the minds of the public.

A Testing Ground

One thing is certain; the institutional aspects provide a testing ground for the Association's interracial philosophy and furnish to the interested public a measuring rod of its advance. This does not mean that all boards of directors embrace with enthusiasm the opportunity to work out their beliefs in practice, or that the public can always be expected to cheer onward a forward step.

It does mean, however, that with the approach of the first Negro girl who wishes to use an Association facility, the board must have a policy and it must be in terms of a flat "yes" or "no." The testing time of an interracial policy may sometimes be painful for all concerned, because of the persistence of traditional custom, but it is a salutary corrective to easy idealism.

Late in 1945, questionnaires were sent to all Associations and answers received from two thirds of them. Sixty Associations replied that their interracial program was negligible because only a handful of Negro

women lived in the community. This means that of 434 community Associations, 228 have recorded their practices.

Food service was provided in 152 Associations. Of these, 109 stated "all persons are served without regard to race."

Health education facilities—gymnasiums and swimming pools—were for many years the chief block to progress. In this record, 191 Associations reported that they offer health education services; 103 of them stated "facilities are open to all without regard to race." When one considers that only 52 Associations had adopted such a policy in 1942, it is clear not only that change is taking place fairly swiftly but that it is most marked in an area recognized as particularly difficult.

The "opening" of residences is now receiving most attention. According to the questionnaire replies, only 44 residences provide interracial housing for girls who want to live there on a long term basis; as many again accept Negro women as transient guests.

These figures, of course, include Associations in all parts of the country. Because of legal restrictions or equally rigid social patterns, Associations in the South do not provide public food service or make their health education and residence facilities available to Negroes. It is true that the Washington, D. C., Association operates its large cafeteria on a nondiscrimination basis, and it is well patronized by those of all races. It is true, too, that another Association south of Washington, which last year safeguarded its annual membership dinner by a careful seating arrangement, this year simply opened its dining room doors and said: "Come in. Sit where you choose." Eating together by Association representatives in the fellowship of an organized group or in a larger gathering, perhaps on a statewide basis, takes place with increasing frequency in the South. In general, however, the interracial activities in that section of the country do not include the joint use by Negroes and whites of Association facilities.

It is when one comes to the group-work departments, the clubs and classes of industrial workers, business girls, teen-agers, and to the members of Student YWCA's that one finds the greatest evidence of what the aims of a great organization may accom-

plish in dispelling prejudice and mobilizing effort for better human relations. The record of groups properly begins with the more than one hundred Associations that have interracial boards, and continues with the innumerable interracial committees dealing with different aspects of Association life. But the 75 percent of the constituency that is under twenty-five, is the hope of the future.

The Hope of Youth

Three national councils—student, business-professional, and industrial—provide direction for the program with young adults and establish yearly objectives in which some aspect of race relations is always emphasized. The councils, not by design but in actual fact, always include members of minority groups, and frequently have Negro, Japanese American, or Indian girls as officers.

The summer conferences of the young adult constituency, which are a long established part of the YWCA program, play a role of inestimable importance in affecting attitudes. All these conferences, including those in the South, are interracial.

The careful advance by which the southern conferences moved under the democratic direction of the girls themselves from all-white to completely interracial assemblies, is a story that should give hope to the most skeptical. Year after year, girls new to the Association arrive at the conferences, uncertain and a little afraid of how they will measure up to the experience of interracial living, and go away with new friends of the other race and a firm commitment to a "One World" philosophy.

It is these younger members of the Association, citizens or citizens-to-be, who give the National Public Affairs program of the YWCA its great significance. Few organizations with a social program touch large numbers. On the other hand, few organizations with large numbers have as definite and extensive a social program. If the Association can help educate to a sense of real social responsibility the girls in its constituency and the million boys and young men in the YWCA co-ed program, who can measure the effect on public opinion for years to come?

Since 1932, the Public Affairs program has educated the membership for action on specific measures of interracial import. These have included

anti-lynching and anti-poll tax legislation, law enforcement, a permanent FEPC, and similar federal legislation considered basic to a democratic society.

The forces that move the Association forward are three: the National Board and the national movement; the interaction between community agencies and the YWCA; and the active elements in the life of the Association itself.

The National Board draws its 120 members from local Associations and derives its platform from the convention representing the total movement. In turn, by an annual series of national, regional, and neighborhood meetings, it brings local Association people together in a variety of configurations. In the current year, 1946-47, twenty-two national Leadership Institutes have been set up for the discussion of how to deal with controversial issues.

Controversial Issues Faced

This continuous opportunity to share one's thinking with that of other YWCA's works against narrow regional attitudes, and gives practical advice and courage to those who need it. At the same time, every administrative detail of the meetings is scanned for its interracial implications.

Since 1922, national conventions have been located in communities where delegates could share all facilities on the same terms. Similarly, in setting up conferences, workshops, and the like, the National Board is ever conscious of the fact that more penetrating lessons—good or bad—often may be provided by arrangements at the information desk, by the choice of ushers and waitresses, by the very wording of the registration card than by anything that is said in the business sessions. The board tries to see that these first contacts are on an open and nondiscriminatory basis.

A somewhat similar reinforcement may come from other community agencies. Often councils of social agencies, church groups, labor unions, and others, give active encouragement to the YWCA's. Equally often, by taking a forward step themselves, they ease the path of progress for the Association. Sometimes, the process is reversed; the YWCA takes the first step and so encourages another group.

But in the last analysis, what
(Continued on page 101)

What Color Is Health?

BY MICHAEL M. DAVIS

TWO DOCTORS WERE TALKING EARNESTLY as I entered the hospital staff room. The tall sandy-haired Virginian stood in his shirt-sleeves. His companion was a rotund Negro in a white professional coat. They did not notice us as my host and I stood by the door, not wishing to break up the discussion of an evidently critical case.

Later, as we stood chatting, three more physicians came in, two white, one Negro, followed by a maid who set a tray on the staff conference table. There were sandwiches, glasses, and a pitcher of milk. Most of the men took some; nobody sat down. There was conversation about the hospital, about springtime; one by one the doctors got into street coats and left.

"How did you get these men to work together this way?" I said to the head of the hospital—a southerner born and bred—as we drove away to lunch. "It's extraordinary to have white and colored doctors play the game together on the same staff in this Virginia city."

"Yes, we do think we're setting a good example," he answered, adding, "did you notice, we mix only on a professional basis? Even if we wanted to, we couldn't stay in this town if we mixed socially."

I knew what he meant. It was symbolized by the fact that although white man and Negro had eaten sandwiches and drunk milk together, it was in a professional staff room, and *they did not sit down at the table!* Neither taboos nor methods of avoiding taboos are rational. They are half-funny; more than half-tragic.

I had good reason to know. I had been reproved by an Atlanta hostess, not long before that, for taking off my hat to a Negro nurse whom I passed in the street after having met her the previous afternoon at a professional gathering. And I had addressed this nurse as "Miss Peters" instead of as "Ann."

These reminiscences reflect progress rather than indictment. My hospital chief and my Atlanta hostess rightly felt that progress had been made when they got whites and Negroes to work together on a professional basis.

HEALTH—TODAY & TOMORROW

—A series by the chairman, Committee on Research in Medical Economics; associate editor, *Survey Graphic*.

In both South and North, interracial cooperation in health work is increasing.

Death Stalks the Negro

The color line in health, however, is apparent in much more serious ways than at luncheon tables.

A newborn white boy has a life expectation of sixty-three and a half years; a Negro boy of only fifty-five years. Among girl babies, the difference is ten years instead of eight.

The mortality rate among Negro babies during their first year is one and a half times that of the whites.

In 1943, fifty-one Negro mothers out of every thousand died in childbirth, nearly two and a half times the white rate of twenty-one.

Three times as many Negro men in proportion to population die from tuberculosis as do whites, and four times as many Negro women.

The relative prevalence of syphilis is about tenfold.

The list of disparities is nearly as long as the list of serious diseases.

These health divergences are not confined to the South. Just before the war, the tuberculosis death rate among Negroes in New York City averaged 234 for the Central Harlem District, nearly four and a half times the general average of the city as a whole and nearly ten times the figure of the Flatbush section of Brooklyn. The maternal death rate in Michigan in 1943 was 159 percent higher among the "non-whites"—nearly all Negro and nearly all in Detroit—than among the white women of the state.

Are these contrasts racial in origin? There are probably some racial predispositions — and some racial resistances—to certain diseases, but the overwhelming evidence is that the Negro's lower health record is due not to race but to the Three E's—Economics, Environment, Education.

Take one illustration among many. Alabama set up a system of maternity clinics, financed by the state with federal aid. What happened? In three years, the maternal mortality rate among Negro mothers in Alabama has been halved.

What color is Health? The color was sombre through the half windows of two hospital basement rooms filled with Negro patients. When I visited that hospital there were just these two four-bed "wards" for Negroes. Upstairs were seventy beds for whites. In the community this hospital served, the hospital provision was about four beds per one thousand for whites—a good proportion—but *one fifth* that ratio for Negroes!

Today that hospital has grown to about a hundred beds. Twenty-four of these are for Negroes and they are not in the basement. There has been progress in some places, but the disparity in hospital opportunities for the two races is still extreme.

In some fifteen states where laws or the local mores require segregation of Negro patients, only two—Maryland and Missouri—provide as many as two beds per one thousand colored population, less than half of the acceptable standard. In a majority of these states, the provision is less than one third of the standard.

The vast majority of northern Negroes live in cities. What is the color of Health in Harlem, or in the "Negro districts" of Philadelphia and points west? It's a bleak color, for while doctors, dentists, nurses, and hospitals are thick in such cities, too many Negroes must win a wrestling match with poverty, overcrowding, or discrimination before they can benefit much by these health opportunities.

Barriers Against Negro Doctors

Low incomes among Negroes hit the Negro physician hard. Race segregation hits him even harder. Even if an ambitious young Negro can meet the cost of a medical education, he cannot get into most medical schools. The two medical schools that are established for Negroes have commendable records, but are no remedy for discrimination. Rather,

they constitute an excuse for it. Altogether the medical schools in the United States graduate about five thousand doctors a year. Only about one hundred and thirty of them are Negroes and all but about ten of these are from the two Negro schools.

Discrimination dogs the Negro doctor through his career—in getting internships, in obtaining opportunities to become a specialist, in acquiring appointments to hospital staffs. Several foundations and some government bodies have widened the doors of opportunity, but they have had to do so mostly in segregated institutions. The educational and career opportunities for Negro dentists are even scantier. A large increase in the number of Negro physicians and dentists is needed but cannot be expected to occur under present conditions.

The brotherhood of these professions draws the color line. The organization of the American Medical Association puts the primary responsibility for membership upon the county medical society. This emphasis on the locality has a wholesome side, but in relation to Negro physicians its practical result, in a large section of this country, is to deny them membership in the local society and therefore in the state medical society and the AMA.

Lack of such membership is a serious professional handicap — barring staff appointments in most hospitals, accreditation in a specialty, opportunities to take part in professional gatherings. County society membership is open to Negroes in northern cities, but does not of itself wipe out hospital and other discrimination.

The American Medical Association has some 128,000 members, two thirds of all our licensed physicians. The National Medical Association, the organization of Negro physicians, enrolls about 2,400 of the 4,000 Negro doctors—a grave disparity in power and significance of membership.

Nurses Blaze the Way

The nursing profession has a similar organization, which has taken hold of race discrimination as the American Medical Association has not done. Just last year (1946), the American Nurses Association authorized its board of directors to establish a direct national membership whereby nurses who meet the basic professional requirements, yet who for local reasons cannot enter their county so-

cieties, may nevertheless become members of the American Nurses Association by direct application and election. The nursing profession has reason to be proud of this action.

Negro Americans stand to gain much through a national health program. A nationwide spreading of medical costs would raise the average paying power of low income families and low income areas. This would mean more medical service to these people and better incomes for the doctors and others who serve them. The National Medical Association was acting in its own, as well as in the public, interest when it testified before the Senate Education and Labor Committee last summer in favor of the National Health Bill.

The value of national action has been brought out forcibly by the Hospital Survey and Construction Act which became law in August 1946. No hospital project can receive federal aid under this act unless assurance is given that there will be no discrimination among patients because of race, creed, or color. The act, however, recognizes that there are localities where segregation exists according to law or custom. In such cases adequate accommodations must be furnished for both races.

Under the administrative regulations which have been adopted by the Surgeon General of the U. S. Public Health Service and the Federal Hospital Council, the number of beds provided for each race will have to correspond with the proportionate population of each in the hospital service area. One of the eight appointed members of this Council is a distinguished Negro, President A. W. Dent of Dillard University.

Too much must not be expected from this new law. The requirement that federal grants must be matched two dollars for one will bear especially hard on the poorer states. The low income rural areas, despite the priority given them in the act, will have a hard time meeting the financial requirements and often will be unable to get needed hospitals unless their state legislatures make appropriations to help. Southern rural sections with large Negro populations will particularly feel the brunt of these conditions.

Many existing hospitals, however, in the South and elsewhere, will seek grants to enlarge the number of their beds and to improve their facilities. These extensions will be easier to plan

and finance than wholly new hospitals. In communities with many Negroes, such additions generally will have to include a substantial proportion of beds for colored patients.

When built, the new general hospital units will be community institutions, managed by nonprofit associations, churches, or local governments. The federal government will have nothing to say about their operation. Their management necessarily will reflect the customs and attitudes of their localities. Yet Negro patients will have a far better chance because a paragraph of a national law was written in the spirit of Lincoln.

Health For All

Health is not something technical. It is life. It is knit up with our jobs, our living quarters, our sleeping, eating, drinking, playing, and loving habits. Health services are human services. They reflect the people served and are incorporated in social institutions as well as in scientific techniques. Therefore, we may expect health services to reflect race relations.

But we must not rest so long as they reflect *bad* race relations. In my experience, it is easier to get interracial cooperation in health work than in other areas of human interest. The people who have brought Negro and white doctors to work together on hospital staffs in Virginia, Louisiana, Chicago, New York City, and elsewhere, accomplished these and other results because, like the leaders of the American Nurses Association, they used the incentives of health and the idealistic traditions of medicine and nursing to build bridges towards better race relations.

In all such bridge-building—planning health programs or operating health services for any area that includes a considerable number of Negroes — we must see to it that Negroes (professional or lay or both) are put on the planning and the administrative committees. This practice, which is too often by-passed, will count for more than just efficiency. Bacteria and viruses cross color lines without discrimination. It is intolerable that techniques which balk these enemies should themselves be balked because of skin tint.

What color is Health? Sometimes I feel it ought to be blue, the color of justice. Mostly I think it is like sunlight or mountain air—no color at all, but giving life to every color.

More Than Blasting Brick and Mortar

It's not enough to raze ghettos. We must throw open men's minds. Democracy is a living language of social behavior. The charge on American education is to teach it.

ALAIN LOCKE

THAT WORLD WAR II SPRANG FROM fascist and racialist aggression has brought two marked and invigorating changes in the climate of American opinion with respect to race relations.

First came the wartime realization that minority issues here at home were hampering the United States as a standard bearer for democracy. This global dimension of what had hitherto been regarded merely as matters for domestic reference was explored, four years ago, in *COLOR*—seventh “Calling America” number of *Survey Graphic*.

The other change, recent enough to be regarded as the postwar transformation of the minority question, is the equally momentous shift by which a war-enlightened society has taken on the removal of minority handicaps and disabilities as a positive task of general social reconstruction. Thus, this twelfth special issue on the pattern of *SEGREGATION* interprets prejudice and discriminatory practices not merely as ills and burdens borne by Negro citizens, but as shortcomings of democracy at large which involve at once the fate of such minorities, the social health of the majority, and the common welfare of both.

A mere twenty years back, liberal opinion was with some difficulty making the rudimentary shift from philanthropic concern for the Negro in terms of need—to recognition on the score of merit. With the depression in the Thirties came awareness of the common denominators of all our minority situations, with accompanying gains in both depth and breadth of social understanding. Then, with World War II, followed a rude but sobering discovery that any minority's disability was also the majority's defect, default, and danger. With the unexpected spotlight of world opinion, these things became matters of world reputation and responsibility.

Intelligent circles accordingly manifested a new sense of majority concern and, today, if I read the social pulse correctly, progressive opinion has passed to a sounder pragmatic

—By a contributing editor of *Survey Graphic* known to our readers as special editor of two outstanding special numbers:

HARLEM: Mecca of the New Negro (March 1925).

COLOR: Unfinished Business of Democracy (November 1942).

The first of these dealt with “the renaissance of life and culture that had come of the northward migration of a people.” The second dealt with those race issues, high on the *War Docket* that remained to be confronted “on the more constructive *Ledger of Peace*.” Both numbers broke fresh ground.

Philadelphia born, long holding the chair of philosophy at Howard University in the national capital, Professor Locke is author of a shelf of significant books and reports. Last year he was elected president of the American Association for Adult Education.

attitude. On political, industrial, social, and cultural levels, social action groups are bestirring themselves, increasingly aware that their efforts are converging toward a present-generation crusade to round out American democracy.

Social Education

In the field of education, we have too long expected to underpin political democracy simply by establishing free schools and equipping an ever widening number of children to get on in life as individuals. Our wartime experience has driven home the need to augment this function with training both for citizenship and for effective participation in a democratic society. Education, in both its formal and informal aspects, is awakening to this new task of social education, particularly that most vital phase of it based on the situations and interests of minority groups, which has come to be known as intercultural education.*

*Pioneered since 1933 by what is now the Bureau for Intercultural Education, known earlier as the Service Bureau for Human Relations.

Old as is the tradition of a connection between schooling and self-government, we may just have discovered the most vital link of all in these comparatively new objectives deliberately to communicate our democratic ideals and traditions—thereby implementing their actual practice. We have come to realize that the more complex and diversified our society, the greater the need for common denominators of strong but uncoerced solidarity.

We have also begun to understand how, in spite of a democratic corporate structure, a nation without education of this type may lose both its democratic vitality and its soul. Educators today are convinced as to the need for bringing up such timely and important reinforcements to our American way of life.

A New Pedagogy of Democracy

In addressing themselves in increasing numbers to this challenge, American teachers have fortunately worked out new approaches and a new emphasis. Old and unfruitful didactic teaching of commonplaces and of platitudes has all but been abandoned, and in its place more realistic methods and objectives have been defined. Relevant study materials bearing on intergroup relations have been gathered by collaborating educators, stemming from a general recognition that achievements and shortcomings in minority situations are the acid tests of democracy in action.

On the higher levels of instruction, this calls for critical appraisal of community behavior and the concrete comparison of various programs of remedy, and it is to the credit of the new social realism that such controversial issues are no longer evaded. Also, the limited social experiences of students are now supplemented by educative contacts designed to yield deeper human insight, wider social understanding.

Yet no matter how sanguine one may be about this new pedagogy of democracy, its adoption, especially in the lower grades, confronts hurdles

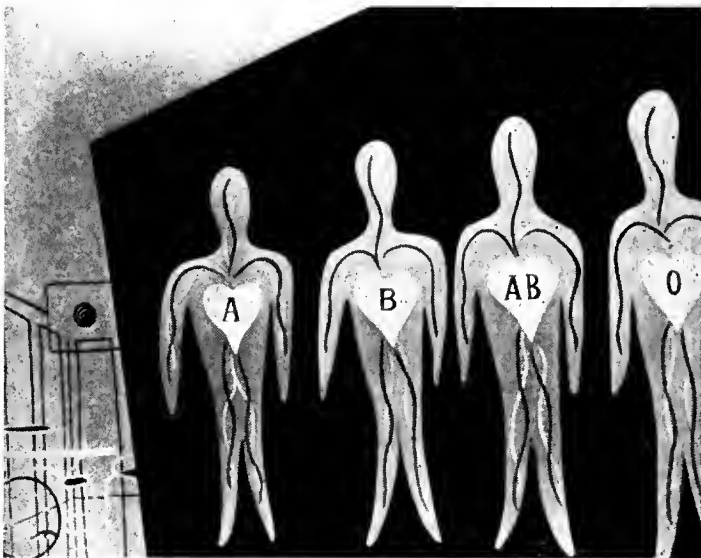


Of course, the various races can go on hating one another

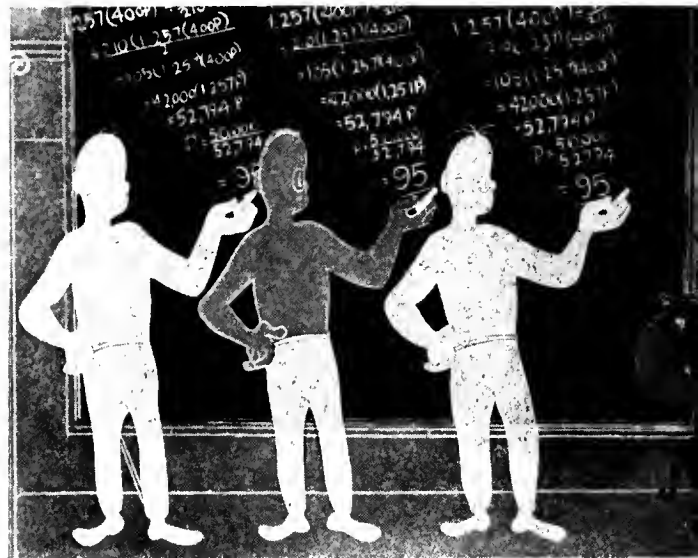
Getting Along Together

Here is a "digest" version of a wise and witty one-reel film called "Brotherhood of Man," an animated cartoon in color. It covers much the same material as the Public Affairs pamphlet "Races of Mankind," and has the same purpose—to undermine racial antagonisms by presenting scientific facts and social philosophy simply and in an engaging fashion.

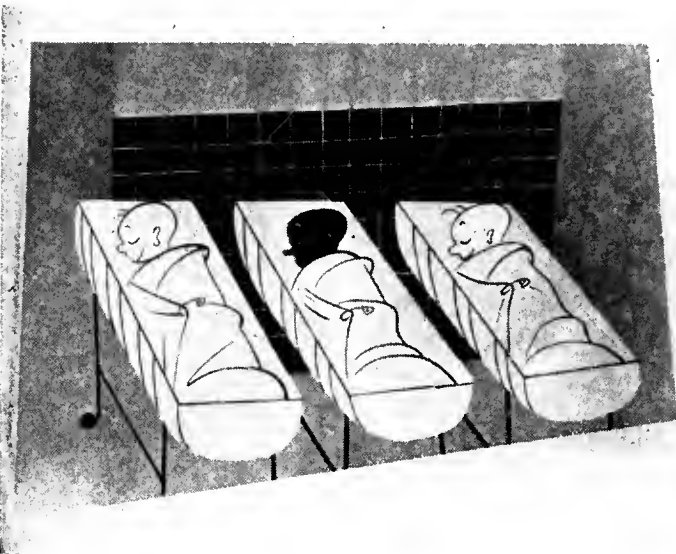
Produced for the United Automobile Workers, CIO, for the education of its members, it now is being made available to the public by Brandon Films, Inc.



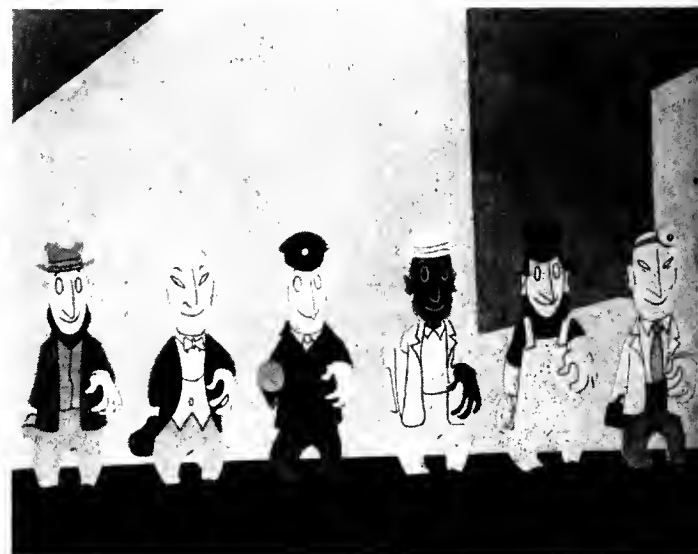
But, since all races have the same four types of blood—



Since opportunity, not race, accounts for intelligence—



Since, given the same environment, we grow up much alike—



Don't our prejudices seem foolish?

ranging from adult conservatism and community custom to head-on opposition by counter forces of reaction.

Early hopes of practical success center in simultaneous spread of kindred programs of adult education. It is indeed on this front that we must mobilize whatever forces are available, now that headway in teaching democracy has been made in our schools.

In a recent article in *The Journal of Adult Education*, Willard S. Townsend calls upon the adult education movement itself to "break through the maze of many inconsequential activities" to "render a great service to the democratic aspirations of the common people." His challenge is timely and pertinent:

If mass social intelligence and responsible citizenship are of an inferior quality today, the fault lies in our refusal to use adult education as a means of making the democratic process effective, and of giving the people the full use of their mass intelligence in determining their own destiny.

Some Salients in Adult Education

The organizers of the well known Springfield Plan soon found that it was imperative to enlist mothers and fathers no less than children. Harder to do, this was found neither impossible nor unprofitable, although now that war enthusiasms have flagged, it may not prove as easy to muster adults today. Indeed, some wartime gains have been lost, with others lapsing—but all the more, a challenge.

We shall never be able to reckon the tragic loss to this generation of servicemen that, in the main, they lost the democratizing experience of an unsegregated army and navy. However, much casual enlightenment did come to individuals, as the militant social democracy of wide segments of the veterans organizations indicates.

More fortunately, many war workers came within the orbit of that wartime mechanism for democracy in industrial relations—the Fair Employment Practice Committee. Wherever put to work, it proved a potent force for the democratic education both of employers and employes. Shelved for the time being at the federal level, but taken up by several of the states, FEPC laid the ghost of the old academic debate over whether antisocial attitudes can be modified by legisla-

tion. It is good news that they can.

Next in constructive importance (and second only because as yet confined to the more progressive sections of the labor movement) comes workers' education. Along with a main goal of labor solidarity, these programs offer one of the greatest of all potentials for training large sections of the adult population in the practices of social democracy. They reach segments not readily accessible to more formalized education, and hold them by a commonsense working bond that has realistic and durable appeal.

Labor union pressures and techniques, moreover, have demonstrated singular ability to break down long established prejudice and segregation in the South. Similarly, came such common cause movements as the Southern Congress of Human Welfare, the Society for the Abolition of the Poll Tax, and the Farm Tenants' Union. Based on constructive democratic action, they are consistently interracial in commitment and practice. To the Negro minority, they stand out as newly won bases of vital and self-respecting liaison.

It is often forgotten that many minorities, especially the Negro, need the discipline and enlargement of the common cause type of movement to become broadly democratic themselves in viewpoint and action. Obviously, such movements serve as touchstones of genuine and convinced liberalism for those of the majority who take part in them. From either side they weld a democratic front that is as new as it is progressive. It is these integrated movements that in the near future will give segregation itself strongest and perhaps final opposition.

In the Church

Current signs of ferment among both Protestants and Catholics indicate renewed efforts to overcome segregation in its most paradoxical precinct—the Church. Recent liberal pronouncements, such as those of the Federal Council of Churches, the Catholic Committee for Social Action and the Council of Catholic Bishops, the United Council of Church Women, the Conference of Christians and Jews, the Malvern and the Delaware Conferences are heartening. Any large scale development of interracial churches depends, however, on a lay educational campaign that would

make common cause with other moves to liquidate segregation.

As Buell Gallagher puts it in "Color and Conscience":

If we want integrated churches, the most effective way is to draw the membership from integrated communities. Once segregation in residential matters is eliminated, each church, [each school, we might add] then normally serves the people of its neighborhood, becoming inclusive because it is in a neighborhood that is no longer exclusive. . . . Such churches are springing up in different parts of the nation: they are not mere experiments, they are a prophecy.

The New Outlook

These trends toward greater democracy in race relations breach segregation and discrimination at many points, but they do not sweep over them. For this, they lack what is most necessary—concerted attack. Social reason not just commonsense expediency, militant democratic convictions not just piecemeal reforms, must be marshalled to the assault. Only by an encompassing and well organized siege of the ancient and stubborn Jericho walls of prejudice will these, as in the old symbolic story, really come tumbling down.

But for our immediate encouragement in combating segregation, recent experiences prove that large groups of adults, even in the South, can learn to overcome racial feelings in furthering mutual interests. Such fragmentary gains can and must be welded into a common front.

It is at this point that we can see the role and the long run prospects of the newly inaugurated program in American education for implementing thoroughgoing democracy in human relations. If carried through, this will bring to the fore a younger generation, who will add to the pragmatic forces of special interest and expediency the force of new doctrinal imperatives of democratic conviction and insight.

Our historic evolution in the United States has moved forward in three successive phases: first, in the struggle for political rights and liberties; then, for economic and social justice; and now, for social democracy in human relationships. The French founders of democratic thought foresaw the vital unity of this sequence when they made liberty and equality culminate in fraternity.

Pioneers in the Struggle



The Crisis

W. E. B. DU BOIS

When he began the fight against segregation forty years ago, his was a voice in the wilderness. One of the founders of the NAACP and for years its head



Irwin & Langer

WALTER F. WHITE

Effective defender of civil liberties in his books and articles and his leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People



Harris & Ewing

CHARLES H. HOUSTON

Graduate of Amherst College and Harvard Law School, and outstandingly successful in his able presentation of anti-discrimination cases in the federal courts



Bachrach

CHANNING H. TOBIAS

Director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, who in New York City and State, and in the federal government has been working to eliminate racial barriers

Against Segregation



Harris & Ewing

WILLIAM H. HASTIE

New governor of the Virgin Islands. His resignation as assistant to the Secretary of War helped modify army segregation against which he protested



E. E. Joseph

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. He now reiterates in peacetime terms his forceful demand for equal opportunities for all war workers



Harris & Ewing

MARY MCLEOD BETHUNE

Her exceptional personal force and great faith in Americans, black and white, have served the nation by helping to make the American Creed a reality



Phin Zolot

PAUL ROBESON

Concert singer and actor, acclaimed in Europe as well as America, he has used his great talents to give voice to worldwide democratic aspirations

The Negro in the Nation

Yesterday, an "American Negro" was someone set apart from other Americans. Tomorrow, all "Negro Americans" will be truly part of our national family.

WILL W. ALEXANDER

THE MOST EXPLOSIVE FACT IN RACE RELATIONS today is simply that the Negro American himself has not turned out to be what so many white Americans thought he was.

For generations, too many of us have been looking at an image which we have called the American Negro—a scarecrow of our own creation. Now, in the strong light which World War II has cast upon all our assumptions about people, we find that he is not this at all. He is something quite different and infinitely better. He is a human being—and a first rate human being at that; an American who, American fashion, has accomplished much against great odds.

This recognition has come with startling suddenness to many white Americans. Some it has frightened into irrational antagonism. Others it has stirred to equally intense partisanship of the Negro cause. The resulting crisis is one of opportunity far more than of danger. It may hold a promise of fresh strength in American life; the beginning of a new epoch in dealing with what for so many years we have called "the Negro problem."

It is high time to have a look at this Negro who has refused to play the part of an effigy. What has he made of himself with two hands, a courageous heart, his own innate gifts, and such opportunities as we have permitted him?

One prime fact about the Negro American is that he has embraced whole-heartedly the philosophy of democracy. A second major fact is that he has demonstrated his mastery over tools of American culture. He has found his way into many institutions of learning and has made a splendid record there. He has proved for all time his ability to acquire knowledge and skill; proved, also, his prowess in putting these acquisitions to work.

More and more he is becoming known to the world beyond our borders, and the impression he has created there is a credit both to him and to his country. The Negro American has made original contributions to music, to art, letters, science, sports;

—By the vice-president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund and of the American Council on Race Relations, who was the initiator of this special number of *Survey Graphic* and who has been our chief consultant.

To go back to colonial days, Committees of Correspondence kept people north and south along the Atlantic Seaboard in touch with each other in their incipient struggle for independence. For years past, "Dr. Will" has been such a shuttle incarnate between movements, South, North, West, and East, for progress in American race relations.

Missouri-born, he has degrees from four southern colleges and universities and is trustee of as many more. He was acting president of the reorganized Dillard University in New Orleans (1931-34).

More significant of his active role, he was for twenty years (1918-37) director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation with headquarters at Atlanta. He was administrator of the Farm Security Administration in Washington (1937-40). His opportune service in World War I was more than matched by that on the staff of the War Manpower Commission (1940-43)—centering on problems of minority employment.

even to industry, where his opportunities are the most limited.

The case of the Negro American rests today not only on our Bill of Rights and the Constitution, but also on persuasive and solid achievements of his own.

This development is embarrassing and disturbing to many unthinking native whites. Yet to an intelligent foreigner, nothing in our national life is so difficult to understand as the uncertainty with which Americans as a whole confront these achievements.

Turning Point

The meaning of those achievements began to emerge in World War I. It was noted at that time that no Negro American then (or ever before) had been charged with treason in time of war.

But the demonstration of these war

years was more than negative. In that great emergency, Negroes not only proved their loyalty and their unity as Americans, but also made important contributions to the national cause. Negro citizens rose to the call with energy and unity. They gave themselves without reservation to the armed forces, to the building of ships, and the production of other war materials. In industrial centers and at country crossroads they gave of their utmost in bond drives, Red Cross appeals, and whatever else the times called for.

In the years that followed this outpouring of skill, energy and devotion, the tempo of Negro achievement swung into an upward curve. This kept on despite the postwar reaction of the 1920's, despite revival of the Ku Klux Klan and the spread of prejudice throughout the country. Negro artists came to the fore in the theater, music, literature; Negro leaders to the fore in law and community enterprises.*

This movement carried their achievement and recognition farther in that short period than in the first six decades after Emancipation. Today there is not a door of opportunity where Negroes are not seeking admission, few doors through which some have not passed.

Northward Migration

The great migration which began in the first World War never wholly ceased; it reached high tide again in World War II. This has shifted the whole race question from a regional to a national setting. It is no longer a question of the Negro in the North or the Negro in the South, but of the Negro in the Nation. The answers can be found neither in the old southern traditions, nor in the too easy complacency of the North. The answers must be given in a new spirit and in national terms. And they must take into full account the solid achievements of the Negro American.

*See HARLEM: Mecca of the New Negro, special number of *Survey Graphic*, March 1925; also "The New Negro," Boni, 1925; Alain Locke, special editor of both.



Marion Pálfi

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
University President

Our whole American experiment in self-government was based upon belief in the improbability of human beings. But even though the truth of this assumption was so strikingly demonstrated in Negro life, many white people failed to see the connection between the American creed and this evidence of that creed's soundness. They failed to understand the great confirmation which Negro Americans have been giving to all the things that we always have said about the promise of American life, about the essential worth of human beings, about the advantages of freedom.

It was the tempo rather than the range of this evolution that alarmed

many white Americans. They had always taken refuge in the notion that in the long processes of time a solution would be found consistent with our native principles but not too disturbing to their own peace and quiet. The rapid progress made by Negroes has speeded up the pace of adjustment. Not only the necessity, but the possibility, of major gains in race relations are at hand.

Nevertheless, many white people still see the Negro in his old guise—a good-natured, unambitious, childish being. When the evidence contradicts this, the white reaction is too often resentment.

This is not to argue that the Negro (or any other group) should be judged solely by selected individuals. There are, of course, many Negroes retarded by environment or by personal deficiencies, just as there are many such whites. But it so happens that backwardness among Negroes is not so great a source of friction and conflict in the race problem as the backwardness of the comparable whites who still refuse to look upon Negroes as fellow mortals.

At the White House

These hopeful developments in Negro life found fresh encouragement in the national administration which came to Washington in 1933.

Before that date the White House had been too often preempted by the economically and politically powerful, the socially elite, the gold-braided military, and the white shirt fronts and smart gowns of diplomacy.

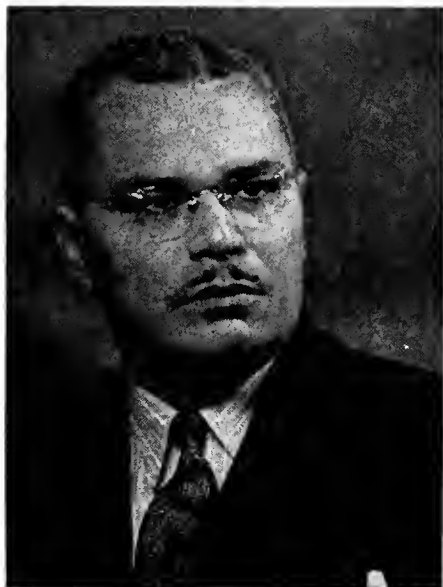


Official United Nations photo

RALPH J. BUNCHE
State Department Specialist

In those thirteen years, from 1933 on, the White House became the house of all the American people. Through its doors passed a cross-section of the national life: the rich and the poor, the old Americans and the new, dark-skinned Americans and light—and all were received without distinction as to race, creed, or economic background.

That Negroes were among them was particularly significant. Negro Americans were received and listened to with the same consideration shown other citizens. In some quarters, particularly in the South, this was disturbing, but their participation at the White House with such naturalness



ALLISON DAVIS
Anthropologist



PAUL R. WILLIAMS
Architect



DR. THEODORE K. LAWLESS
Dermatologist



PERCY L. JULIAN
Chemist

and sincerity on either hand came to disarm many critics.

Much of this was due to Mrs. Roosevelt's influence. In Washington and throughout the country, with tact and simplicity, she never failed to show concern for people and their problems. In her approach and actions she symbolized the unity of America—both to those who agreed and those who disagreed with her.

One Encounter

I recall so well the winter of 1935 with its sharecroppers' strike and wholesale evictions from the cotton farms of southeast Missouri. Several hundred dispossessed families, white and Negro, squatted by the highway in severe winter weather, with all but no protection. One of the leaders was a Negro preacher, himself a sharecropper, a man of limited education but native initiative.

He decided to appeal to the White House and by writing to Mrs. Roosevelt, secured an appointment. He set out in a dilapidated Ford with his wife and the nineteen-year-old daughter of one of the evicted white families. The snow was deep in the Virginia mountains; their car broke down, but a free ride brought them to Washington on the day set.

As administrator of Farm Security, I was familiar with the situation in southeast Missouri, and Mrs. Roosevelt's secretary requested me to be present. Somewhat in advance of the hour, I was seated by an usher in one of the famous reception rooms on the first floor of the White House. Soon

the visitors arrived. The couple were thinly clad in the shabby clothes of sharecroppers, and chilled to the bone. Their young white companion was bareheaded, and a thin cotton coat was her only outer wrap. They had scarcely sat down when a uniformed servant came in and lighted a crackling fire laid in the hearth.

There was to be a reception later that afternoon and already there was an air of festivity with uniformed musicians from the navy assembling outside our door. When Mrs. Roosevelt came in she greeted these special guests as naturally as if they belonged to the party. The Negro preacher told the story of the people by the roadside. He was perhaps forty—small, vigorous, if awkward, in his speech. With instant directness, Mrs. Roosevelt found out what lay back of the evictions and what the government was doing. She inquired of me what further could be done, and asked to be kept abreast of developments. In the few remaining minutes, her friendly overtures elicited from the wife the story of their eleven children, and she drew out the white girl's own story of herself and her folks.

There was still give and take, back and forth, as they left the room, threading their way through the navy's musicians and the bustle of activity for the reception. The visitors had been treated with dignity; they had been identified as individuals; their problems had been reviewed with practical directness. As they went out the front door of the White House, it was unmistakably with a

sense of their own worth; new faith in their country, new hope for their kind.

Literally thousands of men and women had experiences of this sort as they came in contact with Mrs. Roosevelt day after day at the Executive Mansion and on her trips throughout the country.

All this had its effect on race relations and brought Negroes, in a new sense, into the national family. Never again can they be so completely set apart as they had been before. This White House atmosphere, in itself, may have been as significant as any of the measures adopted by Congress or inaugurated by departmental administrators during that period.

The military and political perils which soon confronted the nation in World War II were to drive home the vital importance of minorities. We discovered that false racial philosophies and patterns were not only an inadequate moral resource at home, but a dangerous weakness in our international relations. They handicapped us in our vast effort to win the war. They handicap us, no less, in our quest for world peace.

Breaks in an Old Pattern

The chief expression of this undemocratic philosophy is the pattern of segregation, which has been accepted and enforced, in whole or in part, in all sections of the country. But here and there that pattern is breaking where it is most entrenched—as brought out by those who have dealt expertly with given fields in earlier pages of this issue. Here, in conclusion, let us gather some of the strands together.

1. *At the federal level.* In the past fifteen years federal administrators have developed a new consciousness that government should be so administered as to include Negro Americans. This was first apparent in the early public housing program in the depression, where there was little racial discrimination. From the use of a few capable young Negro advisers came increased employment of Negroes in a wide variety of governmental enterprises.

Today, Negroes in federal departments and bureaus are largely taken for granted. The problem now is not their employment, but their status and advancement according to merit.

Thus, the usefulness of Negro ad-

visers on race relations opened the doors for some talented men who, not as Negroes but as individuals, are now filling important posts. Take three, for example:

Ralph Bunche, a Californian, long on the faculty of Howard University, is now in the State Department as an area specialist in the Office of Special Political Affairs. Today, Mr. Bunche serves also as the director of the Division of Trusteeship of the United Nations.

Charles S. Johnson, a Virginian, was recently elected as the first Negro president of Fisk University, where he had long directed social and economic research. As a young man, he was co-secretary with Graham Romney Taylor of an early Chicago Race Commission of which the late Julius Rosenwald was chairman. His postwar work for the State Department took him to Japan as a member of the commission which advised General Douglas MacArthur on the reorganization of education. This fall he has been in Paris as one of the American delegates to UNESCO.

Robert W. Weaver was born in the District of Columbia itself. He is a Harvard graduate and the first Negro American to take a doctor's degree there in economics. He is one of the directors of the American Council on Race Relations and last summer was a member of the UNRRA mission to the Ukraine. (See page 43.)

Back in the depression years, as an adviser on Negro affairs to Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, he wrote the first fair employment practice provisions into contracts for the construction of early public housing projects. This has influenced the development of federal policies since, not only as to government posts but as to employment under public contracts and in private industry.

This trend was accelerated by manpower shortage during the war. Early in 1942, and largely as a result of pressure from Negro communities under the leadership of A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the federal government broadened to all war contracts the principle tried out earlier in housing. The Fair Employment Practice Committee was set up by President Roosevelt to administer the program.

The threefold result was first, increased use of minority manpower in war production; second, the sensitiz-

ing of many leaders of American industry to a new responsibility in their employment practices; third, the public demand for a permanent FEPC. So great was the support for this that it was defeated in the last Congress, only by a disgraceful Senate filibuster, animated by ancient prejudice.

New Patterns

2. New fields of opportunity. Able Negroes have won recognition not only on the federal level but in many fields the country over.

Thus, Paul R. Williams of California is one of the outstanding archi-



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LESTER B. GRANGER
National Urban League Executive

tects of the nation. But take four examples from Lincoln's home state of Illinois:

Allison Davis, born at the national capital, an anthropologist trained at Harvard and London, is a distinguished member of the faculty of the University of Chicago.

Percy L. Julian, born in the Deep South, a chemist with postgraduate training in Vienna, directs the research laboratory of the Glidden Paint Company in Chicago. His most widely known work has been on the commercial use of the soy bean.

Dr. T. K. Lawless of Louisiana is a leading Chicago dermatologist, whose practice includes many of the city's prominent white families.

Robert Taylor of Alabama is the expert head of the Chicago Housing Authority.

In the past four years, there has been a marked change in policy in faculty employment by American col-



Scurlock

EUGENE KINCKLE JONES
General Secretary, Urban League

leges and universities. Since 1942, more than fifty Negroes have been appointed to teaching posts in institutions which hitherto had only white faculties. The thirty-one institutions which have taken this step range in size from the University of Chicago to William Penn, a small Quaker college in Iowa. Two of them are great state universities (Minnesota and Wisconsin) and two are among the leading women's colleges (Vassar and Smith). The positions cover the whole academic field in full or part time appointments.

Here is more than a crack in the wall of segregation—it is nothing less than a widening breach.

3. Organized leadership. Many gains in court decisions, legislation, and community action have been due not alone to government or white initiative. In increasing degree, they have been won also by Negro leadership and by organized Negro effort.

An illustration is the long series of cases carried to the U. S. Supreme Court by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

These victories are based on work for civil liberties, begun by W. E. B. Du Bois a generation ago, in which James Weldon Johnson joined a little later. Walter White, as their successor, has carried forward that work with rare skill. The arguments of Charles Houston in some of the NAACP cases have ploughed new ground and are considered, by outstanding lawyers, as among the ablest

presentations made in this generation before the Supreme Court.

While the fight such men have made has been nominally for Negroes, the results actually have been to preserve and extend for all Americans some of the richest traditions in our common life with respect to personal freedom and the dignity of the citizen before the law.

Since the turn of the century, the National Urban League has come to grips with problems having their roots in our economic and social life. Like the NAACP, its membership is interracial, but in both organizations the administration is in Negro hands. Not only national headquarters, but the many local chapters of the League are manned by well trained young Negroes who find satisfactory careers in League activities. Their day-by-day work is a constructive force in helping to break down segregation in health, housing, employment, and public services.

The National Urban League is now making a study of racial patterns in a number of cities, north, south, east and west, as a basis for community action. The studies are undertaken at the request of local leaders and with the cooperation of local agencies. The League has been fortunate in its executives — first, Eugene Kinckle Jones, and now Lester Granger. Their counsel has been widely sought.

4. Organized religion. The recent action of the Federal Council of Churches categorically condemning segregation is the base line of a new approach by the Protestant churches of America to the question of Christian brotherhood. One of the most significant salients among Protestants is the United Council of Churchwomen. This organization is completely unsegregated in membership and program, from the national office down to the state and local units.

The Southern Baptist Church (not a member of the Federal Council) at recent state conventions in Georgia and North Carolina expressed a new concern for the problems of segregation—an important development in a communion which includes so many southern whites. Increasingly the Roman Catholic Church is scrutinizing racial practices in local parishes, and in its great educational and social service institutions.

It is always heartening when the saints "provoke one another to good works." (See pages 59 and 61.)

The pioneering of the YWCA with respect to segregation is told elsewhere in this issue (page 82). The National Council of the YMCA, which had long moved more cautiously, has become aroused. Some local YMCA's have broken ground by offering their services to men and boys without regard to race.

5. Organized labor. The record of American labor is examined in detail in another article (page 54). The record shows that the Railway Brotherhoods and some of the old craft unions of the AFL are still tightly segregated, and with no apology. Notable exceptions prove this rule. Meanwhile, the newer CIO, non-segregated in policy and generally in practice, not only has been willing for Negroes and other minorities to have jobs, but by and large, musters them in on an unsegregated basis. This cannot long be ignored by the older and more conservative unions.

6. Organized citizens. Negro citizens in increasing numbers are voting in southern states. This is a result of three major factors: (a) the recognition by many southerners, today, that political rights cannot be denied to those who loyally supported the war effort; (b) the determination on the part of Negroes, themselves, to exercise their rights as citizens; and (c) the U. S. Supreme Court's decision of 1944 invalidating the white primary in Texas.

It is possible that another series of legal subterfuges may be attempted, but in the light of that clearcut Court

decision, the restraints on Negro voting seem to be giving way.

7. Southern women. The most liberal attitudes in the South on the question of race relations are to be found among white women, particularly in the churches. There was the most effective organized opposition to Senator Bilbo in his 1946 reelection campaign in Mississippi. Similarly, they gave vigorous support to Governor Ellis Arnall in his refusal to attempt to circumvent in Georgia the Supreme Court's decision on primaries. All this is the result of a movement among southern women which began in their persistent opposition to lynching and has been gaining in strength from year to year.

Ours Is A "Progress" Report

Final evaluation of these shifts cannot be made as yet. Many of them are in process and all are part of changing attitudes nationally, toward economic, social and international questions. The breakdown of racial segregation will come more easily and more swiftly as part of this larger and more profound orientation.

As a result of these shifts, half-informed Americans think about race relations today in the terms of a mounting crisis. From one angle, there is such a crisis. That explains many presentday questions and doubts, and much of the emotion engendered by them.

But to assess this period as a crisis, solely in the threatening sense of the word, is to misconstrue the creative elements implicit in it.



Ruth Bernhard photo

Gifted Hands. Hall Johnson directing his famous chorus

through the courts. The ruling of the Court appeared to leave no loopholes at all.

Missouri met the ultimatum of the Gaines decision by establishing a segregated law school for Negroes in 1939. On the demand of a Negro who wished to study journalism, a demand supported by the state Supreme Court on the authority of the Gaines case, a school of journalism has been set up in Lincoln University.

In Texas, a lower state court held in 1946 that the University of Texas must admit a Negro student to its law school unless within a period of six months it provided a law school for Negroes—which it now seems likely to do. A similar case is pending in Louisiana, and one in which an Oklahoma state court denied relief to a Negro student will be appealed.

As Charles H. Houston, who argued the Gaines case in the Supreme Court, observed to the writer, "the ceiling has been lifted from Negro education." It is only a question of time before Negroes either will be attending professional schools with white students or schools of their own.

Of equal, perhaps even greater, importance in establishing equality under segregation is the judicial ruling that Negro and white teachers must be paid equal salaries for equal work. This was held in the Circuit Court of Appeals in 1940 in *Allston vs. School Board of the City of Norfolk* (112 Fed. 2d. 992). The Supreme Court of the United States refused to review the case on *certiorari*, thereby affirming the decision of the lower court. The unequal quality of white and Negro schools in the South has long been a matter of public record. This showed up most sharply in the salaries paid to teachers. While white teachers in the South are poorly paid, Negro teachers receive, in many cases, especially in the Deep South, the merest pittance—\$247 a year in Mississippi, for example.

These racial inequalities in education will not be done away with overnight as a result of the *Allston* case. There will be delays and attempted evasions. But with the principle of equality established, Negro education in the South may well be revolutionized.

When a Negro teacher was paid \$300 a year or less, the school authorities were content to turn a blind eye to his inadequate training. But if the principal of the Negro high school must be paid the same salary as the principal of the white high school, the school board is going to insist that he be well trained and efficient.

Interstate Buses

While the rule of *Plessy vs. Ferguson* allows a state to require the racial segregation of passengers on common carriers subject to the state's jurisdiction, it held nothing with respect to Negro segregation in interstate transportation. Congress and not the state regulates interstate commerce. State police regulations must not "burden" or "obstruct" interstate commerce, although whether they do or not is usually a question of degree.

As early as 1878, the Supreme Court in the case of *Hall vs. DeCuir* (95 U. S. 485) held that a Louisiana Reconstruction statute (which required public carriers "to give all persons traveling in that state, equal rights and privileges in all parts of the [public] conveyance, without distinction or discrimination on account of race or color") unconstitutionally burdened interstate commerce when enforced against a steamboat plying the Mississippi River. Other states required the segregation here forbidden, with the result that the carrier had to shift from segregation to non-segregation as it crossed state lines. If there was to be a rule dealing with racial segregation on interstate carriers, it would have to be a uniform rule enacted by Congress.

Oddly enough, it was not until 1946 that the Supreme Court was asked to decide whether a state law requiring racial segregation on public carriers burdens interstate commerce as much as a state law forbidding such segregation. When the issue arose in *Morgan vs. Commonwealth of Virginia* (June 3, 1946), the court followed the reasoning of the *DeCuir* case while actually reversing its effect. It held inapplicable to interstate transportation a Virginia statute requiring segregation and enforced by a bus company against all its passengers, local and interstate alike. The *Morgan* case affects the laws of ten

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states which require racial segregation on motor carriers within the state.

In twenty years, progress has been made in giving the Negro accused of crime more nearly equal treatment than he formerly received. In the second Scottsboro case (Norris *vs.* Alabama, 294 U. S. 587, 1935), the Supreme Court held that a Negro was denied the equal protection of the law by his indictment and trial by white juries in a county in which within the memory of the oldest living inhabitants no Negroes had ever been on a grand or trial jury panel. This fact, coupled with evidence that many qualified Negroes resided in the county, spelled racial discrimination forbidden by the Fourteenth Amendment.

Trials and Lynchings

Just how much the Norris case accomplished has been thrown into doubt, however, by the Court's decision in 1945 in Adkins *vs.* Texas (325 U. S. 398). On the panel from which the grand jury was drawn that indicted Adkins for murder, the jury commissioners had been careful to place one Negro—an old man over eighty. He also served on the trial jury. Each jury commissioner stated candidly, "I did not have any intention of placing more than one Negro on the panel."

The Court ruled that no race or group is entitled to *proportional* representation in the make-up of juries, and that the facts in the case did not show racial discrimination. The case seems to suggest a way in which southern communities may meet the letter of the Court's mandate in Norris *vs.* Alabama, without complying with its spirit.

The power of the federal government to deal with lynching is very limited. Congress has no delegated power under the Constitution to make murder a federal crime, and it lacks authority, therefore, to punish directly the private individuals who engage in a lynching. Some recent progress has been made, however, chiefly as the result of the vigor and imagination of the federal attorneys in the Civil Rights Section set up by Attorney General Frank Murphy in the Department of Justice in 1939.

What has been done is to apply to lynchings, where possible, the section of the old Enforcement Act of 1870 (now Section 51 of Title 18 of the federal Criminal Code):

Whoever, under the color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom, willfully subjects, or causes to be subjected, any inhabitant of any State, Territory, or District to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured or protected by the Constitution and laws of the United States, or to different punishments, pains, or penalties, on account of such inhabitant being an alien, or by reason of his color, or race, than are prescribed for the punishment of citizens, shall be fined not more than \$1,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

The Civil Rights Section has secured the indictment in several cases, and the conviction in one case, of state or local officers who have either aided in or connived at the lynching of Negroes, or have themselves been guilty of brutality toward prisoners in their custody. A federal grand jury in Mississippi indicted a deputy sheriff under this statute for turning over to a mob the keys of the jail and thus assisting in the lynching of a Negro prisoner. The legal achievement of securing this indictment is not wholly overshadowed by the failure of the trial jury to convict the sheriff.

However, in Screws *vs.* United States (325 U. S. 91), decided in 1945, the Supreme Court held the federal statute under discussion validly applicable to the conduct of a southern sheriff who arrested a Negro and then kicked him to death. A Georgia federal grand jury had indicted the sheriff, Screws, for this crime and a trial jury had convicted him. The Supreme Court upheld the indictment, thereby establishing the applicability of the federal statute, but ordered a new trial because of the failure of the trial judge to charge the jury that the violation of the law must be "willful." On retrial, Screws was acquitted. The Supreme Court's opinion in this case injected some unfortunate elements of confusion and doubt into the legal picture, and Congress might well consider sharpening and clarifying the provisions of the statute.

The willingness of the federal government to embark on a positive and constructive program for the protection of the federal civil rights of citizens is, in itself, a great advance.

There are many forms of public ignorance, prejudice, and injustice which still lie beyond the reach of any law. But the progress of the last

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twenty years in the improvement of the Negro's legal status has been real.

It has added to the rights which Negroes can now claim under statutes, and in courts of law. It has increased the Negro's self-confidence and therefore his self-respect. It has focused the attention of the country on the splendid achievements of distinguished Negro lawyers, among them Charles H. Houston, William H. Hastie, and Thurgood Marshall, who have fought

so shrewdly and courageously for the principles of justice and fair play.

The general awakening and development of Negro political and legal skill cut much more deeply than the immediate effect of any case decision. This hastens the time when the Negro American, like any other American citizen, will be freely and fairly accorded the place to which his abilities and his character as a human being entitle him.

HUMAN, ALL TOO HUMAN

(Continued from page 75)

to carry a story of a distinguished achievement of Negroes in the military forces, they were requested to withhold the story until Negro newspapers had carried it.

The Question of Status

The class structure which has grown up in segregated Negro communities is due partly to discrimination in employment and partly to the social isolation of the Negro. Consequently, occupations and incomes in the Negro community do not have the same relation to social status as they do in the white community. Persons whose jobs and resources would place them in the middle class, or perhaps lower middle class, in the white community are at the top of the social pyramid in the Negro community. Further, a fair complexion often plays an important role in social distinctions and preeminence among Negroes.

The extent to which certain occupations, a fairly secure income, or a light complexion cause some colored people to attempt a leisured, upper class style of living depends upon the degree of isolation of the Negro community. In northern cities where the Negro professional and white collar workers often associate freely with whites of similar occupations, they are more likely to conform to middle class standards. But where the Negro community is completely segregated, as in border and southern cities, the professional and white collar workers are more likely to assume an upper class style of life.

As members of the "aristocracy" of the Negro community, professional and business men and women acquire certain vested interests in segregation. For example, a Negro doctor who has

acquired a certain skill has been known to keep it within an upper class clique of doctors.

Usually, however, the status of a Negro doctor or college professor in the Negro community bears little or no relation to his professional achievements. In fact, he is relieved of competing with white men in the same profession.

He enjoys certain rewards and advantages solely because of his social position in the Negro world. Like other members of the upper class, he is treated with a certain deference by the general Negro public and the attention of the Negro world is focused upon him through reports of his activities in the Negro press. If the walls of segregation were broken down, the Negro doctor or college professor would be thrown into competition with whites in his profession and, in most instances, he would suffer a deflation of his social status. In addition to the organized phases of their life, many Negroes as individuals have vested interests in the pattern of segregation. Although these include certain pecuniary rewards, material interests are not always as important as other elements in such vested interests—the psychological and social.

Because of segregation, the dominant white group has been forced to select certain Negroes to act as mediators between the two races. These Negro go-betweens have acquired an eminence unrelated to intellectual ability or moral character. Oftentimes Negroes have been chosen for this role because they lacked these very qualities. But as long as they played the role assigned them by white individuals and organizations, they have been "built up" as great "interracial

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statesmen" or great "intellectual leaders" or great "spiritual leaders." Simply because of their strategic position in the pattern of segregation, they have enjoyed prestige and power among Negroes and whites as well. If there had not been a pattern of racial segregation, many of these mediators would have become faithful servants, successful traveling salesmen, or small town revivalists.

Double Standards of Achievement

The pattern of segregation has created generally an attitude of tender condescension on the part of many whites toward the Negro. This is shown especially in the exaggerated evaluation of the Negro's intellectual and artistic achievements. In fact, it is difficult to obtain an objective appraisal of the work of Negro students and artists. A foreign visitor once said to the writer that he was tired of being told that a certain Negro was a great scholar when it was obvious that he had a mediocre mind and had not produced any outstanding work. Such designations as "Negro psychologist" or "Negro artist" reveal the double standard implicit in the criticism of the work of Negroes by whites.

The achievements of Negroes in scholarship and the arts are most likely to be overvalued when they conform to what whites think Negroes should study, write, or paint. These warped estimates of the work of Negroes form a part of the folklore of race relations which has grown out of segregation. The road to distinction and to more concrete rewards in the segregated Negro world is not as rough as whites who invest the Negro with pathos think it is.

The segregated Negro community, which is essentially a pathological phenomenon in American life, has given certain Negroes a vested interest in segregation—involving more than dollars-and-cents considerations. As the walls of segregation "come tumbling down," the Negro will lose all these petty advantages. If this results in the social and psychological deflation of some, it will nevertheless cause Negroes generally to acquire a saner conception of themselves and of their role in American society. Through the same process, white people will come to regard Negroes as human beings like themselves and to make a more realistic appraisal of their personalities and of their work.

"IS THIS FOR US?"

(Continued from page 84)

happens interracially in the YWCA depends on the general healthiness of the individual organization. The Association that has the good will and confidence of the community, efficient administration, a relative degree of financial security, and above all leaders of high caliber, can move forward to great accomplishment.

The Association that puts any strain of racial advance on an inner structure that lacks these fundamental supports, can count on disaster. This fact explains why some Associations in the Deep South have advanced so far under adverse circumstances, and why others, North and South, have failed to achieve what might reasonably have been expected of them.

The local YWCA's, community

and student, are seeing more clearly with every year that the day-by-day life of the organization can be school-room and laboratory and testing field in democratic living. From 1934 to 1940, the national movement participated in a study of its democratic functioning: the role of the individual member, the relation of privilege to responsibility, the freedom of group action, the good of a part *versus* the good of the whole.

The consideration of interracial practices, underscored by two searching national studies within the "Y" since 1940, has simply related this effort to a particular area. The Associations are still trying to search out and practice the ways of democracy; they have concentrated on race relations because this area of human relations seems to threaten most critically their democratic aims and religious purpose. And there will be no turning back.

CASTE IN THE CHURCH

The Protestant Experience

(Continued from page 60)

discrimination or in employing Negro medical personnel. Church colleges appear to lag behind state universities, on the whole, in their proportion of Negro students, and they have had almost no Negro faculty members.

Negro Denominations

The final form of Negro segregation in Protestant churches comes at the denominational level. About 90 percent of the Negro Protestant church members, or about 6,000,000 persons, belong to separate Negro denominations, such as the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the National Baptist Convention, and some twenty-two other bodies. Approximately two thirds of these Negro Protestants are Baptists, and most of the remainder are Methodists.

The emergence of the Negro denomination exemplifies both the emancipation and the exclusion of the Negro from white churches. A few all-Negro congregations had been established before the Civil War, and several small Negro denominations had been organized, but the movement toward a separate Negro church made comparatively little headway. Southern white churchmen and slave owners generally refused to permit

separate Negro religious meetings except under white control.

After Emancipation and the Reconstruction Period, the separate denominations and local churches became firmly established under Negro leadership. This arrangement appears to have been desired by Negroes as much as by whites, but the element of voluntary choice involved in it should not obscure the fact that the Negroes were virtually expelled from many white churches, and would have been subordinated and segregated within those which were willing to have them remain. The Negro chose to help segregate himself, in view of the fact that in any event he was to be segregated or dominated.

As an entirely separate organization completely under Negro control, the Negro denomination has been able to develop leadership and to minister to the special needs of its constituency. Though it has been declining in relative importance for several decades, the Negro church remains the strongest institution in Negro life. At the same time, it tends to reinforce and to perpetuate the system of segregation in general and the pattern of religious exclusion in particular.

It will continue to exist, however,

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so long as the Negro cannot participate in society and in the churches on equal terms. With the system of segregation as it is, most Negroes seem to prefer to worship separately and to control their own churches; but they are opposed to the system, and they probably would not prefer their own church to equal status in a color-blind church and denomination.

Traditional Church Attitudes

Until very recently, there have been virtually no serious efforts to modify segregation in the Protestant churches, or to break it down. White churches in both the North and the South have been eager to lend a helping hand to the Negro, especially in regard to his education, and brilliant records have been established by several denominations.

Most notable of all are the achievements of The American Missionary Association, which observed its one hundredth anniversary in 1946. That agency's centennial biography, "New Day Ascending," by Fred L. Brownlee (Pilgrim Press) tells a stirring story of scores of first rate Negro secondary schools and colleges in the

South, established and long maintained by the association. Gradually these institutions have been turned over to state authorities, until the great majority are now incorporated into the public education system.

Lynching has been condemned frequently by nearly all church bodies, and the churches have regularly gone on record in recent years as favoring greater opportunities — and often, equal opportunities—for the Negro. From 1934 on, the Scottsboro case and the Nazi persecution of the Jews served to increase the number of denominational pronouncements on race problems.

Furthermore, there have been many gestures toward fellowship across racial lines. Since 1922, the Department of Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches has sponsored Race Relations Sunday, to be observed this year on February 9. Tens of thousands of churches have participated in such devices as the exchange of pulpits for the day, cooperative church services and mass meetings, and special offerings for Negro education. Even in the South, white and Negro ministerial associa-

tions in many communities have held an annual joint meeting, but the arrangements and program have generally been so formal as to preclude discussion of real issues or experience of genuine brotherliness.

By and large, the churches on each side of the racial barrier have focused attention on their own members rather than on the barrier itself. Innumerable sermons, forums, church school lessons, and mission study materials have sought to cultivate "better understanding" and more generous attitudes on the part of both groups, but there has been very little effort to bring the groups face-to-face so that they could use their "understanding" and practice their "good will." Until recently, the churches appeared to be more concerned with disadvantages suffered by the Negro in secular spheres than with the situation in the churches themselves.

There have been occasional breaks in the barrier. A very few interracial churches have been in operation for a number of years, with integration of substantial minority groups into the total program.

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and cities often have had interracial staffs and committees, and almost without exception they have invited all Protestant churches into their membership and activities without any racial barriers or disabilities.

The Federal Council of Churches, the International Council of Religious Education, and several other interdenominational bodies have incorporated most of the leading Negro denominations into their structure and program without discrimination, thereby providing significant points at which denominational segregation has been broken down.

Toward Integration

Within the last decade, and most especially during the war years, a significant shift in outlook has taken place in influential Protestant circles. Instead of continuing to place emphasis on "equal rights" for Negroes, several denominations have called for "the same rights" without any distinction of race or color. And instead of centering attention on secular practices, several denominational and interdenominational bodies have become introspective and demanded sweeping changes in their own policies.

The first significant sign of this shift came at the Oxford Conference in 1937, at which virtually all the non-Roman Catholic Christian bodies in the world were represented. In its official findings the Conference declared:

Against racial pride or race antagonism, the Church must set its face implacably as rebellion against God. Especially, in its own life and worship there can be no place for barriers because of race or color . . . no place for exclusion, or segregation because of race or color.

A number of developments during the war years moved in the direction of the Oxford pronouncement. The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, composed of a number of younger religious leaders in the South, has held several interracial conferences in southern cities. In 1943, it called for interracial religious services, including observance of the Lord's Supper, and interracial ministerial associations.

Interracial churches have been organized in the past decade in Philadelphia, Detroit, San Francisco, Berkeley, and Washington; interracial religious fellowships, meeting at stated

intervals for worship and a social hour, have appeared in a number of cities.

A white Presbyterian church in Chapel Hill, N. C., announced in 1945, after careful consideration: "We do not close our doors or discriminate against or receive with aught but the spirit of Christian brotherhood any sincere worshipper who may present himself" — and a number of Negro worshippers have been present at its services without segregation. The American Missionary Association has shifted its traditional emphasis from education to the removal of "the sins of caste from American society."

Interracial religious services have often proved to be more natural in new communities of war workers and in the armed forces than segregated ones would have been.

Negro Protestant leaders, traditionally jealous of their separate ecclesiastical prerogatives, moved toward a new militancy during the war years, and began openly to advocate the destruction of racial walls in the churches. More than a hundred of them joined in a statement to white churchmen in 1944, asserting:

Freedom of worship, if it means anything, means freedom to worship God across racial lines and freedom for a man or woman to join the church of his or her choice, irrespective of race. Segregated churches fall short of the requirements of the Christian ideal. . . . When the Church presents the open door, we may still have what we call Negro and white churches and they may be separate churches, but not racially segregated churches. . . . Either the Church must be actually and potentially a Church for all the people, irrespective of race and color, or it should cease to proclaim the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

At a special meeting held in Columbus, Ohio, in March 1946, the Federal Council of Churches adopted one of the most forthright statements ever made in American Protestantism.

The statement recognized that "the segregation pattern . . . defeats good will," then went on to assert:

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America hereby renounces the pattern of segregation in race relations as unnecessary and undesirable and a violation of the Gospel of love and human brotherhood. Having taken this action, the Federal Council requests its

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constituent communions to do likewise. As proof of their sincerity in this renunciation they will work for a non-segregated Church and a non-segregated society.

The Federal Council then proceeded to suggest a specific program by which its members could attack segregation within the churches.

To date, the national gatherings of the Northern Presbyterian, Congregational Christian, Disciples of Christ, and National Baptist Convention, Inc., have endorsed this action of the Federal Council and affirmed it as their own. The Northern Baptist Convention adopted a similar statement. The Congregational Christian churches have designated the next two years as a period for major emphasis on race relations.

Such affirmations do not, in themselves, change existing patterns, within the churches or outside them. After all, Protestant bodies during the 1930's were almost unanimous in "renouncing" war. But such statements tend to shape policies, and policies tend to modify practices. The Federal Council of Churches is well able to translate words into deeds.

On the one hand, it has twenty-five constituent denominations with

more than 25,000,000 members. On the other, it has a network of state and city councils of churches through which programs can be channeled. The city councils of churches are in an especially strategic position, as the attack on segregation must be made chiefly at the community level if it is to be successful.

Though there is a popular myth to the contrary, past performance indicates that interdenominational agencies are more likely to be alert and effective on controversial questions than are local churches or particular denominations. The strong stand on segregation taken by the Federal Council presages major changes in the un-Christian racial arrangements in the Protestant churches.

There undoubtedly will be serious opposition in many parts of the country, and the greatest obstacles of all will lie in apathetic consciences and cultural inertia. Leaders of the Protestant attack on segregation have not yet clarified their goals in detail, or devised a comprehensive and united strategy. But there is a new contrition in Protestant circles, North and South, and a new determination to overcome one of the greatest sins of the churches.

CASTE IN THE CHURCH *The Roman Catholic Experience* (Continued from page 62)

New England, as well as on the West Coast.

4. Finally, there is a type not only of complete official integration but of *complete actual integration*. The Negro is integrated into those institutions over which the Church authorities have direct control, and also into all forms of Catholic life which are governed by the free choice and public attitudes of the Catholic people, such as free schools and other public and social institutions. The establishment of this complete actual integration, of course, means the death of prejudice, and this prejudice is deeply rooted and manifests itself in a vast variety of subtle and discriminatory forms. Being an absolute, this policy has nowhere been attained on a broad scale.

It is simply the ideal toward which any interracial movement must necessarily work. But we can report

a steady progress towards it.

The work of integrating the Negro into the religious life of the country is no longer something that can be left to haphazard efforts. The very existence of religious work among the Negroes or any other racial minority is now seen to be dependent upon the growth of the interracial spirit among all branches of the national religious community. The period, therefore, when the Catholic interracialist had to apologize for his existence, as it were, is now passed away.

One by one, the missionary agencies of the Catholic Church, which have grown accustomed to segregation, are becoming converted to the necessity of abolishing this practice, although it has provided the very basis for their work.

One by one, they realize, too, that their work cannot be accomplished in an interracial vacuum. It is also being realized more generally in the Church

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that this process of integration is not something that can be undertaken by the white race for the Negro, or by the Negro as something that he will force upon the white, but that it is a common task to be undertaken by both races.

A Review of Trends

Certain factors which make for this advance in the matter of integration may be noted as follows: First of all, there is a much greater understanding of the doctrinal position of the Church, due in great measure to the efforts of the present Roman Pontiff, Pius XII, himself, who through his encyclicals and personal example has pointed out the necessity for an active concern with this problem. This attitude of the Pontiff has made a profound impression on American Catholics' imagination, as well as a powerful appeal to their loyalty and to their imitation.

The great stress laid on international relations as a result of the war has inevitably underscored the importance of all that is universal in the character of Catholic teachings. It has also emphasized the ethical foundations of interracial justice—the

equality of persons in human dignity, and in God.

Possibly the most fruitful of all developments has been the far too belated emergence of a Negro Catholic clergy in the United States. The Church in America for many years has had a few Negro priests whose work was confined on the whole to segregated parishes. But a significant beginning has been made in two New Jersey parishes, where Negro priests have been appointed. In one of these, of largely white constituency, the Negro priest is pastor. They hear confessions, visit the sick, and bury the dead—all without any racial reference or distinctions whatever.

In addition to all this, there has been a specific organization of the Church's interracial program. This is working toward distinctly defined ends, and according to a well established plan. Through this interracial movement the problem of prejudice and discrimination is treated as a moral issue, as a sin, as something directly contradicting both natural morality and the supernaturally re-

vealed teachings of the Church with regard to the Mystical Body of Christ and the unity of all men in the Redemption.

Powerful religious arguments are used, while ordinary common sense and civic patriotism and cooperation are appealed to. The chief agencies of this movement are interracial councils established under official Church auspices in differing cities such as New York, Brooklyn, Washington, Los Angeles, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit; and others are under way.

Experience has shown that interracial progress is cumulative. One precedent leads to another. This has been particularly apparent in the opening of Catholic schools and institutions of higher learning. The opening of Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart (New York City) to Negro students a few years ago, under the dynamic presidency of the late Mother Grace Dammann, heartened a host of other institutions to do the same. At present, the Catholic institution outside of the South which excludes the Negro is the exception rather than the rule. The same applies

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With each precedent, resistance becomes more difficult. The Catholic press has been particularly helpful in bringing these examples to the notice of Catholics throughout the country and abroad. The news service which provides syndicated material for Catholic papers, both features and news stories, has proved extremely efficient in this respect.

Finally, there is the consciousness that integration is opportune. This has become particularly apparent in the inter-American scene. Catholics are interested in establishing cultural relations on a Christian basis with the countries of Central and South America. They realize they have a very close bond through their religion with the people of those nations. They find, at the same time, that segregatory and separatist practices give a flavor to their religion which is highly unwelcome to Latin Americans.

A Brazilian Catholic coming to the United States is horrified by what he considers to be the un-Christian practice of race discrimination in American civil life, particularly in those regions where it is most evident. But he is still more puzzled and shocked if he sees any sanction given to it by his Catholic confreres. Hence, joint conferences and seminars between Catholics of North America and those of Central and South America have helped greatly to arouse in North American Catholics a sense of the peculiar incongruity of segregation in the Church.

A similar process takes place with regard to American Catholic relationships with Europe and the Church throughout the world. Countless American Catholic GI's have returned to the United States fresh from their contacts with the mission populations of India, the South Pacific, or West Africa. They have been profoundly moved by what they have seen in those countries, and it has brought to them, as nothing has before, the concept of a universal Church.

On the other hand, passing from the world scale to the local scale, Catholic pastors and social workers alike are coming to realize the importance of integration in solving community problems. Catholic leaders, clergy and lay, have begun to realize that the attack on crime, like the attack on prejudice, must be made on the local level, and that the need of community cooperation and or-

ganization is steadily more apparent.

All this is not intended to convey a rosy picture. The idea of segregation as a Church policy as well as a social policy has had a vigorous life in the past. It has had venerable precedents. It is not a matter which can be excoriated by a mere fiat, by some simple legislation or disavowal. It is an infantile condition out of which men and institutions have to grow.

These racist survivals will continue to do harm, they will continue to create dissatisfaction, but their life is doomed; they are living on borrowed time. Full and complete integration of the Negro in the Catholic Church in the United States is a future certainty. The interracial movement that has been started will not, and cannot, be reversed. It is characteristic of the Catholic Church to move slowly, but not to reverse its path once it is in motion

THE SPECTRUM

(Continued from page 25)

older "America." A generation ago, Ludwig Lewisohn, the critic, bitterly reacting to certain anti-Semitic experiences in his youth, expressed a strong feeling on this point:

The notion of liberty on which the republic was founded, the spirit of America that animated Emerson and Whitman, is vividly alive today only in the unassimilated foreigner, in that pathetic pilgrim to a forgotten shrine.

"The people who have kept democracy in America," wrote the late Professor Robert E. Park of the University of Chicago, "are just the immigrants who have had to fight for democracy from the time they landed in this country seeking to get themselves established."

Resurgence

In many ways, at many different points, today un-American versions of the "American tradition" are being countered. For nearly two decades, now, the Supreme Court has been steadily reinvesting the Fourteenth Amendment with something of its original meaning and intention.

The confused "patriotic Americans" who early advocated segregation, democracy, and "white supremacy"—in the same breath—may have been unaware of any inconsistency between their racial attitudes and their stated

devotion to ideals. But today, many undoubtedly are beginning to be painfully conscious of a discrepancy. Except for certain demagogues, there is less defiance and intransigence in their statements; justifications are less sure, and there is more groping for facts and reason.

The South and the West formerly were allied and adamantly reactionary on the racial question; but in the last great debate on race policy in the 79th Congress, both of the Senators from California (one a Democrat, the other a Republican) and a majority of the California congressional delegation were vigorous advocates of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee. Senator Dennis Chavez of New Mexico, himself of Hispanic background, led the fight for the FEPC in the Senate, seconded by a far westerner, Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon.

Formerly, southern members were able to count on western support in any matter related to race segregation. The split between West and South on FEPC clearly indicated that the time is approaching when Congress will honor its long forgotten obligation to maintain the civil rights of all citizens of the United States.

This is only another way of saying that the culture of America has begun to achieve a new integration—that the attempt to impose a bogus counter-tradition upon our older democratic heritage has failed.

SOUTHERN WAYS

(Continued from page 42)

families do not enter the homes of members of the other race as guests. In all parts of the South this is a matter of custom; in some it is a matter of law. Thus, in Alabama, it is a punishable offense for a Negro and a white man to eat in the same room; or to spend the night under the same roof, except, of course in the case of servants in the homes of "masters."

Federally financed or federally stimulated housing projects in the New Deal years improved the housing available to Negroes in many communities, through slum clearance and the building of modern apartments and homes. But these projects conform meticulously to local patterns of residential segregation, as did

new housing for war industry workers.

Negroes are not being overlooked in postwar public housing plans in the South. Memphis, Tenn., for example, which has set itself a goal of 8,500 new units of residential construction under the Veterans Emergency Housing Plan, has earmarked 3,500 of these for Negro occupancy. In Meridan, Miss., of 2,000 new units contemplated, 800 will be available to Negroes. Jackson, Miss., expects to have 3,000 new units, one third of them for Negroes.

All these undertakings serve to perpetuate the South's "Jim Crow" pattern, just as "better" Negro schools in the end help maintain segregated education.

Pressures and Inertias

Economic pressures, however, are causing some rearrangement of the South's discriminatory pattern. For example, discrimination in travel conveniences has been challenged in the courts in various test cases.

Recent efforts of state legislators in Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia to introduce separate bus laws were defeated by the bus company representatives or their lobbyists. It was too expensive an undertaking. When the Alabama Public Service Commission sought to revise its infamous "Rule T18" to provide more stringent methods of segregating colored travelers, the carriers themselves (aided by a committee of Negro and white citizens) effected an adjustment that left things as they were.

The growing custom of separating white from colored passengers in dining cars is becoming an accepted segregation device. In 1943, the superintendent of dining cars sent the following bulletin to dining car stewards and waiters-in-charge on one southern line:

Effective at once, portiere curtains are to be hung between stations 1 and 2 at all times between 6 A.M. and 10 P.M.

These curtains are to be pushed back against the wall until occasion rises for use of same.

You are also being provided with a "reserved" placard, which is to be placed on the two stations nearest the buffet at the beginning of each meal. These two tables are to be reserved for colored passengers until all other seats in the dining room have been occupied. When all other stations have been occupied, if no colored passengers have presented

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themselves the "reserved" cards may be removed and the tables used for white passengers.

If while the tables are occupied by white passengers, a colored passenger should present himself and request service, he is to be informed that he will be called as soon as a seat reserved for his use is vacated

If colored passengers present themselves while this reserved space is occupied, you will also offer to serve them in the coach or the Pullman, as the case may be, promptly in event they do not wish to wait until the space which has been reserved for them is available.

Interstate bus lines, prior to the U. S. Supreme Court decision outlawing racial segregation in interstate commerce, also issued instructions on the separation of white and colored passengers. One southern bus line had experienced so much difficulty in handling its colored passengers that the assistant general manager had to remind all his district managers:

A considerable amount of our revenue is derived from our colored passengers and we cannot afford to drive this business away from our coaches by the continuation of such mishandling.

All personnel under your supervision should be warned regarding discourtesy and mishandling of colored passengers.

Segregation in the South breeds confusion. Some of its practices are long established and the "liberals" of the region seem more concerned with making life livable under segregation than with eliminating the system or its basic injustices.

Ancient Patterns

Some colored people are in favor of doing nothing about a scheme under which they have prospered economically. To eliminate segregation, they say, would destroy the whole fabric of Negro life and leadership in the South. To the middle class Negro population, in the main, a break in the ancient pattern is unthinkable. Too many liberals, and too many of those most ruthlessly affected by the system, are willing to "adjust." They distrust such a vigorous statement of protest and principle as was drawn up by a group of Negroes in Durham, N. C., four years ago. They are ready to agree with the southern businessman whose comment on the Durham Declaration was widely applauded. Said he, "We ought to teach Negroes to like segregation."

The devices of segregation spin like the wheels of chance. Round and round they go, and where they will stop, nobody knows—and all too few seem to care.

IN THE COTTON DELTA

(Continued from page 51)

should be a floor, as well as a ceiling, for wages, the planters protested against "outside interference."

Injustices—Big and Little

Small farmers throughout the South are unorganized—hence they are largely at the mercy of the organized minority of large white farmers. Both Negroes and the great majority of white farmers are in the same disadvantageous position.

In Arkansas, Alabama, and Mississippi, Negro farmers constitute a large proportion of the Farm Bureau membership, but they have no voice in agency affairs and receive little or no benefit. In some plantation counties, the Farm Bureau enrollment is as much as five times the total number of white farmers of the entire county, leaving, by simple deduction, four fifths who are Negro members. These are enrolled through a check-

off handled by the plantation managers and the county agent. Each "cooperating" planter simply pays dues for all his tenants and charges their respective accounts, then gets it back at settlement time in the fall. It is the rare tenant who ever knows that he is a Farm Bureau member.

In St. Francis County, Ark., which has had the largest Farm Bureau enrollment in the state for four years straight, the bureau did not bother to have a single membership meeting during the year. In Coahoma County, Miss., where an estimated 95 percent of the dues-paying members are Negroes (through involuntary check-off), the only meetings last year were held in the form of dinners at the local country club, where Negroes, of course, are not admitted except as servants.

About the only course of action open to a Negro farmer in case of a

dispute with his landlord is to leave the plantation empty-handed; even this he is not always free to do. Instances of peonage are still to be found, and in the cotton counties one still hears of "runaway Negroes" being pursued and brought back to the plantation—by force, if necessary.

It is strictly against tradition for a Negro to attempt recourse through the courts, unless sponsored by a white protector. In such a case, the testimony of a Negro witness against a white man is not admitted as evidence.

Negroes have been known to be shot or beaten to death for disputing the word of their white employers, even for asking for a written statement of their account at the plantation commissary.

"Four Cans of Lard"

One example from Arkansas illustrates a prevalent attitude. A white planter was reading off the list of charges against the tenant's "furnish" account (some planters don't even bother to itemize) at the settlement time. He read "four cans of lard," whereupon the tenant reminded him that he kept his own hogs and never bought any lard.

"Do you know who keeps the books?" the landlord shouted, enraged at the tenant's audacity in questioning the statement.

"Yes, sir; your sister," the tenant replied.

"Then do you say she lied?"

"No, sir, I wouldn't say that," said the tenant, and dropped the complaint.

Such transactions seem strange in a civilized world, but they are not strange to a plantation county. A Negro preacher once told me, in trying to explain the strangeness of plantation settlements, "Dey goes on de plantation wid dey eyes open"—meaning that the tenants know in advance they will be cheated.

Both Negro and white churches, with few exceptions, contribute to the support of the *status quo* in race relations. Negro churches depend upon white contributions for a substantial part of their upkeep. Too often white churches of all denominations and faiths seem reluctant to challenge the present order with any vigor.

A Protestant minister, pastor of one of the largest churches in the Mississippi Delta, replied to my question as to how the southern clergy felt

toward the system of slavery prior to the war between the states:

"Why, naturally, the clergy accepted the system of slavery," he said. I asked why.

"Well, the clergy accepted slavery because it was the lawful and accepted public policy."

This minister of the gospel, like many other professional men of the area, has a vested interest in the prevailing economic system. He is a planter himself, as were many ministers and church dignitaries in slavery days. He owns several hundred acres of rich cotton land, tended by sharecroppers. It was not surprising to learn that he opposes the extension of social security benefits to farmers. He would oppose any attempt of the government to regulate farm working conditions. He is against Negroes voting, and he profoundly dislikes the CIO. He spoke highly of the planter-dominated Farm Bureau and was critical of the Farm Security Administration.

Discrimination and injustice shadow almost every aspect of a Negro's life in the Deep South.

For example, the big daily newspapers in Memphis, New Orleans,

Little Rock, and many other southern cities, as a matter of longstanding policy exclude pictures of Negroes from their news columns. An exception is that of notorious Negro criminals. About the only time Negroes can get a hearing in this white press is when they support the prevailing white point of view on some controversial issue pertaining to Negro-white relations. So-called Negro papers as a rule are owned and controlled by whites, and edited from the white not the Negro point of view.

Legal ceilings on interest rates are usually disregarded when non-recorded loans are made to Negroes by farm proprietors and small town lenders. Studies by government agencies show that annual interest rates of 40 and 50 percent have been common during the past decade in southern plantation areas.

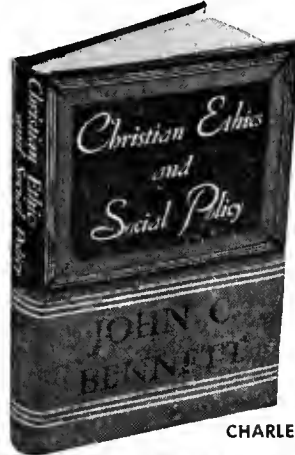
Most big insurance companies refuse to issue life policies to Negroes, and the few that do write such policies, charge much higher premiums for Negroes than whites, higher than justified by mortality tables. There are industrial insurance companies, that cater especially to Negroes, col-



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lecting premiums weekly or monthly, and developing a widespread racket with which state insurance commissioners have shown no desire to interfere. Perhaps the greatest hope of breaking the racket lies in the expansion of Negro-controlled companies. State legislation is needed to protect Negroes against excessive premium rates.

What Is the Outlook?

Outward sympathy for the plight of Negroes in the plantation areas is not tolerated by public policy. There is a growing belief among the whites, however, that the Negro will ask for, and get, a better deal in the near future.

The poll tax is only one of the many ways now employed to keep Negroes from voting. The heavy hand of custom and tradition is enough to discourage most Negroes from taking the first step toward becoming qualified electors, that of presenting themselves at the registration clerk's office. Clerks in many counties would refuse to register them, anyway.

The late Eugene Talmadge, speaking at a convention of Democrats as Governor-elect of Georgia is reported to have expressed a typical "white supremacy" view, saying that "Negroes are not yet educated for voting." Such a statement rings false to the many well educated Negro citizens who have presented themselves at the polls and who have been turned away.

Many well meaning white people, themselves exploited by the system of racial segregation, like to point to the Negro as the scapegoat causing their economic woes. They have become easy victims of the propaganda that Negroes, if allowed to vote, would soon be electing Negro officials.

There seems to be no ground for the widely expressed fear that Negroes, including the ignorant, would qualify and vote in large numbers, and that they would vote as a racial bloc. But regardless of all these considerations, most southern whites now believe that Negroes will be voting soon in all elections. The ruling of the U. S. Supreme Court in the Texas case (see page 14) is expected to "stick."

Traditionally, big southern employers demand an abundant supply of cheap labor. This cheap labor philosophy has clashed sharply with the growth of labor unions. It had its

roots in exploitation of Negro farm hands and, until the war, retarded the trend toward mechanized farming. Whites have been slow to realize that the lowest paid workers of a community tend to set the wage scale for all other workers. Perhaps one reason why the CIO has become so unpopular among native southern employers is the union's realistic approach to the low wage problem. The unpopularity is heightened by the CIO's pioneering in breaking down segregation customs which for generations have resulted in the impoverishment of both whites and Negroes.

Reactionaries of the type of Bilbo and Rankin have successfully blocked the advancement of southern schools, white and Negro, by defeating proposed appropriation bills for federal aid to education. Today, school authorities are hopeful that the need for federal aid will be recognized by Congress. The chief barrier to such legislation is the determination of certain southerners to hold Negroes down at any cost, even at the cost of good schools for white children.

It is probably due to ignorance rather than to indifference that we white southerners do not rise up and demand fairer treatment of all children in the matter of education. Certain obvious injustices are so glaring that we should not tolerate them. For example, the fact that white children in rural areas ride free in public school buses while Negroes do not, violates the American claim of equal opportunity to all citizens. Few southerners seem to resent it when the son of a millionaire cotton planter in Coahoma County, Miss., rides to school in a free bus, while the Negro sharecropper's son must pay \$3 a week.

Nor does it seem quite in accord with American standards of justice that a Negro high school principal in Wayne County, Miss., who holds a Master's degree from the University of Illinois, should receive only \$57 a month salary, while in the same county, white teachers with less than high school education, carrying less responsibility, receive nearly twice as much.

The retiring superintendent of education in Crittenden County, Ark., after completing a 36-year tenure, boasted that white teachers of his county were the best paid, and Negro teachers the poorest paid, among all counties of the entire state. As school

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funds are now divided, \$132 a year is spent on the schooling of the average white child, only \$9 on the average Negro. In St. Francis County, Ark., and elsewhere, new free school books go to whites. After these have been used for three years in white schools, they are ready for distribution to Negro schools. In the same Arkansas county, Negroes are not allowed to enter the \$22,000 "public" library that was built with a federal WPA grant. No other library is available to Negroes.

Labor Displacement

Much has been said, but not enough, about the probable displacement of Negro labor due to the mechanical cotton picker. The subject is not being generally discussed with the workers. County extension agents, who take their cues from the planters, are playing down the approaching human problems and hardships that seem inevitable when, as will soon happen, several million persons are displaced.

Perhaps the greatest needs in many rural areas of the South are more industry and more payrolls. Yet it is apparent that chambers of commerce in many leading cotton counties actually exert more effort to keep industries out than to bring them in. The chambers derive their support from planters and allied commercial interests who fear that factories would bid against them for labor. It is feared, too, that industry would mean labor unions, and planters have long dreaded the prospect of organized farm labor.

It was not surprising that high wartime pay in northern cities enticed Negroes away from the cotton fields. The migration is still in progress. Few whites expect the Negroes to return unless there is a major depression. Negro veterans, many of whom were out of the South for the first time during the war, have shown the least desire to return to their former jobs with long hours, low pay, and insecurity.

Ex-Governor Sam Jones of Louisiana expressed a common view when he said: "Forty million people live in the South, in a region so fabulously rich with natural resources that no other area of similar size anywhere can compare with it. Yet our living, educational, and health standards are of the lowest."

Many plans have been advanced to

cure the South's economic and cultural ills, but most of them have two major defects:

No special provision is made to attack the heart of the problem, namely, the low income of Negroes which accounts for the South's low average income. The same fallacy can be found with respect to proposed measures on public health, schools, farm tenancy, housing, conveniences, and so on.

Negro leaders are not taken into confidence, not consulted, not invited to help plan or to participate in programs that affect them. Just as Negroes could not be expected to speak for whites, so whites cannot rightly speak for Negroes on many matters.

It's high time for whites in the Deep South to view, in focus, our region's picture of segregation. We must see to it that Negroes begin to receive a little more justice in all things, or by our own inaction we shall leave the task to others who may not be as patient or as tolerant of our traditions.

IN THE ARMED FORCES

(Continued from page 68)

deadening to the spirit and to initiative. The full measure of this cost may be found in the unhappy history of the Ninety-second Division.

The Ninety-second Division had a spotty combat record in Italy. A study of its performance and of the underlying reasons for its shortcomings was made by Truman Gibson, able Negro Assistant Secretary of War, who reported that elements in the division had exhibited a tendency on a number of occasions to "melt away" under fire. Lack of sufficient preparation and of well trained leadership, the discouragements of Jim Crow in military service and in civilian life were among the causes for poor morale and performance which Mr. Gibson pointed to in his report.

Against these costs, of which the army is perfectly aware, must be balanced some savings. Like many other government departments, the army relies for necessary legislation, including appropriations, on two committees normally dominated in Democratic administrations by southerners and heavily pervaded by southern attitudes on race. Any sudden move away from the principle of segregation probably would bring reprisals

(Continued on page 113)

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(Continued from page 111)

from this source and also divert an undue amount of the time of the War Department over this issue. It is difficult to question the army's estimate of this as a saving, especially during the war years when the harassed and undermanned department maintained a daily schedule which few civil servants or officers were asked to match. Also reckoned as a saving, in army terms, was the avoidance of strongly adverse criticism from the Solid South, where a high proportion of the training camps were located.

The Soldier's Balance Sheet

From the standpoint of individual Negroes, segregation involves both profit and loss, although the debit entries far outweigh the credits. On the profit side, reference has already been made to the fact that some of the Negro soldiers selected for officer training were below the relatively rigorous standards set for whites. Their deficiencies were not, of course, inherent. They resulted from inadequate education and very limited opportunity to develop qualities of leadership as civilians.

Segregation also brought about a greater degree of up-grading for some enlisted men than otherwise would have obtained. As a matter of economy, the army attempted to make maximum use of civilian training and experience in assigning all personnel. If this consideration had governed as completely as it would in a non-segregated service, there would have been fewer Negroes in the technical services. But since they largely lacked the civilian experience for technical branches, Negroes would undoubtedly have been even more heavily concentrated than they were in quartermaster and transportation units—the "labor battalions" of earlier wars.

Hence, segregation plus the army policy of having at least token representation of Negroes in all branches of service meant that some Negroes were offered valuable training opportunities which otherwise would have been closed to them.

Finally, segregation undoubtedly served to reduce tension and uncertainty for Negroes accustomed to the pattern as civilians. It is this fact that explains why so large a minority of Negroes expressed a preference for separate outfits. Sudden transition from the kitchen to the parlor, whatever its beneficent effects on the ego,

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In reviewing the first edition, *The Christian Century* stated: ". . . The present volume, prepared for use in the interval before publication of the complete work, is an important book in its own right. It contains an alphabetical list of the topics to be treated in the encyclopedia, with bibliographical references under each head. It is, therefore, a guide to both source materials and to secondary authorities concerning all aspects of Negro life and interest."

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The book is a compilation with the major emphasis on anti-Semitism, but the *Crisis* (colored) found in it: ". . . Useful reference material of considerable value for anyone who wants to understand American racial intolerance. . . ." *Common Ground* wrote: "For all who would gain similar objectivity it provides a compact, comprehensive, and readable discussion. . . ."

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raises havoc with the digestive system. In actual fact, this transition might have been much less difficult than was feared, particularly if the army had prefaced it with a solid educational program for both Negroes and whites. But the 38 percent of the Negroes who said they preferred separate outfits were reacting in terms of their own experience rather than in terms of the ideal situation.

On the debit side, the most important loss to the Negro was the frustration of the first-rate talent in the group. For every Negro officer who won his bars because of segregation, there was at least one whose progress up the ladder of promotion was halted or hindered by the system. Theoretically, promotion procedures were identical with those for whites. In practice, however, comparatively few Negroes rose above the rank of captain.

The very few of field grade rank at the end of hostilities were for the most part men who had won their rank in a National Guard unit or as reserve officers. Many Negro enlisted men, too, knew that their abilities were wasted under a scheme where color determined assignment.

Along with this frustration went a deepened sense of inferiority. The army complained with some truth that Negro soldiers would not follow Negro officers in combat. Yet such a lack of confidence merely reflected the fact that, implicit in the army's own practices, was the judgment that Negro and white officers are different species. What could be more blind than a policy which expects men to risk death behind an officer who from the start is labeled inferior? How can we ever expect Negroes to recognize leadership in their own ranks so long as that recognition is withheld by the white majority?

Looking Ahead

At the close of World War II the War Department acknowledged the urgent need to revise its policy regarding Negro troops. The first step was the appointment of a Board of Officers, with Lieutenant General Alvin C. Gillem as chairman, to review wartime experience and plan for the efficient postwar utilization of Negro military manpower.

The report of this board, issued as part of War Department Circular No. 124 on April 27, 1946, gives ground both for dismay and for hope. It

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recommends continuation of segregation by unit for the present—but for reasons of expediency rather than of racial doctrine. On the other hand, it moves significantly in the direction of integration: first, by providing for the elimination of Negro divisions; and second, by authorizing the organization of Negro units as part of larger, racially mixed units.

The statement in the appendix to this report (which one suspects was added under pressure), that the ultimate objective is for manpower "to be utilized, in the event of another major war, in the army without regard to antecedents or race," is a flat denial of a policy of military segregation.

The real test of the army's devotion to its assigned tasks, without unnecessary temporizing with the forces of race prejudice, will be the thoroughness and speed with which its policies and operations are brought into conformity with this announced goal.

Imperative Program

For reasons set forth earlier in this discussion, it is not practical to take the stand that all traces of segregation in the army must immediately be removed. Nevertheless, it is both reasonable and imperative that a program for the swift and orderly elimination of all distinctions between Negro and white soldiers be developed and adopted in the shortest time possible.

The report of the Gillem board is most disappointing in its statement that "the Board cannot, and does not, attempt to visualize at this time, intermediate objectives," and that "between the first and ultimate objective, timely phasing may be interjected and adjustments made in accordance with conditions which may obtain at this undetermined date." Such planning merely for the immediate present is more likely to freeze existing practices than to lead to the achievement of the final objective defined in the report.

The postwar decision of the War Department to discontinue organization of Negro troops in divisions in favor of "Negro regiments or groups, separate battalions or squadrons, and separate companies, troops or batteries" is a logical result of World War II experience, and suggests a rational line of future action. Obviously it soon should be followed by the aboli-

tion of Negro regiments through the association of Negro and white companies within regiments. The next step would be the abolition of Negro companies and the assignment of Negro and white platoons to the same company. Complete integration would, and probably would, follow almost automatically.

At each of these steps should come increasing restriction on the maximum degree of separate organization permissible, and there should be con-

tinuous encouragement of closer forms of integration as local and other conditions permit. Such a program would be entirely in accord with the general findings of the Board of Officers and also with their specific conclusion that "experiments and other experiences of World War II indicate clearly that the most successful employment of Negro units occurred when they were employed as units closely associated with whites on similar tasks, and a greater degree of suc-



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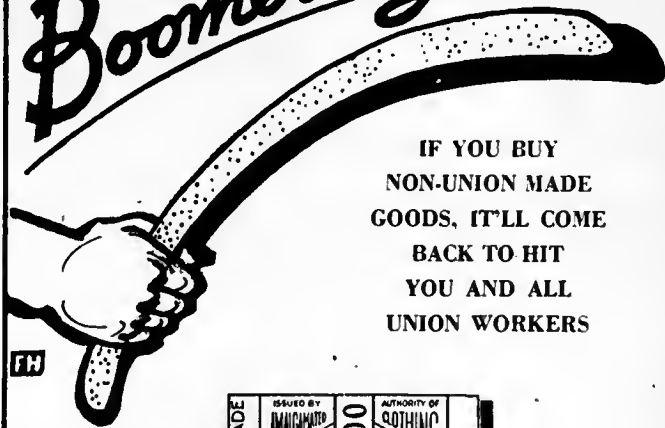
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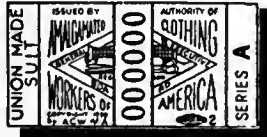
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cess was obtained when small Negro organizations were so employed." It may be criticized as a program of compromise or "gradualism," but it could be initiated at once, and in all probability could be carried to its conclusion in something less than fifteen years.

Those who hold the conviction that racial segregation in the armed forces of the United States must be quickly abolished can find encouragement in the fact that not only has the army publicly taken the position that race is not a sound basis for military organization but that the navy also has gone on record to the same effect. "The Guide to the Command of Negro Naval Personnel," issued by the Bureau of Naval Personnel in 1944, underscores the statement that "the navy accepts no theories of racial differences in inborn ability, but expects that every man wearing its uniform be trained and used in accordance with his maximum individual capacity determined on the basis of individual performance."

It will take time to translate these official declarations into practice, but their very existence provides firm bases for needed corrective measures.

HE FOUGHT FOR FREEDOM

(Continued from page 71)

Transcending the traditional caste barriers of the South are federal laws which give blanket benefits to all veterans in every part of the USA. But for the Negro veteran, particularly in the South, the laws are virtually nonexistent. With the sole exception of the National Housing Agency, the federal agencies which administer these benefits have consistently ignored the needs of Negroes.

In a survey of Veterans Administration offices in a group of southern cities, not one Negro was found on the staff, except in the scattered Negro colleges which have been selected as rehabilitation and counseling centers. How can the Negro veteran obtain a sympathetic hearing at a VA office when the staff that is serving him is Jim Crow?

In Tennessee and Louisiana where the USES maintains separate offices for Negroes, there is not one Negro on the staff. Yet in these states, 50 percent of the USES job applicants are Negroes.

A Southern Regional Council report shows that "no Negroes are employed as contact representatives by the Veterans Employment Service in the southern states, and very few are so employed in other sections of the country." In only one city, are Negroes represented on the Rating Boards. Even New York City's fifteen boards have not one Negro member.

Wartime Gains

In every major war the American Negro's cause has moved ahead. Yet each war has been followed by a reaction which, on some levels, wiped out all gains. The American Revolution saw the rise of a brisk, mercantile society and of a Jeffersonian outlook in the North. The combination removed the last vestiges of slavery in the northern states. It was not long, however, before a booming cotton market brought the rapid growth of the plantation system, and rooted slavery in the South for another century.

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Out of the Civil War the Negro gained emancipation, the dignity of military service, and—for a time—universal political suffrage. Yet the war was not over many years before the “new birth of freedom” gave way to a newer birth of discrimination and disfranchisement.

World War I gave the Negro his first real opportunity as a worker in northern industry. More than a million migrated to northern centers. The way of life there, though largely limited to the confines of racial slums, gave them greater stimulation and satisfaction than they had known in the peonage and cotton tenancy of the South. Yet the great wartime migration sharply increased the animosity of northern white workers; and the postwar years saw a number of serious riots, and the extension of the ghetto pattern in the North.

Postwar Setbacks

The Negro veteran of World War II finds himself facing similar retrogressive forces. He is no longer strategic in the military balance. The end of the war has weakened the bargaining power of the Negro population as a whole. The groups who desire to restore wholesale segregation and prejudice are less hampered now than they were during the war.

Many a Negro veteran has found this peacetime America “too tough to take.” For all the humiliations of segregated army service, many remembered that it was only in uniform that they ever knew anything approaching a decent standard of living — shelter, warm clothing, and decent food; army medical service, insurance, and jobs, whatever the details, were better than the dirty, listless tasks offered most of them as civilians.

Despite the justified wartime outcry of the Negro community and of Negro servicemen, themselves, against the indignity of segregated army life, Negro veterans poured back into the service in the first year after the war while the attractive reenlistment program was still open to them. Although they had constituted approximately 10 percent of the wartime army, they accounted for 25 percent of the reenlistments in the first year after the war. (Reenlistments in the navy were also high.) When this process began to change the traditional proportions in the army, the War Department ended Negro reenlistment until such time as an accep-

table white majority is restored.

The obvious interpretation of the high rate of Negro reenlistment is not that the individual soldier loves Jim Crow military life more, but Jim Crow civilian America less. Properly understood, these reenlistment figures are a penetrating comment on America’s homecoming welcome to the Negro serviceman.

While many Americans are aware of this fact and eager to speed the integration of the Negro into the nation’s life, the Negro veteran soon learned, ironically enough, that these

individuals are apt to be found among teachers, intellectuals, writers, and progressive political groups, rather than among former servicemen like himself in the old-line veterans’ organizations. Though he may be well aware that he cannot buck postwar race reaction singlehandedly, and though instinctively he may seek to join forces with the men who have served in uniform, as he has, he faces the hard fact that the older and politically powerful veterans’ organizations are not interested in his case.

The general practices of the Amer-



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ican Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Disabled American Veterans—the big three—run to segregated posts for Negroes and to a second rate type of membership for them which is a rough parallel of the Negro's second rate citizenship.

Undoubtedly, there are veterans of the more recent wars in these older organizations who oppose such practices. But they are a minority and generally without power in the policy-making councils. Leadership still rests with the older, prosperous, established, and often reactionary, veterans of earlier wars. Numerous public statements made by these leaders to justify their Jim Crow practices expose their basic lack of sympathy with the cause of Negro integration.

In general the Jim Crow posts are justified on the dubious grounds that Negro veterans want things that way. To the Negro veteran, such statements spell only hostility and the desire to perpetuate the very segregation patterns which are the basis of his insecure position in all fields.

The alternatives to Jim Crow membership are not numerous. Negro veterans in remote sections in the South organized local groups, but

through lack of national contacts and political status in the community, the effectiveness of their organizations is very limited. On a national scale the United Negro and Allied Veterans got underway, affirming a biracial make-up, but actually nearly all Negro.

The American Veterans Committee welcomes Negro veterans to full and unqualified membership and seeks at every opportunity to represent their interests within the larger framework of the organization's policy: "Citizens first, veterans second." Negro membership constitutes a sizable proportion of the AVC.

There are two general conclusions, it seems to me, that can be drawn from the experiences of America's Negro veterans in the first year and a half following the end of hostilities. The first is that these Negroes on the whole represented a class of men who by virtue of the training, discipline, sacrifices, and maturing experiences of army life, had been prepared for integration into the nation's life. The second is that the nation has largely failed to grasp this opportunity and in too many instances has regarded it rather as a threat.

The Negro has shared appreciably in the GI Bill of Rights and in the specific federal legislation which could not possibly have been written to embrace color-caste segregation. But membership in the "52-20 club" (52 weeks on the \$20 allowances) is not primarily what the Negro asks of America, any more than it is what the white veterans asks. He wants to be a man, a citizen, a human being, an equal.

In order to channel this eagerness, which certainly could be made the basis for useful and creative citizenship and for the growth of well rounded individuals, America must find a way to accept the entire Negro minority into its life. Segregation cannot be compartmentalized.

In any discussion of race relations one hears the statement of certain confused and timid people that "the Negro should be patient," and "the Negro only hurts his cause by agitation." This is precisely the way to turn hope into hatred, and a dark-complexioned veteran-citizen into a malcontent. The inevitable human response to hypocrisy is disgust.

A century ago a former slave, Frederick Douglass, speaking on In-

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dependence Day, voiced this response in unforgettable words:

What to the American Negro is your Fourth of July? I answer: A day that reveals to him more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty of which he is the constant victim. To him your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciation of tyrants, brass-fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings with all your religious parade and solemnity are to him mere bombast, grand deception, impiety and hypocrisy—a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages.

America cannot afford to impose such despair upon its Negro veterans. But when the lynching of a Negro ex-sailor in Louisiana or the wanton blinding of an ex-soldier in South Carolina go so callously unpunished, the bitterness of Frederick Douglass seethes in the heart of every Negro veteran who can think and feel.

Something of the same reaction darkens the spirit of the northern veteran who finds he must confine his work and life to the dreary opportunities of a ghetto world. *The nation cannot afford to lose these men.*

Segregation is nowhere more costly to democracy than among the segregated veterans who fought for freedom.



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MIS-EDUCATION (Continued from page 73)

As the individual reaches adulthood, community sanctions, custom, and even the law in many instances, tend to fix permanently the attitudes he has developed.

The community finds that as the child grows older, it becomes necessary to provide some rational basis for his prejudice. This is the more necessary since race prejudice runs counter to a basic tenet of his political, social, and religious faith—"that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights. . . ." It becomes necessary therefore to invent and teach a number of stereotypes which are designed to harmonize his prejudice with his creed.

Education for segregation, if it is to be effective, must perpetuate beliefs

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which define the Negro's status as inferior, which emphasize superficial differences, or which in any way suggest that the Negro is a lower order of being and therefore should not be expected to be treated like a white person. Thus, the Negro is practically always depicted in the movies as a menial or a buffoon; described in the newspapers as a "burly" criminal; and too frequently regarded in our school textbooks as "the white man's burden."

Racial attitudes may result from situations where there is no direct teaching. I recall a motion picture which I saw some time ago, called "The Lives of a Bengal Lancer"—a story of British imperialism in India, in which all the heroes are white, all the villains dark-skinned. Bengali natives had isolated and were in the process of destroying a British garrison. The British soldiers, greatly outnumbered, were in a desperate position. Reinforcements arrived in the "nick of time" and British prestige and authority were preserved in that part of India.

This climax was thunderously applauded by an audience made up almost exclusively of some fifteen hundred Negro children.

Again, several years ago, a teacher in a Negro elementary school was about to begin a project on "Our South American Neighbors." As a basis for her teaching, she decided to ascertain how much her pupils already knew about the subject. She found that the Mexicans were the only Latin Americans about whom they had any information at all. And the sum total of their "information" was: Mexicans are always dirty and greasy, can speak only broken English, are invariably outlaws and cowards, and are generally shunned by decent citizens. Most of the children were certain that Mexicans should not be allowed to come into this country at all. Obviously, these children had seen a number of Western melodramas in which Mexicans were almost invariably cast as villains—a practice which was quite general until a few years ago when representations by the Mexican government put a stop to it.

Negroes and their liberal white friends have long sensed the influence of these vicious educative elements in our general culture, and they have attempted to develop countermeasures to combat them. Conse-

quently, we find that they have not only protested against Hollywood distortions, but have helped develop movies which depict Negroes in more favorable and natural roles. They have established newspapers and magazines which give Negro life more inclusive coverage, and written textbooks and inaugurated a "Negro History Week" which emphasize the achievements of Negroes in Western civilization. Some of these countermeasures go to unreasonable extremes, as might be expected—for example, the printing of Sunday school lesson cards with Jesus and his disciples colored brown.

This Is the Harvest

Mis-education for segregation has deleterious effects on both Negroes and whites. It requires mental and emotional gymnastics on both sides to adjust (or attempt to adjust) to the many logical and ethical contradictions of segregation. The situation is crippling to the personalities of both Negro and white Americans.

The effects of education for segregation upon Negroes vary from individual to individual, from region to region, and from group to group, as they do in the case of whites. It is well known that the better educated and more prosperous Negroes develop more frustrations than do the less fortunate, because the former group does not fully accept segregation, even when it is maintained by law. However, most poverty stricken Negroes adjust themselves to segregation with the fatalism which characterizes their adjustment to the other obstacles they cannot overcome. This patience is less prevalent as educational opportunities improve.

Even when Negro parents accept segregation and all the rationalizations which go along with it, as some do, their task is difficult because of the innumerable variations in "etiquette" which obtain, and because of the growing intractability of Negro children on this point. When the parents refuse to acquiesce unconditionally, as is true of most of the better educated, their task becomes even more difficult.

If they teach their children to be absolute nonconformists, especially where segregation is maintained by law or rigid custom, the children may come to grief. If they teach the children to conform, as a matter of expediency, they do something to their personalities which may permanently

(In answering advertisements please mention SURVEY GRAPHIC)

warp them. Accordingly, most parents seek and follow some compromise course between these two extremes which, as Charles S. Johnson has pointed out, may involve any one of these general reactions—"acceptance, avoidance, or hostility and aggression," with appropriate rationalizations.

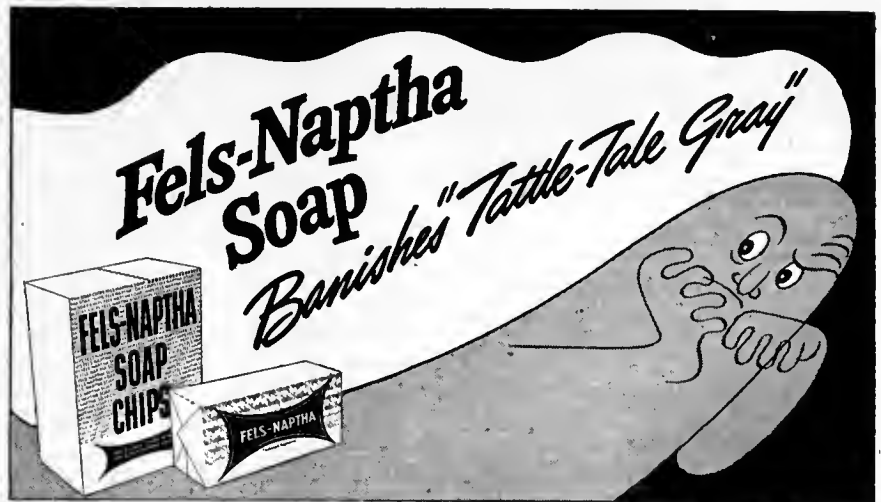
When we recall that this dilemma of Negro parents is merely typical of what occurs in the school, the church, and other educational agencies in Negro life, we should not be surprised at the number of "Uncle Toms," "Bigger Thomases," and other frustrated individuals and types to be found in the colored population.

The effects are in some ways as injurious to whites as they are to Negroes. It is a source of wonder, to say the least, how many white people endure the mental and emotional strain necessary to live up to, or even with, many of the rationalizations of education for segregation. I have always had a lot of sympathy for any white man, particularly a southerner, who has not finished grade school, and who services a Negro doctor's car, collects the laundry from a Negro teacher's family, repairs the plumbing in the house of a Negro lawyer, and who has to try to maintain the fiction that he is "better" than the Negro doctor, teacher, or lawyer, merely because he is white. My sympathy is not substantially lessened, even when such frustrated persons resort to discourtesies and uncouth behavior toward Negroes as a sort of compensatory device.

Similarly, I do not envy the white pastor or priest who has to try to preach the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man in a segregated church. Nor should I like to be in the place of the white teacher who is required to try to teach the tenets of democracy in a segregated school.

It does not seem to me mere accident that there is a high correlation between the social, economic, and cultural advancement of various states and regions of our country and the emphasis which is placed upon segregation and education for segregation. Booker T. Washington's well known aphorism, "You can't keep a man in a ditch without staying down there with him," is still highly instructive.

In view of the damage it does, one wonders whether racial segregation is not the Number One problem of this nation.



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WANTED: Permanent position only, child care or related fields. Mature married man, Master's Degree Social Work. 20 years experience institutions and public field, last 12 years as Executive. 8481 Survey.

SOCIAL WORKER, mature woman, Protestant, some training, not graduate. Experience: case work and supervision, counselling, settlement house, personnel, administration. Interested in position director club, home or school, New York or vicinity, non-resident work New York. References. 8480 Survey.

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raised in a number of projects. Chicago public housing ostensibly operates under the clear-cut ruling that each project shall be open to all citizens of Chicago; but this ruling has not been implemented in every instance.

The Cabrini project is interracial, as are several other war housing projects. The Ida Wells project and the Altgelt Gardens—the first in a well established Negro neighborhood, and the second in an outlying area—are occupied almost exclusively by Negroes, although there is a token participation by whites at Altgelt Gardens.

The relatively progressive housing policies in Chicago have not been achieved without resistance, and in some instances, open hostility. A recent and widely publicized effort of prejudiced white groups to take over a project on Korlov Avenue near the municipal airport is a case in point. The plan was that, out of the project's 180 family units, eighteen or twenty would be made available to Negro tenants — roughly the proportion of Negroes to whites in the community. Just as a building was completed, however, well organized white "squatters" swept in, taking over all the units. Police and local politicians cooperated with them by permitting them to get the keys from the administration office. When housing authorities began eviction proceedings, word was passed that the squatters would leave voluntarily if management would abandon its announced policy of renting some apartments to Negro families. The management refused to retreat.

The case is still pending, though the mayor, after a long period of silence, has ordered the police to protect Negro tenants when and if they move into the project.

Unfortunately, the matter has been further complicated by various subtle appeals to public opinion on behalf of the squatters, who are represented as homeless, patriotic Americans. This, of course, is to avoid the real issue, with its challenge to democratic principles.

In postwar housing, perhaps the most deplorable example of the perpetuation of undemocratic southern

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patterns in northern communities is the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company's "Stuyvesant Town," in New York City. Designed to provide up-to-date moderate cost housing for 8,000 families (25,000 individuals), this vast development will cover eighteen city blocks. In building it, the Metropolitan has the enormous financial advantages of condemnation and 25-year tax relief on the improvement. When it became known that Stuyvesant Town would be "for white people only," a storm of protest broke out. This was intensified by the inept declaration of Frederick H. Ecker, president of the Metropolitan, that in his view, Negroes and white people "don't live together."

As a result of the uproar that followed the announcement of segregation in Stuyvesant Town, a local ordinance was passed providing that no future housing which enjoys such advantages as condemnation, tax relief, and so on can bar applicants on the basis of race or color. This, of course, does not apply to Stuyvesant Town, nor to any project outside New York City.

It is possible that there will be court tests of the Metropolitan's "lily white" rule if applications from Negro families for Stuyvesant Town apartments are rejected for no apparent cause except race. It is even possible, of course, that the insurance company may modify its stand.

Meanwhile, the Metropolitan is proceeding with a second postwar housing development, Rivertown Houses, located in New York's Harlem — a virtually segregated community. It remains to be seen what position the company will take if white families apply for apartments in this project; but at best there would be only token representation of whites in a development located in the heart of Harlem.

While these privately financed projects (which enjoy substantial, if indirect, public subsidy) set out to repeat undemocratic patterns of residential segregation, public housing in New York City furnishes excellent examples of how successfully non-segregated residence can be established as the accepted way of life in a northern community.

There are at present thirteen public housing projects in New York City, none of which is segregated. The proportion of Negro to white families occupying apartments in the various developments varies from com-

jobs at a time when their services were desperately needed.

Three states, New York, New Jersey and Massachusetts, have enacted "little FEPC" laws. The New York State Commission Against Discrimination has been the most interested in reforming the discriminatory unions within its jurisdiction and it has made contacts with all these organizations in an attempt to secure compliance with the law. Partially as a result of their activities, the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes, AFL, amended its constitution in July 1946 to abolish its Jim Crow auxiliary. It is now organizing Negro and white workers in the South without discrimination.

There also has been some progress in other organizations. Attempts of leadership of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, AFL, to abolish its Jim Crow auxiliary were defeated at its

community to community. In general, they follow the neighborhood pattern. Some, like Red Hook, located where there never has been a large Negro population, have only a few colored families. In one project, 50 percent of the tenant families are Negroes. It is interesting to note, in passing, that in this project, a Negro woman was recently elected head of the large and active club, to which nearly all the women in the development belong.

To examine the facts is to realize that there can be no equality of opportunity, equal protection before the law, or general feeling of belonging on the part of colored minorities, as long as America accepts segregation of ethnic groups. In the North, the pattern has spread rapidly, and residential segregation is its most deadly expression. We can perhaps postpone the issue by extending the segregated areas, but with new waves of migration to urban centers and normal population increase, the enlarged ghettos will become inadequate, and the process will have to be repeated.

Meanwhile, every action which perpetuates residential segregation creates greater emotional and economic barriers to its abolition. Land takes on color labels and all that is not occupied by Negroes or surrounded by them is considered "white land."

1946 convention, but this organization did adopt a by-law providing for no discrimination in the three states having "little FEPC" laws. A similar rule was passed by the 1946 convention of the Order of Railway Conductors, and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen deleted the word "white" from its constitution at its recent conclave. In the case of the last named, however, traditional practice has not been altered, for at the same time that the Trainmen's convention voted to remove the word "white" from its constitution, it was engaged in an effort to deprive Negroes of jobs on the Missouri Pacific and Santa Fe lines.

The work of the New York State Commission indicates that a measure of reform can be achieved by law, but that it is necessary to go beyond securing changes in constitutions. Undoubtedly, the commission will do so within its jurisdiction.

Each extension of the ghetto occasions as much opposition as the preceding one—space available to minorities never catches up with the real need. Because the demand remains greater than the supply, the cost of housing for minorities is higher than the cost of comparable homes for whites; profits usually are higher, too.

Ghettos become a symbol—an evidence of the undesirability of members of minority groups as neighbors. Protective associations redouble their efforts to keep colored people out of new areas, bolstering the argument of the real estate dealer that race and land values are associated.

Efforts to do away with segregation in other aspects of life in the North will contribute toward the abolition of the ghetto—if they do no more than break down the ghetto-mindedness of minorities, and the fears and prejudices of majorities. But such action is defeated again and again by the mental, social, and economic results of forcing *all* of a minority group to live in undesirable districts—where the physical and psychological results of segregated neighborhoods provide arguments for their perpetuation and serve as ever present reminders of discrimination to those condemned to ghetto-living for themselves and for their children.

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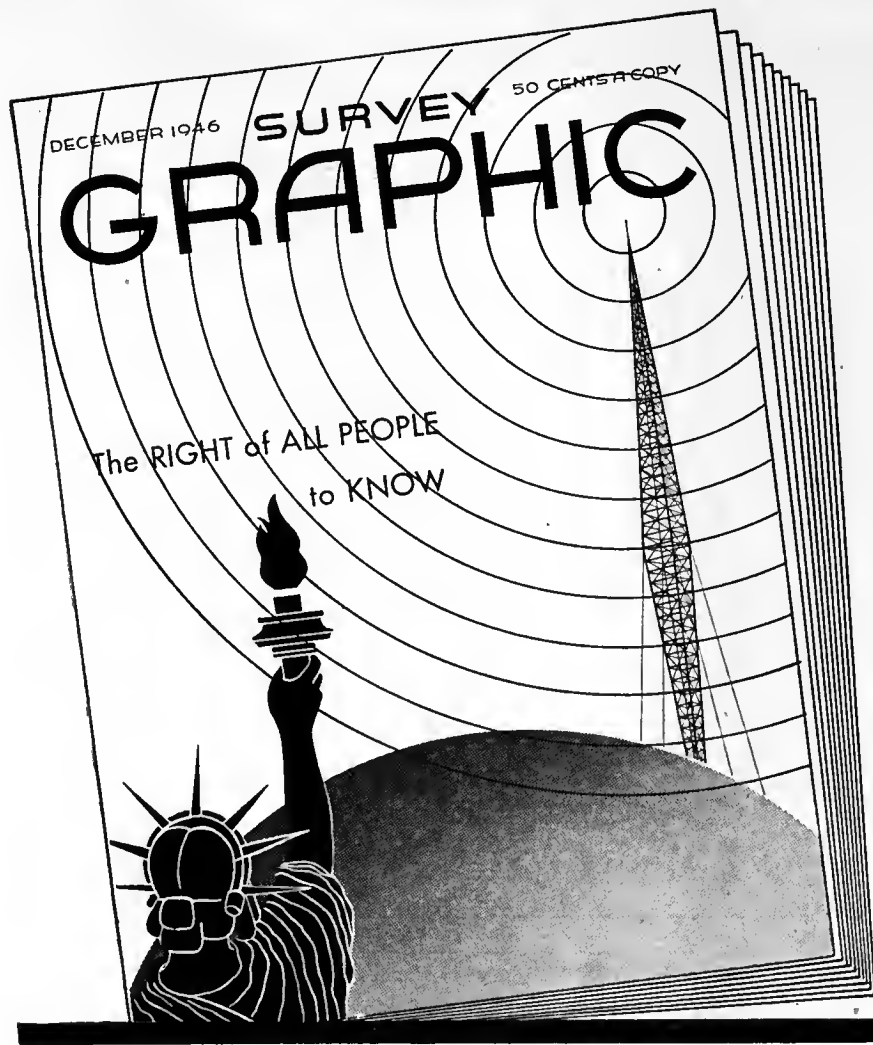
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AS we go to press with this companion issue, citations of *The Right of All People to Know*, title of last month's special number and theme of the Third-of-a-Century celebration of Survey Associates, are reaching us—ranging from country weeklies to metropolitan dailies. These include for example, the *St. Paul Dispatch*; *St. Louis Star-Times*; *Baltimore Sun*; *The New York Times*, *Post*, *Sun*, *Herald-Tribune*; *Christian Science Monitor*; *Greensboro (N. C.) Patriot*; *The Independent of Hardy, Ark.*; *The Landmark of White River Junction, Vt.*; *Minnetonka Record of Excelsior, Minn.*; *Bath (Me.) Daily Times*.

The Columbia Broadcasting System spread Governor Winant's address at our Anniversary Dinner, December 3, across the land. To New York City's audience, WMCA brought what Mrs. Roosevelt and Walter Wanger said and WLIB interviewed Richard B. Scandrett, Jr.

The United Press flashed the challenge of the program around the world.

Among the letters received, a director of the Bettman Archive rated our December *Graphic* "a particularly impressive issue"—an editor for a monthly of world-wide circulation remarked on how we "managed to cover a great deal of territory"—an artist found it "a swell job"—and a third-of-a-century subscriber called it "super-duper."

In this eleventh CALLING AMERICA number, Henry Christman, special editor, and experts in a dozen fields explored barriers and opportunities before magazines, newspapers and books, radio and films, and drove home how the fortunes of democracy, here and abroad, hang at once on ancient civil liberties no less than on amazing advances in means of communication. In the new Congress, a Senate Committee is re-opening its investigation.

Copies are still available at the low prices shown in the adjoining column. Order yours today!—Better yet, enter a dollar subscription on the form slipped in this number, for *The Right of All People to Know* is included.

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Special Editor

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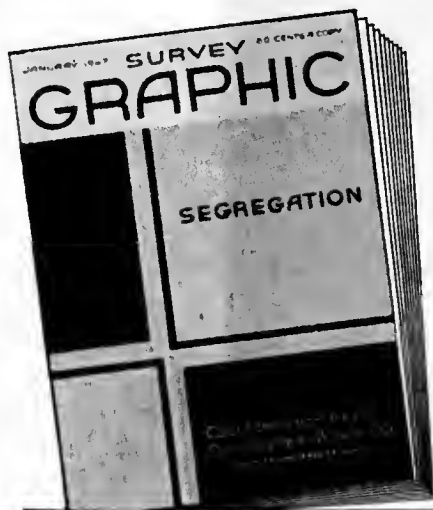
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H. Vail Deale, Iowa librarian, spots it as an "excellent summary"; F. E. DeFrantz, Indiana YMCA secretary, hails it as a "magnificent issue." Desmond W. Bittinger, editor of *The Gospel Messenger* and a reader of our Calling American Series, considers it "among the best I have ever seen." *The Woman's Press* writes, "It provides information and directive for the future," and *America* describes it as "a noteworthy contribution."

Clippings have already reached us, too, from *The New York Times*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *New York Post*, *New Jersey Herald News*, *Pittsburgh Courier*, *Amsterdam Star News*, *The Afro-American*, *Raleigh Carolinian*, *The Christian Century*, *Philadelphia Tribune*, *Sunday Chicago Bee*, *New York Sun*, *Memphis World*, *School and Society*, and many other newspapers and magazines.



The NBC carried it across the nation, WMCA to the New York City audience.

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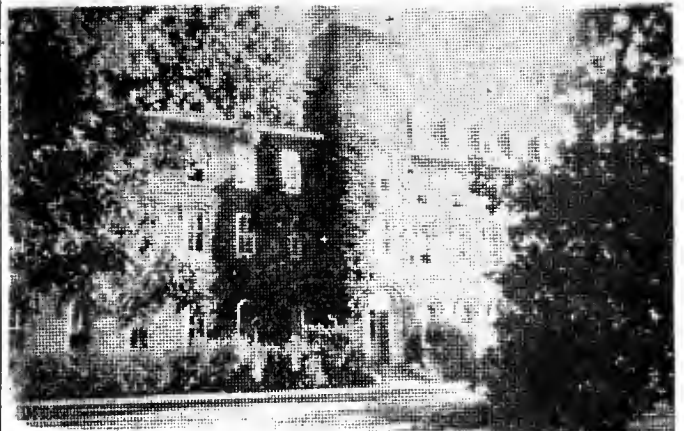
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MORRIS ERNST, ONE OF THE CONSULTANTS on our December special issue, "The Right of All People to Know," and author of one of the major articles in that number, has been named to the President's Committee on Civil Rights. The fifteen-man committee was asked to draft "recommendations with respect to the adoption or establishment by legislation or otherwise of more adequate and effective means and procedures for the protection of the civil rights of the people of the United States."

THAT THE ORGANIZATION OF "THE FORGOTTEN people" of the nation, the consumers, has been going forward quietly for some months was revealed recently by Helen Hall, head of the Henry Street Settlement in New York City, and chairman of a new agency, the National Association of Consumers. The NAC, with a goal of 10,000,000 members, will seek to establish branches in every American community.

MANY AMERICANS WERE SADDENED BY THE news of the sudden death on February 6 of Ellen Wilkinson, British Minister of Education.

"Wee Ellen" Wilkinson had been a parliamentary figure since 1924, a trade unionist, and an ardent crusader for labor and for education. Her greatest single contribution as a Cabinet Minister probably was her successful fight to raise the school-leaving age from 14 to 15.

None who knew Miss Wilkinson as a frequent visitor to the USA will forget her selfless energy, her dedicated spirit, her moving eloquence, the twinkle in her eye. (See *Survey Graphic*, May 1945, page 224).

"SEGREGATION," THE SUBJECT OF OUR JANUARY special issue, was also the theme of the recent annual meeting of Survey Associates. Some 400 of those whose support makes possible this venture in cooperative journalism, gathered in the auditorium of the New School for Social Research on January 27. In the short business session which preceded the distinguished addresses, two board members were reelected. Mrs. Richard J. Bernhard and Harold H. Swift, and six new members were added: Adolf A. Berle, Jr., Lloyd K. Garrison, Shelby M. Harrison, Ferdinand Kuhn, Jr., Herbert H. Lehman, and Victor Weybright.

Survey Graphic for February 1947

Cover: Photograph by Don Ahlers

Courtesy American Christian Committee for Refugees

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Survey Midmonthly published on the 15th of the month. Single copies 40c. By subscription—Domestic: year \$4; 2 years \$6. Canadian and Foreign: year \$4.50, two years \$7.

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Speakers at the 33rd annual meeting of Survey Associates: Will W. Alexander, vice-president, Julius Rosenwald Fund; Mrs. Harper Sibley, president, United Council of Church Women; Charles S. Johnson, president, Fisk University.



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Latvian, former bookkeeper, learning weaving. Husband an agronomist, older child a medical student

On the Waiting List

A vocational training program that was started last year in the Displaced Persons camp at Hanau by the American Christian Committee for Refugees, is giving to hundreds fresh skills and a renewed sense of their own worth. In Hanau, U. S. zone in Germany, ten thousand Poles, Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians await resettlement.

Seven workshops have been set up by the Committee—machine tools, blacksmith, welding, radio, sewing, millinery, handcraft—and courses run for six months. Most of the teachers come from the ranks of the D. P.'s.



Not Sympathy, but Action

How we can translate our concern for Europe's Displaced Persons into a new program which will enable these victims of persecution and war to find new homes, new hope.

WILLIAM S. BERNARD

IN THE AMERICAN ZONES OF GERMANY and Austria, at least 750,000 men, women, and children are enduring their second postwar winter of confinement in segregated camps and centers. These people are cut off from their backgrounds and their homes. Their present is a bleak, abnormal, psychologically dangerous existence. Whether or not there is a future for them depends in large measure on the American people, and upon our representatives in the 80th Congress.

They Fought for Freedom

The "displaced persons"—DP's as the world now knows them—were among the first victims of totalitarianism and war. They are not criminals, nor the dregs of European society. They are, a large part of them, the men and women who first dared to oppose dictatorship—and fled their homes rather than submit to it. They are the men and women who found religious and political freedom more precious than security. They are those who have had the fortitude, the physical strength, and the mental stamina to withstand the years of persecution to which they have been subjected. They represent, in more than one sense, the survival of the fittest.

They come from no single economic or industrial group; no one race or religion. Poles, Latvians, Lithuanians, Yugoslavs, and Estonians make up the largest single nationality groups, but, all told, some fifteen or twenty different nationalities are included in their numbers. All major religions are represented, with Christians (Roman Catholic, Protestant,

—By the secretary of the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, a new national organization of which Earl G. Harrison, former U. S. Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, is chairman.

Mr. Bernard is a specialist in ethnic and minority problems. He has taught at the University of Colorado and at Yale, and has written and lectured extensively.

Greek Orthodox, and others) comprising 80 percent and Jews about 20 percent. Before the war a majority of them were agricultural workers, but there were also shopkeepers, artisans, skilled workmen, professionals, students, homemakers.

This remaining group of displaced persons is the hard core of non-repatriables. Today the towns, cities, and farms of their homelands are, for all practical purposes, closed to them. They cannot go home because they have grounds to fear religious or political persecution; or to fear that if they do return they will lose their liberties—perhaps their lives. In a very real sense, they gave up their right to a familiar homeland when they chose the hope of freedom. If they return today, even that hope may be forfeit.

There is another reason why they do not go back. That reason is psychological—no less compulsive than the fear of physical persecution. The villages and farmlands which they left are the scenes where their families and friends were tortured and killed, sometimes before their eyes. They cannot forget this and return to

the terror and grief their old homes represent. Can we who have been spared their ordeal ask them to do so?

Neither should we ask them to live out their lives in dreary camps. As humanitarians we recoil at such a living death for such people. We cannot bring ourselves to hold that the lack of a passport is a crime—or the lack of a country of refuge that can and will welcome them.

Together mankind must find a better answer—an answer which can benefit us all and the refugees as well. We Americans have stated, officially, that we do not believe in compulsory repatriation.

Since repatriation is impossible, resettlement is the only acceptable alternative. There are 500,000 to 1,000,000 of them—what statisticians call "a trace" in the population figures of western Europe. Somewhere on earth homes must and can be found for these homeless men, women, and children.

Laws That Bar the Door

Unfortunately for the displaced persons, however, logic and immigration laws do not always march hand in hand. We may live in one world, but we do not live in a free world so far as migration is concerned. Every sovereign state has developed codes of law governing the admission or exclusion of immigrants—some simple, some elaborate, most of them highly selective. It is, of course, the right of each nation to legislate such matters as it sees fit. And much immigration legislation, both here and abroad, has been of demonstrable

value and effectiveness in the past.

But special problems and special needs require some special treatment. Laws which may be both wise and just under normal circumstances must be temporarily amended when they do not solve the problem at hand. Such changes need not alter established immigration systems either fundamentally or permanently. They merely take into consideration an emergency job to be done, and provide a feasible means of accomplishing it.

Certainly, from either a warmly human or coldly practical viewpoint, the time has come to amend immigration laws long enough to resettle the war's displaced persons. The newly created International Refugee Organization of the United Nations is stymied, for it can be effective only insofar as the various nations are willing to receive displaced persons. Only our individual understanding and massed concern will permit the United States to take the lead in such a program. And realism suggests that the United States must take that lead, and signify our willingness to admit a fair share of them.

How Many Should Come Here?

What would that fair share be? Suppose we take the arbitrary figure of 850,000 as representing the number of displaced persons left after repatriation has run its course. (Estimates run from 500,000 to 1,000,000; 850,000 is the figure suggested some months ago by UNRRA.) If the 850,000 were distributed among the major potential immigrant-receiving nations on a basis proportional to the relative population strength of those nations, our share would be 433,500. Over the course of the three or four years which the resettlement program would include, it would mean an addition to our population of *between 2 and 3 persons per 1,000 during the period.*

In other words, in the course of three years, a community of 5,000 people would be expanded, on the average, by 10 or 15 displaced persons. Even the most wary among us scarcely can find that alarming.

As a matter of fact, there are good reasons why we might well welcome additions to our population. Our rate of growth is slowing up; our birthrate is low, despite the temporary rise during the war years. And our population is growing older. It will

reach a stationary condition perhaps by 1970, when, the experts estimate, births and deaths will balance each other. By that time, more than half our population will be over 30 years of age. We shall have fewer young men in the productive years as compared with other countries where the population is still young and still increasing.

By 1970, as the accompanying table indicates, while we shall not be as badly off as some nations, we shall be worse off than others.

Estimated Populations in 1970

Country	Population	General Trend of Growth Rate
Soviet Russia	250,000,000	Increasing rapidly
United States	160,000,000	Stationary
Japan	87,000,000	Increasing
Germany	69,000,000	Increasing, but at a diminishing rate
England and Wales	37,000,000	Declining
France	37,000,000	Declining

To the extent that a growing population is of practical economic and political value, our future possibilities are not as auspicious as they might be. They can be changed only by an increase in the birthrate, or, as was the case for many decades, by addition to our population by immigration.

Naturally, were we to admit our fair share of the displaced persons, we should wish to be sure that they would not disrupt our economy, or endanger our institutions. This assurance is automatic under our regular immigration requirements, which could remain untouched.

Our laws bar from the United States any person who is a criminal, an anarchist, an advocate of overthrowing our government by violence, a pauper, a vagrant, anyone whose health does not meet specified standards, or anyone likely to become a public charge. All immigrants are screened on these, and other counts, which would apply equally to displaced persons admitted under a special dispensation.

In addition, under the Truman directive of December 22, 1945, displaced persons coming into this country must be vouched for by the individual or corporate affidavits of friends, welfare organizations, or philanthropic groups which guarantee that these immigrants will not be allowed to become public charges. Responsible elements of American so-

ciety have stood behind these affidavits. They have indicated that they will continue to do so. Only the *method* of admitting the displaced persons remains to be decided. Thus, the future happiness, security, well-being, and freedom of thousands of desperate unfortunates rests on a single decision—a decision which it is ours to make.

Why not admit the displaced persons under our present immigration laws without any modifications, however temporary? For the simple rea-

son that it won't work. We have tried it for over twelve months, and the result has been pitifully small.

On December 22, 1945, President Truman ordered the State Department, the Department of Justice, and other agencies concerned to resume our admission of immigrants, largely suspended during the war; and to utilize the Central European quotas particularly for displaced persons. Those quotas were estimated at about 39,000.* It was hoped that at least this many displaced persons per year could thus be rescued. One year later, however, fewer than 5,000 people had been admitted under the directive. The plan failed to take cognizance of the fact that the German quota made up some 26,000 of the total available — and that few displaced persons can qualify for these German places since they were not born in Germany. For this, and other minor reasons, the program—as intimated by the President himself — was a failure.

If we are to be of any concrete help to the men, women, and children dependent on our good will and ac-

*In 1930, the so-called "national origins" plan was put in force, which limited the total annual quota to about 150,000 (since raised to 154,029 by various additions) by restricting the number of immigrants from any country to the percentage that persons of that national origin by birth or descent contributed to our population as a whole in 1920. For example, persons born in Great Britain and those whose ancestors came from there, were estimated to constitute about 42.7 percent of our population in 1920. Therefore, Great Britain received 42.7 percent of the annual quota or 65,721. Similar computations were worked out for other eligible nationalities, with minimum quota of 100 for any one.

tive interest, clearly we must modify our immigration laws—slightly and temporarily—until their plight is relieved. There are several ways in which this might be done.

Shall We Draw on the Future?

One method suggested is to adopt a system of "borrowing" from future quotas for current use. The impracticality of this method is apparent when the number of displaced persons (excluding ex-enemies and those unclassified) is compared with their respective quotas under present law. The numbers given in Table I are tentative.

These figures show that even if we were willing to borrow extensively from the future, it would take an average of fifteen years' quota to allow 433,500 displaced persons (this country's reasonable share) to come in. Further, the borrowing plan would make us exceed our annual limit of 154,029, if added to regular immigration. And there is another point against it: borrowing against future quotas would work a hardship on many deserving people who might wish to immigrate to the United States in the years ahead. We do not wish to penalize these possible future citizens, any more than we wish to continue the misery of the DP's.

Consider, then, a second temporary modification of the law. At present, quota numbers are available only during a stated month or year. If they are not used by the nations to which they are allocated, they are lost forever. Since 1930, the countries with the largest unused quotas have been those whose people have not been displaced, and who, therefore, have the least critical need for quota numbers at present. Great Britain, for instance, had 947,689 unused quota numbers between 1930-1945; the Irish Free State, 252,478; Switzerland, 20,968. If, instead of letting unused quotas lapse, we applied them to the nationalities represented among the displaced persons, we might help them substantially, without exceeding the over-all quota limit.

Such a plan is obviously a gamble. It is based on the supposition that for the next few years the quotas of at least some of the major quota countries would not be used. We have no way of guaranteeing this possibility. But gambling with the fate of the displaced persons seems wholly unjustified.

Estimated Numbers of European Displaced Persons

by Major Nationalities Involved, with Quotas for Each Nationality

Nationality	Number	Quota
Polish	572,920	6,524
Latvian	97,830	236
Lithuanian	60,500	386
Yugoslav	51,530	845
Estonian	31,910	116
U.S.S.R.	11,620	2,712
Czechoslovak	11,300	2,874
Italian	4,290	5,802
Greek	3,110	307
Dutch	2,020	3,153
French	1,330	3,086
Belgian & Luxembourgais	730	1,304
Total	849,090	27,345

Table I

Admission and Departure of Immigrants

Quota and Non-Quota 1932-1936

(With excess of admission over departure. Excess of departure over admissions, resulting in a net loss, is indicated by a minus sign.)

Year	Admissions	Departures	Excess
1932	35,576	103,295	—67,719
1933	23,068	80,081	—57,013
1934	29,470	39,771	—10,301
1935	34,956	38,834	— 3,878
1936	36,329	35,817	512

Table II

Immigration by Decades and Average Annual Immigration

Contrasted with Population by Decades, 1880-1940

Census	Population of U. S. in that Year	Total Immigration during Preceding Decade	Average Annual Immigration during Preceding Decade
1880	50,155,783	2,812,191	381,219
1890	62,947,714	5,246,613	524,661
1900	75,994,575	3,687,564	368,756
1910	91,972,266	8,795,386	879,538
1920	105,710,620	5,735,811	573,581
1930	122,775,046	4,107,209	410,720
		(1,840,194 Quota)	(184,019 Quota)
1940	131,669,275	528,431	52,843
		(308,341 Quota)	(30,834 Quota)

Table III

True, quotas were not used up during the 1930-1946 period. But may this period of worldwide depression and war be taken as normal? Between 1932-1936 (years of depression and unemployment, when immigrants were not attracted to the USA) more aliens left this country than entered. Table II shows the figures.

In the prosperous 1920's, on the other hand, the quotas of even major countries tended to be used pretty close to one hundred percent. Herein

lies the gamble. Adverse economic conditions might produce a drop in quota utilization; but favorable conditions might again create a fuller quota use—forcing the displaced persons to remain longer in the camps.

A Practicable Plan

To "borrow," to "gamble"—each presents a possible plan for alleviating the plight of the displaced persons. Neither is satisfactory. But there remains a third possible course of ac-



FOR THESE, TEMPORARY SHELTER

Above: Ukrainian women making woolen garments in an UNRRA camp, Hohenfels, Germany. *Below:* Child care center at Deggendorf for children of various nationalities who were carried off from their homes and parents by the Nazis

tion—a simple, temporary modification of our laws that has real possibilities. Past unused quotas have technically lapsed, of course, but Congress, through special legislation, could recapture them. It could make available to eligible displaced persons a number of quota visas equal to the desired number of quotas not used in the past. To be effective, the “recaptured” quotas would have to be allocated among the D.P.’s regardless of their national origins, rather than in strict accordance with our present law. “Recapturing” would also create a special displaced persons quota outside the regular prescribed quotas.

Nevertheless, it can be argued with practical force that such a process of recapture would compensate to some degree for immigration we expected and were prepared to accept—but did not get, especially during the war years.

Let us look at the facts. From 1940 through 1946, allowable quotas, if completely filled, would have given us 1,076,733 immigrants — 153,774 a year for 1940 through 1943, and 153,879 for 1944-1946. We actually received 161,971. Thus, 914,762 quota numbers were never used. Even if we set our fair share of the displaced persons at 400,000, this would make up less than 50 percent of this wartime loss—would welcome less than

half of the number of immigrants Congress and the people of the United States had been ready to admit from 1940 through 1946. Therefore, simply by changing our law temporarily so that half these lost quotas may be recaptured, we would make it possible for our fair share of the displaced persons to enter the USA.



Whatever we do, whatever temporary change in our law we decide to make, it will be ineffective unless available quota numbers are assigned to qualified displaced persons without regard to their specific national origins. Trying to carry over proportional quota distributions of the present law into the plan for displaced persons will not work. The nationalities to whom the smallest quotas were assigned in 1930, as we have seen, are those with the largest numbers of displaced persons. Any modifying legislation contemplated must take this fact into account.

Recent Immigration

There is a good deal of popular confusion and ignorance of just what has happened in respect to immigration in recent years. The country has not been flooded with immigrants. Temporary visitors, admitted during the war and earlier in the period of Hitler terror, are now required to leave the United States. Many have gone. In 1945 it was estimated that only about 15,000 remained out of a total of 293,976 who came from refugee countries between 1933 and 1944. Those who later returned to this country for permanent residence have been under the quotas of their respective countries, except such people as are non-quota—for example, the wife and minor children of an American citizen.



FOR THESE, A NEW HOMELAND

Above: At the hospitality center of United Service for New Americans, newcomers receive advice about opportunities for resettlement in communities throughout the U. S. *Below:* American-born child of German-Jewish refugees

The admission of our fair share of the displaced persons over a restricted period of time—even in addition to normal immigration—would be a much smaller annual increment to our population than was added from 1880 to 1930, the very years which saw America rise to a position of world supremacy industrially and militarily. The figures in Table III. (page 135) compare the population of the U. S. by decades since 1880 with immigration for the same period, both by decades and annually.

A Charge on Our Conscience

As a nation we have received over 38,000,000 immigrants in the course of our history. Better than a quarter of our population is still made up of people of foreign birth or mixed parentage. With this heritage we cannot longer ignore our international responsibilities, or our moral obligations. Many among us are coming to regard displaced persons as one of the foremost charges upon American conscience. The American Federation of Labor, the CIO, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the National Council of American Veteran Organiza-

tions, and scores of other religious, educational, philanthropic, and civic bodies have all passed resolutions urging the enactment of legislation permitting the U. S. to admit its fair share of Europe's displaced persons.

There are some who oppose any revision of our immigration laws, however temporary. They include many well meaning people proud of their communities, fearful of the changes which might come. But the knowledge that in the course of three years an average of only two to three people will come for every 1,000 of our population should reassure them.

There are others sincerely interested in the country's welfare who fear that the displaced persons will become an economic burden. But they may be reassured by the affidavits which vouch for the DP's financial security; and by our own actual need for labor, such as farm and domestic workers.

Colonel Paul H. Griffith, national commander of the American Legion, has said that that organization of some 3,500,000 veterans will oppose all plans to admit displaced persons, lest they deprive former service men of jobs and housing. Similarly, some labor groups see in any modification of the immigration laws a threat to the jobs of their own members. These objectors overlook the facts—particularly the negligible size of the group that would be added to any one community were we to scatter 400,000 displaced persons over this vast country.

And there is the opposition of the neo-isolationists—those who view all foreigners with suspicion, in spite of

(Continued on page 170)



Elizabeth Colman photo

Dr. Sabin's Second Career

Instead of a tranquil retirement in her home state, a distinguished scientist found herself called back into action by Colorado's high disease and death rates.

ALBERT Q. MAISEL

EIGHT YEARS AGO THERE WERE THOSE who thought that just another tired little old lady had come back to Colorado, her native state. She was sixty-seven and looked it; her hair in a bun, her dresses longer than the fashion, her glasses the rimless type popular a generation ago.

Her neighbors knew, in a vague sort of way, that she had been highly distinguished back East. If they had troubled to look it up, they would have found that she had been one of the first women to win a medical degree from Johns Hopkins University, the first woman professor on its faculty, the first woman member of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. Twelve universities had bestowed honorary degrees upon her. The late Dr. Simon Flexner, director of the Rockefeller Institute, had voiced the opinion of thousands of research workers in calling her "the greatest living woman scientist."

But nobody did look up her record; if anyone had, Dr. Sabin probably never would have been started on her "second career." It began in 1944 when Colorado's governor drew up a list of names for appointment to a Postwar Planning Committee. He showed the list to Frances Wayne, of the *Denver Post*, an ardent feminist. Miss Wayne hit the roof when she saw that there was not one woman's name on it. Hastily the governor asked her suggestions. And thus it came about that the Subcommittee on Health was headed by Dr. Florence Rena Sabin, a retired M.D., aged seventy-three. It seemed unlikely she would upset any applecarts.

Tackling the Job

But Dr. Sabin, with an unflagging energy that leaves her younger associates gasping for breath, has been upsetting applecarts ever since. She has stomped up and down her state, convincing Coloradans that their disease and death rates were a disgrace. And she has not only succeeded in making her fellow citizens accept the unpalatable facts they had so long ignored—she has actually made them do something about it.

—By a writer who is specializing in the social aspects of medicine. His articles on inadequacies in the veterans' hospitals, which appeared in *Cosmopolitan* early in 1945 and were reprinted by *Reader's Digest*, drew nationwide attention to a situation existing at that time. Mr. Maisel was called to testify before the House Veterans Committee.

Life, May 6, 1946, carried his notable study of conditions in our mental hospitals.

As war correspondent for a number of magazines, Mr. Maisel was in the Pacific, and later in Europe with the landing forces on D-Day. He is the author of "Miracles of Military Medicine" (Duell, 1943) and "The Wounded Get Back" (Harcourt, 1944).

Today politicians, dairymen, industrialists, and case-hardened miners jump when she merely looks as if she might crack the whip. In the last elections, both gubernatorial candidates spent half their time protesting that each was more strongly for Dr. Sabin's health program than the other. In county after county, assembly and senate candidates who tried to pussyfoot on health legislation went down to defeat while newcomers who endorsed the Sabin proposals were elected.

The entire state is behind her now. But when Florence Sabin first tackled her job, only two years ago, she found herself up against a combination of inertia, ignorance, vested interests, and patronage jobbery.

Most Coloradans didn't give two thoughts to public health. Colorado's Rockies were a health resort. So Colorado must be healthy.

Her first problem, Dr. Sabin knew, was to pin down the facts beyond all possibility of argument. The Commonwealth Fund, in New York, was willing to put up the money but tied a string to it. A formal request from the governor would be essential to prove that the state really meant to act on the report, and not merely to file and forget it.

Back to Colorado went the old lady.

But delay followed delay. The State House was in no hurry to bring in outside critics. Even a protesting committee drew from the governor only a flabby, noncommittal letter, almost certain to bring a rejection.

But Florence Sabin was not to be brushed off lightly. Her own message, a stinger, followed the governor's back East. "Don't let one man's disinterest block the welfare of an entire state," she pleaded. And her plea worked.

A Report—and Indictment

Out to Colorado came Dr. Carl E. Buck of the American Public Health Association, to make a year-long study of the state's health laws and disease-fighting facilities. By January of 1946 he was ready to submit his report.

It showed that Colorado—which thought of itself as a health resort—actually stood far down toward the bottom among the states. Thirty-four states and the District of Columbia had better records for deaths from preventable or controllable diseases. Only two states had worse records in deaths from scarlet fever. Only five were worse than Colorado in deaths from diphtheria. Forty-one states had better records than Colorado on diarrhea-enteritis deaths and pneumonia fatalities. Its infant mortality rate was higher than that of all except seven states.

In the five years from 1940 through 1944, 14,662 Coloradans had died from controllable and preventable causes. Every one of the "preventable" deaths was unnecessary—and at least half of those who died from "controllable" causes could have been saved. In half a decade, 8,245 Colorado citizens had died needlessly—more than three times as many as Colorado lost in the armed services during the entire war!

The report went on to show why these deaths occurred. Colorado was giving its Division of Public Health less than ten cents per capita to protect the health of its citizens. All the rest of its pitifully small public health expenditures were coming from fed-

eral aid: from the U. S. Public Health Service and the Children's Bureau. State appropriations—14 percent of total health expenditures — were less than half as much as Montana contributed, less than a third of Utah's percentage.

The State Health Division was politically controlled. The Civil Service Commission, itself a political football, had been blocking the appointment of qualified health officials. Six of the principal administrative positions in the state's puny health agency were vacant. Salary scheduled in surrounding states averaged 26 percent higher than in Colorado.

Yet the starved and wobbly State Health Division actually looked good by comparison with conditions in the various counties. Dr. Buck discovered that only five of the sixty-three counties had local health departments; and three of these were without full time health officers.

Most localities simply never had undertaken the health-protecting functions that are a commonplace almost everywhere else in the United States. There was no effective control of the milk supply—the Health Division had no authority to regulate milk production or dairy herds. Only two counties and nine towns in the entire state were operating under the Standard Milk Ordinance of the U. S. Public Health Service. Barely half of the communities in the state had adequate, pollution-free water supplies. Only 16 percent of the communities had modern sewage systems—nearly half had no systems at all and the rest had systems incapable of purifying sewage before it was dumped into the streams to pollute irrigation waters and contaminate truck farm crops.

From all over the country, for generations, tuberculosis victims have migrated to Colorado's famed sanatoria. Yet the investigators found that tuberculosis was rife among the state's own population, with only 574 hospital beds available for citizens of Colorado—less than half the minimum number required.

Talking to the Neighbors

The report constituted a thoroughgoing indictment of conditions. But, like many another such document, it might have ended as merely more waste paper in the files had not Dr. Sabin—even while the investigation was under way—been organizing an



Press Association

FLORENCE RENA SABIN, M.D.

The eminent anatomist whose "first career" was divided between teaching at Johns Hopkins University (1902-1925) and scientific study as a member of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research (1925-38). In 1932 she received the National Achievement Award; in 1935, the M. Carey Thomas Prize

overwhelming grass roots movement to wipe out those conditions.

State Senator Price Briscoe tells how she recruited her committee:

I was just an ex-Senator minding my own business and running a gold mine when Dr. Sabin came tromping in here one day last spring. I'd never heard of her before, but they 'phoned and called me down to the drugstore in Idaho Springs. There was a little bump of a woman with a twinkly sort of smile that made her eyeglasses seem to light up. She looked so tiny and ineffectual, sitting on a high stool at the soda fountain. We ordered two cokes and she started to talk. We had two more, and then another round. She must have spiked mine because before I knew it I had promised to work on her committee—and look at me now!

I'm back in the State Senate, diligently neglecting my business. I spend half my time at health meetings in Denver, and half the rest rooting things up elsewhere for the little lady.

Neighbors are beginning to console my wife when they find her alone, as if I had a girl friend down in the city. And I'm not the only one. Dr. Sabin has scores of people just like me, who've caught the torch for something that nobody ever could have gotten us excited about before.

Barnstorming

Dr. Sabin began to tour the state, hammering home the grim meaning of the Buck report. She had no appropriations to draw upon. She paid her own way—and most of the committee's expenses as well—out of her small savings. In the larger cities she spoke to packed halls. But she never refused an invitation, even when it meant crossing the Rockies to address a handful of people in some back-valley village.

Once, when she had gone to New York to attend two medical conventions, she found herself with a five-day interval between sessions. Back

she flew to Denver to take advantage of a few more chances to bring to her neighbors "the facts of life and death in Colorado."

Last November she was scheduled to speak at the little town of Sterling, 125 miles from her Denver home. At daybreak, Herbert D. Moe, executive secretary of the Committee on Health, 'phoned to say that there was eight inches of snow and why didn't they call it off. Her answer was, "Meet me at nine—and don't forget your rubbers."

By the time they started, the state highway patrol was broadcasting warnings to all cars to get off the roads. Again Moe tried to give her an out, proposing to speak in her place. "If you can make it alone," she snapped, "you can make it with me."

"There she sat," Moe relates admiringly, "with a shawl tied over her head, like a quiet little old grandmother on her way down the street to tea. It was 1:30, with the snow near our hubcaps, before we reached Brush. 'Thirty miles to go,' I said, making a last try at getting out of it.

"Well," she answered, looking calmly at her watch, 'We've still got 30 minutes. Let's make it.'"

"That Woman Is Wonderful"

It is at such meetings that Florence Sabin has done her most effective work. After a lifetime of cloistered and often lonely scientific research, she has demonstrated—much to her own surprise—an amazing ability to open hostile minds, to win people over almost against their will. Many who come to hear her are at first drawn more by curiosity than by an avid interest in public health. Their first shock comes as she begins to speak, for the years seem to drop from her when she excoriates "unnecessary death." She has the ability to make figures come to life. When she talks of babies made sick by tainted milk, mothers feel she is talking of their own babies. Her intolerance towards needless contagion is itself contagious.

Thus, touring her state—in the mining villages and the neat college towns, in the short grass country and on the isolated Western Slope—she has built up a groundswell of incredibly sincere public indignation. The millionaires of Colorado Springs found themselves aligned with the poorest itinerant beet pickers. DAR

chapters, farmers' groups, chambers of commerce, and welfare organizations began to join the campaign. Newspapers picked it up, for the little old lady always made good copy. Parent-teacher organizations got into line, printing and distributing 70,000 folders on the Buck report and Sabin program.

But often opposition sprang up. Dr. Sabin met it masterfully. She it was who held the shotgun for the "shotgun wedding" of the Civil Service Commission and the State Board of Health. The civil service people had acknowledged their past failures and promised to do better in the future. The health people had agreed to submit new job specifications and salary recommendations. And both groups started busily plotting a joint campaign to force the legislature and the governor to come through with bills and a budget that would make it possible to secure long-needed, qualified personnel.

After it was all over, one of the civil service men shook his head and muttered, "Hot damn, that woman is wonderful. She sits there so quiet you get to think you're dealing with Whistler's mother. It's only after you've gone home that you realize you've promised her your coat, vest, and shirt."

Some doctors grew wrathful when they discovered they could not have a majority of the members on the proposed new State Board of Health. After a dose of Sabin's Soothing Syrup they came away convinced that it might be more democratic—and certainly would be more palatable to the legislature—if the medical men were content to cooperate with laymen instead of hogging the show. Dairy interests, which had defeated many a regulatory proposal in years gone by, were prepared to veto any proposal that the health committee offered. Much to their surprise, they found the Sabin group discussing a bill for cattle inspections, pasteurization, and vaccination that the committee hoped the cattle men would sponsor as their own. Even more to their surprise, they left the meeting having promised to do so.

Old-line politicians — and many have become her strongest supporters — find themselves continually flabbergasted by their "old lady." They try to wrap her in wool, try to protect her from overexertion, if only to make certain that she is still around to

fight for her bills when they come up before the legislature. But often at the end of a long meeting the protectors find themselves completely worn out while their idol sits at the head of the table, fresh and smiling.

"The Sabin Bills"

Out of all the meetings and conferences have come a group of bills which now await action by the Colorado legislature. Everyone but Florence Sabin calls them the Sabin bills. One will enlarge and reorganize the State Health Department, taking it away from political control and freeing it from patronage raids. Salaries will be increased and standards for employment raised. Most important of all, the new law will give the department an effective weapon against Colorado's all-too-many cases of disease caused by contaminated foods. For now the authorities will be able to control water supplies and the disposal of sewage and to inspect — and even condemn — vegetables which have been irrigated by sewer-infected waters.

A second bill will foster the establishment of local and district health departments and provide state grants-in-aid. Others will regulate the milk and meat supply. All of these bills would create little stir in states long used to health legislation. But in Colorado, far milder proposals have repeatedly gone down to defeat, seldom even coming to a public hearing.

Dr. Sabin calmly insists that her main job has been "to take health out of politics." But there is a strange twinkle in her eyes as she says it. For actually she has succeeded in putting politics right into the middle of the health picture and politicians out in the open where they have been forced to take a stand.

The new governor of Colorado, Lee Knous—a Democrat who ousted a Republican administration despite Republican landslides almost everywhere else—in every campaign speech stressed his support for the health bills. I asked him how he expected to pass such bills through a legislature controlled by his political opponents.

"Brother," he said, "when it comes to those bills . . . why, I'll have the little old lady on my side. There isn't a man in the legislature who wants to tangle with her. She's an atom bomb. She's a dynamo. She's poison ivy!"

The Crisis of Capitalism

The senior Senator from Wyoming highlights some major points in the first Economic Report of the President to the Congress under the Employment Act.

JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY

ONCE MORE THE WORLD IS FACE TO FACE with problems of living, bound up with problems of government. Economic freedom and political freedom have always gone hand in hand. When men have been unable to support themselves under any system of political authority, they have rebelled against it.

The People and the State

The right of revolution was a bulwark for the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness which Thomas Jefferson and his associates put foremost in writing our Declaration of Independence. They declared that "whenever any form of government becomes destructive" of the "unalienable rights" with which "all men . . . are endowed by their Creator," then "it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

The economic basis of government was thus recognized by the founders of the United States. Their successors are now beset, as indeed are all the people of the world, with the problem of adjusting government to individual human rights. This is the solid philosophical and historical fact which makes the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, established by the Employment Act of 1946, one of the most important committees ever created in the American Congress. It comes into being at a time when the peoples of the whole world are struggling to determine the form of authority to which the individual must submit and to develop the formula by which the individuals who must obey authority may control it. It comes into being at a time when the whole world is looking to the people of the United States for leadership.

If there is to be an effective organization of the world to preserve peace and to make certain that atomic energy and all other scientific achievements shall be used for the advance-

—Born in Massachusetts, educated at Columbia and Georgetown Universities, Senator O'Mahoney has been a westerner all his adult life. He began his career as a newspaper reporter in Boulder, Colo., going to Cheyenne in 1916 as an editor. In 1920 he turned to the practice of law in Wyoming and Washington, D. C.

In early New Deal days he served as first assistant Postmaster General.

He was appointed to the U. S. Senate in 1934, to fill a vacancy caused by death, and has been re-elected to three full terms.

In the public mind, Senator O'Mahoney's name is most often associated with his distinguished service as chairman of the Temporary National Economic Committee (1938-1941), a joint legislative-executive body established by Congress to study the concentration of economic power in the United States.

It is against this background that he here discusses that new governmental tool, the annual Economic Report by the Chief Executive.

ment of civilization rather than for its destruction, it is essential that the United States shall not become the scene of another economic crisis. The peoples of the areas in which World War II was fought have not yet solved their economic problems, and if we do not solve ours, the outlook for mankind will be gloomy indeed.

We ourselves confront questions of foreign trade, of employment, of business opportunity. We have questions of profit and loss; questions of free enterprise, of monopoly, of totalitarianism. In short, we have questions of economic government and of political government so entwined, one cannot be separated from the other.

How will it be possible, for example, for a country like the United States, the people of which believe in free enterprise, to engage in commercial relations with countries in which the state itself is a commercial monopoly? And if people must submit to authoritarian control in the affairs of their daily work and employment, their trade and commerce, how can

they hope to escape authoritarian control in their political affairs?

The Employment Act of 1946 was conceived in the belief that it is imperative for the United States to maintain a "high level of employment." [See "From Patchwork to Promise" by Leon Keyserling, *Survey Graphic*, March 1945.] The sponsors of the bill spoke of "full employment." Objection was made upon the ground that it might be interpreted as requiring a guarantee by government that everybody should have a job and might thus plunge the government into complete ownership and operation. However, the authors of the measure from the beginning had announced that it was their purpose to promote the general welfare and to preserve a competitive private economy from the domination of private monopoly.

The controversy, which was purely one of words and not of objectives, was settled by the adoption, in Section 2 of the act, of a declaration of policy which asserts the responsibility of the federal government

—to use all practicable means consistent with its needs and other obligations and other essential considerations of national policy . . . to coordinate and utilize all its plans, functions, and resources for the purpose of creating and maintaining, in a manner calculated to foster and promote *free competitive enterprise* and the *general welfare*, conditions under which there will be afforded useful employment opportunities including self-employment for those able, willing, and seeking to work, and to promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power.

The Employment Law in Action

The Joint Committee on the Economic Report was directed by the act:

(1) to make a continuing study of all matters comprehended in the declaration of policy;

(2) to study means of coordinating all programs to carry out the policy of the act;

(3) to provide a guide to the legislative committees of Congress by

filing a report with both the Senate and the House of Representatives on the recommendations made by the President in his Economic Report.

The joint committee was thus, in essence, given the broadest possible scope to lay down an economic program designed to preserve a competitive economy in a world in which for fifty years the drift has been steadily toward authoritarianism. The magnitude of the task becomes apparent when one recognizes the fact that economic authoritarianism has in our time been the direct progenitor of political authoritarianism.

By the terms of the Employment Act, the President is directed to transmit to Congress at the beginning of each regular session an economic report dealing with employment, production, and purchasing power, current and foreseeable trends in these aspects of the economic structure, reviewing economic conditions and finally laying down a program to carry out the policy of Congress as set forth in the Employment Act itself. When the law was passed, it was provided that this report of the President should be submitted within sixty days after the beginning of each regular session and that the report of the committee should be submitted not later than May 1 of each year.

When, however, the congressional Reorganization Act of 1946 was under consideration, with its provision requiring the taxing and appropriating committees of the two houses to make a legislative budget at the beginning of each session so that revenue and spending would come into some balance, it was decided to require that the "economic budget," as I have called it, should also be filed at the very beginning of the session.

Coordination of all of the functions of Congress, and cooperation between the President and the Congress were thus the objectives of the Reorganization Act. It was designed to make the Congress a more effective and more efficient instrument of government in the democratic tradition, and so the Employment Act was amended by the Reorganization Act to require the President to submit his report *at* the beginning of each regular session and to require the Joint Committee on the Economic Report to file its finding and recommendations on February 1, instead of May 1, of each year.

This year it obviously will be impossible for either the committee on

the legislative budget or the economic budget to do a comprehensive job within the time prescribed because the two committees have just been organized. They have not had time to appoint staffs and to have these staffs attack the complexities of scientific advance and of economic planning which must be taken into consideration. The 80th Congress, however, is adapting itself to the law and is setting the pattern.

It has been agreed by both committees to make reports within the time set by the law even though it is obvious that these reports cannot be as thoroughgoing as they must be when the system is in full operation. The Committee on the Economic Report was established as a continuing arm of the Congress and was authorized "from time to time to make such other reports and recommendations to the Senate and the House of Representatives as it deems advisable." Therefore, as pointed out in its first report filed on January 31, it will have full opportunity before the first session of the 80th Congress has been concluded to submit its considered views on the basic economic problems which beset the country.

The President's Report

The Economic Report of the President, as transmitted to Congress on January 8, contains a review of employment, production, and purchasing power in 1946, a discussion of prices, wages, and profits during that year. (It has been reprinted as House Document No. 49 and may be secured by those interested from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office.) It discusses the nation's economic budget—by which is meant the distribution of incomes and expenditures among consumers, business, and government as well as by way of imports and exports. By comparison of receipts and expenditures for the years 1939, 1944, and 1946, this budget shows the relative effect of private expenditures and public expenditures upon the maintenance of the level of economic activity.

Then the report sets up goals for 1947, discusses the favorable and unfavorable economic facts for the year 1947, and after a summary of economic conditions and trends, submits recommendations, first, by way of a short range program and then by way of a long range program.

Without attempting to review the

report in detail, let me call attention to some features of special significance. The report emphasizes not "free enterprise," but "free *competitive* enterprise." It recognizes cultivation of the soil as one of the most important sources of economic power and it advocates a long range agricultural policy aimed at preserving the family-sized farm and the prevention of another agricultural depression in the readjustment after the war.

The Drift Toward Monopoly

Thus the emphasis of the report is directed against the continued progress of economic concentration. Programs for regional development, for public works, for federal aid to state and local government all revolve around this central theme. Though it is not specifically stated in these words, the message of the report is that the aim of our economic policy should be to maintain a rising standard of living on the farms and in industry under an economy directed by the people themselves rather than by experts, either private or public, who assume the responsibility of deciding for the people.

It is not too much to say that this report poses for the people of the United States, for leadership in government, and for leaders in agriculture and industry the primary question of our time: *Shall we make up our minds to preserve and maintain a free economy or shall we continue to drift into a completely managed state? We must decide now whether we are willing to abandon competition, and we must make the decision in the knowledge that if a competitive economy is abandoned there is no alternative save an authoritarian economy. That in turn means, of course, an authoritarian state.*

President Truman in his report declares it to be "imperative" that there be no restrictions on free competition. He recognizes that such restrictions inevitably result in the reduction of employment opportunities and therefore of production. He recognizes that the abandonment of free competition interferes with the freedom of capital investment, tends to maintain high prices, and hampers the entry of new enterprises into "any line of production or trade."

It is natural in such circumstances that the report should endorse the recommendation of the Temporary National Economic Committee for the

The President's Recommendations

from his Economic Report to the Congress, January 8, 1947

SHORT RANGE PROGRAM

1. *Price Reductions*, especially "in the case of goods such as many articles of food, clothing, housefurnishings, and building materials, whose prices have risen out of line."

2. *Increased Benefits* under the social security system "to alleviate real hardship . . . aggravated by increases in the cost of living."

3. *Housing*. "More than a million additional housing units . . . started in 1947."

4. *Taxes* cannot safely be reduced at present, but we must plan now for "an equitable reduction of taxes fairly distributed over all levels of income."

5. *Labor-Management Relations*. "We must and we shall solve the problem of making necessary adjustments in wages and working conditions without round after round of crippling and futile halts in production."

LONG RANGE PROGRAM

"A variety of measures will be needed to fortify the basic structure of the American economy before the transformation from war and reconversion to a high-consumption peacetime economy is completed."

1. *Efficient utilization of the labor force*, by
—industrial training and counseling;
—"an integrated interstate system for disseminating job information and placing workers across state lines";
—ending discrimination in employment "against certain racial and religious groups, against workers in late middle age, and against women."

2. *Maximum utilization of productive resources*, by
—"nationwide concerted action to remove the fear that demand will periodically be inadequate to absorb maximum production";
—government policy "aimed at preserving the family-sized farm and preventing another agricultural depression," and at "keeping farmers' incomes on a level with those of comparable productive groups";

—regional development, including low-cost hydro-electric energy, flood control, fair competitive rates of transportation, land drainage and irrigation projects;

—strengthening programs of grants-in-aid for health and education projects, public works, road and airport construction;

—stabilizing public works construction according to long term needs;

—protecting the public interest "in inventions and discoveries resulting from expenditures of public funds."

3. *Encouragement of free competitive enterprise* by
—extending Section 7 of the Clayton Act to prohibit mergers by the acquisition of assets, as well as by stock control;

—enforcement of existing antitrust laws;

—encouragement of small business.

4. *Promotion of welfare, health, and security*, by
—integrating proposals for maximum employment, production and purchasing power with such general-welfare programs as unemployment insurance, retirement and pension systems, and education;

—expanded peacetime programs of public health, nutrition, and education;

—strengthening and extending the social security system, and adding to it a program of medical care and disability benefits.

5. *Cooperation in international economic relations* through
—loans and investments which will help "in developing the world's productive resources";

—the formation of the International Trade Organization, "the most important step that we can take to reestablish a high volume of foreign trade on a sound basis";

—the reciprocal reduction of trade barriers.

6. *Combating economic fluctuations*:
"Only by blending all practicable programs in wise proportions can we be successful in stabilizing our economy at the highest feasible levels. The long range policies I have outlined are designed to strengthen the structure of the economy and to reinforce its resistance to economic fluctuations."

amendment of Section 7 of the Clayton Act, a law which was enacted during the Wilson administration to prevent corporate mergers that reduce competition and create monopoly. The Clayton Act sought to obtain this objective by authorizing the Federal Trade Commission to prohibit the acquisition by one company of the capital stock of a competing company where the result would be, in the opinion of the Federal Trade Commission, substantially to reduce competition. The law has been a dead letter because the promoters of mergers instead of counseling the purchase of the capital stock of competing concerns evaded the law by pointing out that there was no prohibition against the purchase of assets. Consequently, there has been no interruption in the steady trend of concentration. Mergers have been accomplished by the simple process of

forgetting the capital stock and acquiring the capital assets.

When the TNEC recommendation was made in March 1941, that committee was composed not only of representatives of the Departments of Justice, Commerce, Labor, the Treasury, the Securities and Exchange Commission, and the Federal Trade Commission, but also of the following members of Congress: Representatives Hatton W. Sumner of Texas, Clyde Williams of Missouri, and B. Carroll Reece of Tennessee on the House side, and Senators Wallace White of Maine, James B. Mead of New York, and the writer on the Senate side.

No objection was entered on behalf of any of the members to the recommendation for the amendment of the Clayton Act so as to make the prohibition of corporate mergers effective. When the personnel of the com-

mittee which made the report is taken into consideration, together with the fact that President Truman, after consultation with his Council of Economic Advisors, has also urged this long overdue reform, it becomes apparent that the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, by favorable action, may go far toward curing the oversight of thirty years ago.

Measured in terms of assets and of income, corporate concentration has proceeded to such a degree that our economy, which was once local and individual in its primary aspects, is now dominated by a few large national corporations which know no state or local boundaries. In 1942, income tax reports were submitted to the Internal Revenue Bureau by 479,677 corporations. Of these, 37,012 were inactive. Of the active corporations, 172,723 reported no taxable income. The remainder, 269,942 cor-

porations reported a total net income of \$24,052,358,000. There were 334 of these with net incomes of \$10,000,000 or more. These 334 corporations, constituting one tenth of one percent of the total number, had 39 percent of the total net income reported by all 269,942 taxpaying corporations.

In terms of assets, the disparity between the few at the top and the great number at the bottom was even greater. Balance sheets were submitted with the income tax returns of 383,534 corporations. The 455 largest, though they constituted hardly more than one tenth of one percent (.00118) of the total number of reporting corporations, actually owned 51 percent of all corporate assets. Those corporations which reported total assets of less than \$50,000 each, numbering 196,642, constituted 51 percent of the total number, but they reported only 1.3 percent of the total assets of all the corporations which submitted balance sheets. Thus, 51 percent of the total number had 1.3 percent of the assets and one tenth of one percent of the number had 51 percent of the assets.

The Story Since 1942

This is the story of concentration as it was revealed in the tax returns of 1942. Since that time, mergers and combinations have been proceeding apace, and when the statistics of the postwar consolidations have appeared, there can be little doubt that they will only emphasize the overpowering factor of our American economy, namely, that it has not only ceased to be an individual economy and become an organized corporate economy, but that it is an economy dominated by a few large corporations which now own a disproportionate share of all corporate assets and annually receive a disproportionate share of the income.

The sale of surplus property since the termination of the war under the Surplus Property Act, a law which was intended to promote free competitive enterprise, has in fact only accentuated the steady drift toward greater and greater concentration. On an original cost basis or on a purchase price basis, nearly 70 percent of all government plants sold or leased under the surplus property law have gone to approximately 60 organizations. These 60 rank among the 260 largest in the United States.

I well remember how startled the members of the staff of the TNEC were to find out that, in 1937, there were 121 products with national markets in excess of \$10,000,000 which were controlled by 4 firms or less to such an extent that they sold 75 percent or more of the total output in the United States. For manufacturing as a whole, more than one third of the total value of products was then produced under such conditions that the 4 largest firms accounted for 75 to 100 percent of the total national output.

The Senate Committee on Small Business, in a report last summer on concentration and World War II, pointed out these facts:

Before the war, two thirds of the research workers in American industry were employed by 140 companies; the remaining one third were employed by 1,582 concerns. During the war, the government spent \$350,000,000 for research in private industrial laboratories; two thirds of this sum went to 68 corporations. Ten corporations received two fifths of the total.

Again, when one compares the assets of the 34 "billion dollar" corporate giants of America with the assessed valuation of the 48 states of the Union, one is startled to find that each one of 17 states had assessed values less than the reported asset value of the smallest of the big corporations.

These two factors—the concentration of the ownership of industrial assets and of scientific research in the hands of a comparatively few concerns—have brought about one of the most striking and yet least understood employment transformations of the last century. The Employment Act in the declaration of policy makes specific reference to "self-employment." As a matter of fact, however, one of the most important results of the advances of science and technology, on the one hand, and of industrial organization, on the other, has been that more and more people are becoming job-holders rather than job-owners. The graduates of our universities and colleges, of the engineering and professional schools become employes of government or of the giant industrial and commercial organizations which carry on the modern economy.

Self-employment is becoming constantly less and less important and

an increasing percentage of those who seek employment outside of agriculture are on the payrolls of fewer and fewer concerns. Municipal and state governments, like the federal government, have been recruiting more and more employes on every level of training, experience, and education; and national corporations like General Motors, United States Steel, American Telephone and Telegraph have over-all payrolls which are greater than the population of most cities and of many states.

The Farm Problem

Only agriculture remains the domain of self-employment and individual relationship between the worker and the employer. The adjustment of the individual economy of the farm to the organized economy of industry emerges as one of the most significant tasks the President and his economic advisers, on the one hand, and the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, on the other, will be compelled to tackle.

Only the farmer lives in a competitive economy. Commerce and industry have been drawn within the sphere of administered prices and managerial authority. It will be for the joint committee in the economic studies it is about to undertake to throw the searchlight of publicity upon this fundamental conflict, for the time is at hand when the people of America must decide whether they are going to follow the road of authoritarianism or of free competitive enterprise which is still the characteristic of agriculture.

This is the reason why we have had a farm problem ever since the end of World War I. The problem was solved superficially and temporarily during the Roosevelt administrations and World War II by all manner of government aids, and by the fact that, during the war, government out of its deficit was purchasing great quantities of agricultural products to feed our own military forces as well as the forces of our Allies and the peoples of liberated countries. That market having now contracted, it is clear that the farm problem is again arising to plague us.

The President's Report says:

The high rate of agricultural production during and since the war has been supported by unusually high rates of food and fiber consumption. For the
(Continued on page 169)



Press Association

Flags, academic robes, and uniformed French Guard gave colorful setting to the Paris conference of UNESCO

UNESCO in Paris

Here are the first steps of the UN agency which seeks to underpin the peace with a sure foundation of understanding and communication among the peoples of the world

CHARLES S. JOHNSON

A SURPRISING THING ABOUT THE PARIS Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization which ended on December 10 was the strangeness and shy awkwardness of the efforts of the representatives of forty-three nations assembled there to prepare themselves and the world for a kind of peace that will be something more than a mere cessation of military conflict. And yet, despite this uncertainty and the tentative beginnings, some significant first steps were taken in a direction that holds, perhaps, the last great hope for a world in which mankind can be secure from fear and want.

UNESCO was born at a conference held in London in November 1945. At the time, there was scarcely more than a ripple of interest in the press of the world. It has been al-

—By one of the American delegates to the first meeting of UNESCO.

Sociologist, educator, editor, author, Mr. Johnson was named president of Fisk University just before he left for Paris in November. His inauguration will take place in the fall of 1947.

Since 1928, he has been head of the department of social science at Fisk; and since 1933 he has also served as director of the Institute of Race Relations at Swarthmore College.

Among his outstanding books are: "The Negro College Graduate" (1938 Anisfield Award); "Growing Up in the Black Belt" (1941); "Patterns of Negro Segregation" (1943); "Education and the Cultural Process" (1944).

most everywhere evident that men have had least faith in the consummation of the very hope that they most cherished. Inevitably, there has

been a conflict of idealism and realism in a sphere of relationships where the only tried weapons have been force or the threat of force. There have been few proposals of international action of an educational, scientific, or cultural character that could be separated from political considerations in a world not yet redeemed from international anarchy.

The First Hurdles

At the outset of the Paris meeting there were some rather formidable handicaps. It was an initial conference and, as such, all procedures had to be worked out from the beginning. There were blocks to communication in the language differences. These were modified by a moderate distribution of language ability in French and English, though there were problems of semantics even in the use of

a common tongue. More important were certain basic ideological differences, such, for example, as were given expression in the two speeches of the delegate from Yugoslavia. One of the most important world powers, the Soviet Union, had not come into the organization. But despite sharp differences on details, there was in the end surprising unanimity on major issues.

For more than a year a Preparatory Commission, with a considerable staff of experts and assistants, had labored over the materials that were to serve as the structure for the conference. In the United States, as in some other countries, a National Commission had been organized, ours with some ninety or more members representing a wide range of interests and organizations outside of government. Its responsibility was to advise the American delegates.

The delegates were, many of them, persons of international reputation. Among them were, for example, Arthur Compton of the United States, Léon Blum and René Cassin of France, Sir John Maud and David Hardman of the United Kingdom, Victor Dore of Canada, Dr. Y. R. Chao of China, Professor Carsten Hoeg of Denmark, Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan of India, Dr. Alf Sommerfelt of Norway, Senator Proceso Sebastian of the Philippines, Montiz de Aragao of Brazil, Drs. Alfonso Reyes and Manuel Martinez Balz of Mexico.

The Conference Structure

The plan of the conference followed the organization of subject fields established by the Preparatory Commission. These fields were broadly conceived as education, natural sciences, social sciences, philosophy and humanities, mass media, the creative arts, libraries and museums. In a synthesis of these fields, which by design represented a wide range of disciplines, it was recognized that some were agencies for the preservation of man's knowledge about himself and his world, some were organs for the increase of knowledge, and some for the dissemination of knowledge through education and mass communication. In carrying out the purposes of UNESCO the last of these was regarded as most important in developing and selecting projects to be undertaken. In the background was the problem of immediate relief

and rehabilitation in devastated areas. The UNESCO task, as distinct from that of UNRRA, is to assist in restoring the means for the increase and dissemination of knowledge destroyed or critically interrupted by the war.

The subcommission of the conference followed this organization. As



Official UN photo

LEON BLUM

The former Premier of France served as president of the Paris conference

a result, nearly one hundred and fifty projects or programs of action were proposed. Through the screening of a coordinating committee and priority rating in terms of pertinence, practicability, and financial feasibility, these were reduced to a wieldy and fairly integrated program for the first year, to be undertaken with the modest budget of \$6,000,000. With such an over-all approach, it is expected that the artificial divisions into rigid subject fields will in large measure be disregarded.

A Year of Exploration

It probably will be disappointing to many who feel the urgency for immediate action that the first year's work in so many fields is exploratory. But it is an amazing fact that, with all our knowledge, there are few actual precedents for action in international relations upon which to rely for guidance.

Several of the more extensive programs given priority will indicate the course that has been set.

In the field of education, the projects chosen include a study of physi-

cally and emotionally handicapped children in the war-devastated areas; a classroom program designed to develop international understanding at all school and college levels; a comprehensive revision of textbooks to improve teaching and teaching materials.

But the understaking which captured the imagination of the conference was a worldwide attack on illiteracy, with particular reference to backward areas, and to regions where low economic levels have kept large sectors of the population from acquiring the skills essential to modern living. The many problems involved in such a task make demands on virtually all areas of knowledge from the natural sciences to mass media. This sweeping program means the solution of language difficulties, and also the development of educational materials and methods dealing with health, agriculture, technology, and citizenship, suitable for children in the early learning stages and for adults as well. The conference recognized that this undertaking is in the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations with its concern for basic human rights and freedom; and, further, that the world cannot move forward toward peace and security while half the population is cut off from the rest by illiteracy.

Despite its urgency and the progress of many countries in meeting their own problems of basic education, such a vast program has to start slowly. The first period will be given over to the organization of a permanent staff of experts who will be available wherever there is a request for their services. There is much still to be learned about effective methods of teaching and of teacher training in this field.

The conference emphasized as essential the need to identify and analyze the principal obstacles to mutual understanding and peaceful relations among the peoples of the world—this with a view to action through all available means of education. To this end, the Paris meeting laid out a long range program to be initiated in 1947 and continued over a period of years.

The plan depends primarily on the social sciences, a field regarded as central to the concerns of UNESCO and as a source of assistance in providing a suitable climate for cooperative international relations and the

promotion of democratic ideals and freedoms. This program is based on the identification of what may be described as an area of tension centering in three interconnected groups of world problems: those relating to nationalism and internationalism; those relating to population; those relating to technological progress. Clearly, these three groups of problems are crucially important to the establishment of peace and security.

In dealing with this field of tension, the responsible UNESCO sub-commission considered that the whole armament of the social sciences should be brought into play, particularly political science, economics, sociology, and psychology; that the Social Sciences Section should enlist the cooperation of qualified scholars, experts, and administrators, and should examine, devise, and develop instruments and methods of investigation, always with a view to practical action. To this end, it should have regular recourse to the National Commissions—permanent bodies to be set up in each country under Article VII of the constitution of UNESCO.

Toward Better Understanding

The Paris Conference decided also that UNESCO would interest itself in the study of the elements which constitute "nationalism" in all countries from a fresh angle—their bearing upon international cooperation. The object here is to bring to light the distinctive character of the various national cultures and national ideals; to help in stimulating the sympathy and respect of the nations for each other's aims and aspirations and appreciation of national problems; and to recommend measures to bring the nations into closer cooperation.

Such a study, the conference felt, might uncover national tendencies that hamper international understanding. These tendencies would be submitted to the appropriate National Commission for study and action.

Related closely to this was the project dealing directly with the problems of population. The United Nations Economic and Social Council has set up a Demographic Commission. This commission will call upon UNESCO to deal with questions of education, science, and culture, in relation to population.

The UNESCO project will seek to identify and study:

—areas in which there has been ex-



Official UN photo

JULIAN S. HUXLEY

The famous English biologist guides UNESCO's work as executive secretary

cessive population increase or decrease;

—migration to or away from areas, and the consequent impact of new cultural and environmental factors;

—tensions among racial or cultural groups within national groups and in dependent areas;

—the cultural status of displaced populations;

—the cultural effects of restricting or stimulating the large scale movement of peoples;

—problems arising from conflicting customs, standards, values, and ideologies of populations in contact and in competition under new territorial, economic, and political circumstances.

UNESCO's concept of tensions also includes the whole complex of social and international problems involved in modern technological developments. It was decided that the organization should interest itself in the study of the effects of these on social life and institutions generally, and more particularly, upon the manner in which such developments might lead to friction—both national and international,—and thereby hinder international understanding and cooperation.

The International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation began an inquiry into mechanization, and many valuable data are already available for use. The scope and purpose of this inquiry is to be enlarged to include new technological developments. At the same time, it will be made more precise and will be directed to the

formulation of practical recommendations. This study will collaborate, at many points, with the program of fundamental education and with the activities of the Natural Science Division.

Many of the Natural Science proposals had as their purpose the restoration of scientific equipment, materials, and facilities lost or deteriorated in war; the renewal and extension of scientific publications and other means of exchange of technical information across national boundaries; training, exchange, or assignment of scientific personnel; and many other undertakings designed to restore, stimulate, and advance scientific knowledge and its application to problems of human welfare.

Two specific projects aroused special interest and were given priority in the natural science program, with the understanding that, if approved by the Executive Board, they would be started in 1947.

Programs for People

The first of these was a plan for a comprehensive study of life and natural resources in the Amazon Basin, under the direction of an International Scientific Commission to be established in consultation with the governments of Brazil, Colombia, Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela, France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and the United States. This would involve a joint effort of the scientists of the world in a constructive human welfare project in a tropical area, the results of which could contribute to the wholesome development of similar areas around the globe.

A second research program given high priority called for the establishment of a group of nutritional science and food technology teams, to study nutritional problems in India, China, Brazil, and Africa.

Because of the emphasis which the conference placed on setting up a program which would reach and benefit the peoples of the world, the question of mass media was given high importance. Recommendations in this field covered, broadly, measures to restore and develop the facilities of mass communication—press, radio, motion pictures—and to promote the free flow of communication.

Of necessity, much of the work planned for 1947 had to be limited

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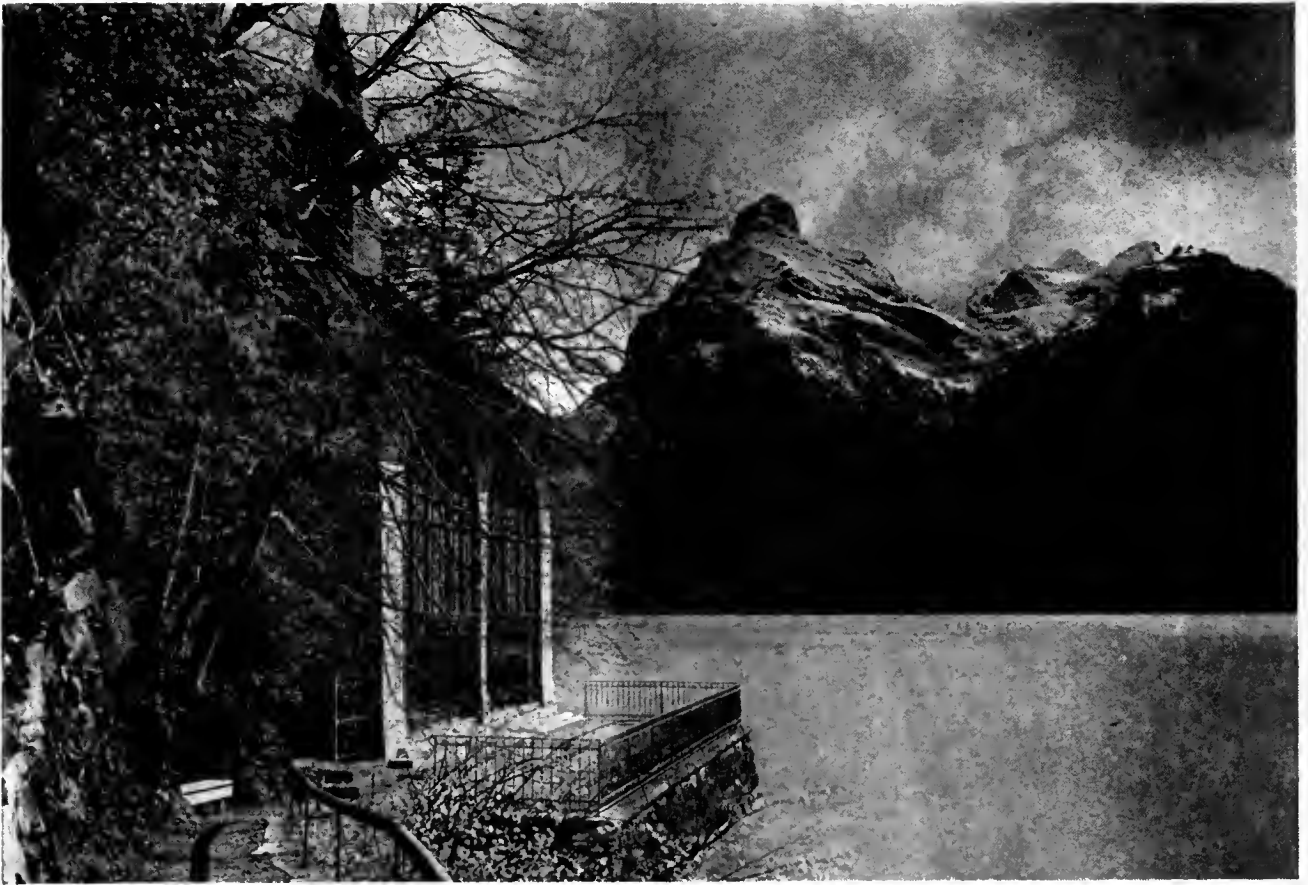


Photo from European

On Lake Lucerne, a chapel in honor of William Tell, symbol of Swiss freedom

One Europe

Its horizon lines as seen from a vantage point in the Swiss Alps—
as interpreted by our most recent recipient of the Nobel Peace Award

EMILY GREENE BALCH

TO RETURN TO POSTWAR EUROPE IS TO come back to a much devastated continent—but wholly devastated it is not. In Switzerland you feel yourself to be in an earthly paradise. This is not only because the country is physically intact, nor because of the booming prosperity of Zurich with its shops full of goods at relatively reasonable prices. Nor is it only that the people as a whole are not impoverished (though of course they also have their hardships). Above all, it is that the Swiss are not torn by hate or fear, suspicions and rancors—as a life goes on that is not unstable or obsessed by uncertainty as the future.

In spite of the fact that parts of the population speak German, French, and Italian, Switzerland is not poisoned by the presence of an embittered minority available, like a Trojan

horse, to hostile neighbors. There is nothing that corresponds to Alsace-Lorraine or to Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia. Linguistic particularisms are excluded by the strong sense of national unity and by a specifically Swiss patriotism that has been the growth of centuries.

The United States has the same good fortune of unity in diversity, but we have had no such considerable solid blocks of population, each with its own tongue and living where its ancestors have lived for centuries. And the American solution is correspondingly different.

The Swiss result was not achieved as quickly nor as easily as may be imagined. There are frictions—social, economic, and political—but the lines of cleavage are not along the speech frontiers.

However, when you look out from Switzerland on the land mass from which it rises, then indeed you face a complicated and difficult world. Europe, that “little cape of the great continent of Asia,” has an area roughly comparable to the United States, inhabited by a conglomerate of peoples, all, in a large sense, of the same race without any such contrasts as there are in the Americas between the white, the Asiatic, the African, and the Amerindian. Kneaded together through the ages, intermixed, interbred, speaking tongues all, with minor exceptions, derived from the same Sanskrit source—nevertheless what a crazy quilt of sharply differentiated units has resulted! And this in spite of the facts that most share a common memory of unity under the *Pax Romana*,

that (except for the relatively few Mohammedans) all are heirs of the Hebrew-Christian tradition, and that as regards Western Europe at least, they were molded for centuries by one Church, one feudal culture and code of chivalry.

Mother of Cultures—and Wars

The dividedness of Europe is not, of course, an accident. The continent is indeed cut up by innumerable mountain ranges which played a role under primitive conditions. Today, the divisions are not physical but political and psychological, the economic divisions being not primary but due to these factors. And these in turn are the result, as they are the cause, of the historical bedevilment of a continent never able to forget its past wars, cruel defeats, and heady triumphs.

Countries preoccupied with fears of invasion are not going to plan their highways, or any of their other facilities, so as to promote international communication and understanding. None dares let down its guard. So there are troublesome barriers, custom houses every little way, complicated difficulties in transmitting money and even in carrying it about, weary hours at the visa office, and so on, seemingly without end. But all these tiresome constrictions are mere reflections of what is much more serious—the all too well justified mutual fear, and the resulting complex of political alignments and tensions.

Certainly this trouble is not peculiar to Europe. The wars that it causes are global, and we are all in the same boat.

Ours is certainly one world for evil as well as for good; and Europe is the focus of the trouble and in some considerable degree its source. What the Balkans are to Europe — that Europe is to the world.

It is not surprising, and is most wholesome, that the age-long desire for European unity should be stirring again at the present moment, parallel to, and by no means in conflict with, the pressure for unification on a planetary basis.

Last fall, I had the pleasure of witnessing two manifestations of this in Switzerland, where it is most natural that the idea of a federated Europe should have an especial appeal and appear more than elsewhere both desirable and practicable.

The first of these occasions was

essentially non-political. I refer to what was called *Rencontres Internationales de Genève: L'Esprit Européen*, which took place in early September. For this there had been arranged a series of literary and philosophical lectures by a surprising galaxy of distinguished writers in the University Aula. These were interspersed with discussions in the Athénée (dear to all Geneva hearts), presentations at the Grand Théâtre of Claudel's religious play "*L'Annonce faite a Marie*" and of Beethoven's single opera "*Fidelio*," concerts, along with so-called recitals or literary evenings devoted respectively to the work and ideas of the great French poet, Valéry, and the Swiss writer, Ramuz, both recently dead. The art of the screen was remembered with Eisenstein's "*Ivan the Terrible*" and Olivier's extraordinary Shakespearean success, "*Henry V.*"

Among the lecturers France was represented by Julien Benda, who made such a sensation in 1927 with his book "*La Trahison des Clercs*," indicting intellectuals for their failure to rise to the occasion when Fascism and Hitlerism were menacing the world; also by Bernanos and that very sympathetic figure, Guéhenno. Switzerland contributed Jean de

Salis, a distinguished radio commentator, whose broadcasting in German during the war was an open door to the many who dared to listen; and Denis de Rougemont whose book "*La Part du Diable*" has appeared in English and who has recently returned from the United States—with which he was not enchanted. Benedetto Croce being unable to come, Italy sent Francisco Flora, author of a classic history of Italian literature. Georg Lukacs from Budapest spoke as a Communist, though as one not necessarily committed to the party line. Stephen Spender, poet and UNESCO delegate, came from England. One of the most respected and warmly welcomed was Professor Karl Jaspers of Heidelberg.

The *Entretiens* or discussions were particularly interesting. One of these was enlivened by a passionate exchange of views on the youth of today in which Guéhenno's generous enthusiasm for the work of the Resistance was deeply moving.

Among the most reasonable and instructive contributions was that of M. Amrouche, a man of that wonderful Berber stock of North Africa the significance of which has in general been so little recognized by historians. He spoke of European cul-



Press Association

EMILY GREENE BALCH

For years Miss Balch has been a friend of Switzerland—since her post at Geneva in the early Twenties as international secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

During her years as an economist at Wellesley College (1896-1918) Professor Balch rendered signal services to Boston and Massachusetts. Her first writings for *The Survey* were chapters of an outstanding study of "Our Slavic Fellow Citizens" (1910).

As delegate to the International Congress of Women at the Hague in 1915, she was one of a special wartime mission to the Scandinavian and Russian governments. Between the two world wars, she was active on both sides of the Atlantic. In 1936 the Women's International League made her honorary international president.

Her recent "Women for Peace and Freedom" (*Survey Graphic* for October 1946) was written on her first postwar visit to Europe. Soon after her return last fall came the Nobel Award of 1946, divided between Miss Balch and John R. Mott of the YMCA—recognition in both instances of long years of distinguished service to the cause of international peace.

ture as one who is standing at the same time outside and within it and hence, unlike some of the other speakers, able to view it with objectivity, both as to its glories and its limitations. Some, indeed, tended to make culture in its entirety coincide with that of Europe alone and seemed curiously remote from any realization of the role of Egypt or of Palestine, Confucius or the Buddha, Tagore or Gandhi, to say nothing of the Americas or that great African race and its contribution which has not yet been assessed.

The meaning of the whole was, of course, the desire for a true European culture, conscious of itself as such, in the sense of Romain Rolland's "good European." The tone was registered by the fact that no proposals were made, no resolutions voted, and that all political considerations were conspicuously absent. The whole was permeated by a strong sense of moral earnestness in the face of the critical times in which we all are involved and in large part by specifically religious concern, both Roman Catholic and Protestant.

Surely it is not too much to hope that this effort, to be followed by others on the same level but less divorced from everyday necessities, will strengthen the fertilizing effect of free give-and-take of thought, and contribute to the growth of an atmosphere of mutual understanding and active good will throughout a troubled and divided continent.

After these Geneva meetings I attended a conference very different in tone—practical, political, and propagandist—arranged by the Swiss organization, Europa Union, to discuss a United States of Europe. The sessions were partly in Berne, partly at a lake-side resort near Lucerne with celebrations also in that city itself and at little Ruetli, rich in its association with the primitive origins of Swiss democracy and the story of William Tell.

The meetings were earnest, intimate, competent, and excellent in spirit. Those taking part were mainly Swiss, though the program also drew participants from Holland, Belgium, Sweden, Italy, England, Germany, Austria, and Hungary, and perhaps elsewhere. The speakers were enthusiastic, and the Swiss were convinced that Switzerland has a treasure of exceeding value to share and that she can show the practical way out to a

Europe which is not only itself distracted but imperiled with dissensions which are a menace to mankind and a scandal to the human race.

Europe United

Yet I must admit that the more closely one considers the problem of a United States of Europe, the more multiform and the more serious its difficulties and implications appear.*

Take the relations of such a federation to the United Nations. The Golden Gate Charter, like the Covenant of the old League of Nations, expressly foresees and admits the possibility of "regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters, relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations." (Art. 52, 1) All would seem to be plain sailing on this score.

But even if the new Europe were not acceptable as "a regional arrangement," why should the United Nations find difficulty in accepting a new government of this type, constituted peacefully and by consent? On the formal and constitutional side perhaps none, but power politics might rear its ugly head and make trouble. Would the United States look with favor on the appearance of so powerful a European union? Would it be challenged by British imperialist considerations and questions of balance of power? And what of Russia? Could the USSR be induced not to regard it as a "Western bloc," hostile, potentially at least, to her interests?

Supposing that all those countries which are suggested as member states of the new body desired "in principle" to join, would they agree to having one common vote in the UN, giving up the individual votes that those who are members now possess? Or would Europe have the multiple voting power that the United States of America does not have? If Europe—like the British Commonwealth of Nations and the Soviet Union—were to have more than one vote it might not be easy to agree on how many and how distributed. Finally, would the United States of Europe have a veto power like that of the Big Five today?

The question of what countries should be included in the new union would seem a prior question. Should Russia with its huge Asiatic territory be inside? Should Britain with its worldwide connections and connotations? The Swiss answer, and I judge increasingly also the consensus of opinion among those interested, is, "Neither of them."

Obviously a prime consideration is to avoid anything which would awaken suspicion that such a United States of Europe was a "point" against any other government; rather to make it clear that it would further good relations all round, a condition, alas, much easier to formulate than to realize. There is, in particular, the very difficult question of postwar Germany.

If Germany were to enter as a unit, might she not have such overwhelming weight as to give her, in effect, the hegemony of the continent? If, on the other hand, there were a number of autonomous German states with a corresponding number of German votes, what then?

Europa Union has its own quite definite program. This, in essence, is that the European union should constitute a great neutral body—in which neither Britain nor Russia would take part—standing as a buffer and intermediary between East and West and emphatically not directed against any people or any government.

Swiss Neutrality

It is perhaps hard for anyone who is not Swiss fully to enter into their feeling about neutrality as such. It seems to me to be rather different from that of the Swedes who are like the Swiss in feeling that neutrality as a political and economic necessity is forced upon them by their geographical situation. But the Swedes, as it appears to me, do not,

* Since this article was written by Miss Balch, who was unable because of illness to bring it up to date, several new moves have emphasized the need for a better integration of Europe—among them negotiations for a Belgian-Dutch customs and commerce accord, proposals for economic agreements linking the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and France, the conversations of Léon Blum with British cabinet chiefs in London, looking to a military and trade understanding between the United Kingdom and France. Also, comment on the conferences between representatives of the Allies and of Switzerland concerning the liquidation of holdings of German funds has indicated that neutrality was sometimes utilized for other purposes than the single one of immunity from war for humanitarian service. Despite the political and historical difficulties in the way of European federation and the obstacles to such a far-reaching suggestion as that of European general neutrality, the progressive ideas which Miss Balch advances are factors well worth study and thought in regard to the future of Europe.—P.K.

like the Swiss, regard it as their palladium, as a sacred and untouchable principle to which they have been vowed for centuries. The Swiss feeling goes much deeper than the sense of the physical horrors and peril to their national unity—to their very national existence—to which they would be exposed if they took sides in the recurrent conflicts among their powerful neighbors.

Their little country stands like an island surrounded by raging seas. In a nation made up of Germans, French, and Italians, these under certain circumstances might play the part of *irredenta* minorities. Italy is not the most dangerous of her neighbors; but I think back to the unwillingness of Switzerland to cooperate in the boycott against Italy when the League of Nations hoped to control the Ethiopian aggression by economic sanctions.

Yet Swiss neutrality is not pacifist nor motivated by pacifism in the absolutist sense nor in the sense of a religious rejection of violence. Conscientious objectors are no more approved by the government nor more popular there than in belligerent countries. Universal military service is compulsory in times of peace and war alike, and there is no sound more characteristic of a rural Sunday than that of the required target practice in some near-by field.

Neutrality, then, is a practical policy which has kept Switzerland clear of war—and if the Swiss are not “pacifist,” they hate and dread war as everyone must. The policy has also enabled them to play a very special role and render very special services to their belligerent neighbors. It is this conception of neutrality which the Swiss feel is the contribution that they have to make. It is one that has complicated their country’s entry into the United Nations as it complicated its relation to the League of Nations, where Swiss jealousy in behalf of her hundred percent neutrality made difficulties. I recall Switzerland’s concern lest League broadcasts might offend outside political sensibilities.

Moreover, the Swiss idea is *non-belligerency* but emphatically not *isolation*. The distinguished Swiss publicist, Edmond Privat, pointed out recently that if war broke out between the Powers, that would be a war not within the United Nations but outside it, as the last war was outside the League of Nations. In entering UN, he held, Switzerland should announce

that in such a case Swiss neutrality must be “integral, permanent, and automatic.”

David Lasserre of Lausanne carries the idea further. He remarks that it is to the interest of an organization trying to establish collective security to receive from each of its members the best service that it can render in



Photo from European

ARISTIDE BRIAND

The French statesman, who died in 1932, was a crusader for a federated Europe

case of war. Now, he points out, there is a precious and unique contribution that a neutral nation, and a neutral only, can offer. It is the sort of service that the Swiss International Committee of the Red Cross with its headquarters in Geneva has rendered in both world wars, including visitation of war-prisoner camps, forwarding of mail and packages to prisoners, seeking and providing addresses and information, care of refugees, and other kinds of assistance that only a neutral is free to give. The price for fulfilling these functions “of diplomatic protection, supervision, and refuge” should be permission to maintain a special status within the United Nations as a recognized neutral and the harmonizing of this status with a membership that is both active and in all other respects normal.

It should not be surprising if the Swiss are ready to recommend to Europe the adoption of a status to which they themselves owe everything.

One takes a long breath at the thought of a united and neutral

Europe. “Europe, mother of cultures, mother of wars.” Can the continent remain the first and cease to be the last? Why not?

Europe: United, but Neutral

What are the chances of actual realization of such an idea? Who can say? Simply because such efforts do not have a mass movement behind them, we should not underestimate the importance of this one in Switzerland with its propagandists and its missionary momentum, or of similar efforts (affiliated or not) in Holland, England, France, Italy, and other countries. For this means beginning at the grass roots, and obviously a prime and prior requisite for success is education of the public and creation of popular interest. But also obviously necessary is active interest and support on the part of those political, economic, and financial powers that control development.

I am in no position to assess any one of these contingents. But I recall not only Churchill’s speech at Zurich in mid-September, but the publicity, given four months earlier, to a proposal that former Secretary of State Byrnes was said to be carrying in his pocket to the Paris Conference, for a European sub-organization—on the economic plane—within the UN. This scheme called for an Economic Council of the continental European countries, excluding both Russia and Britain, to plan the general economic recovery of Europe and make recommendations to the economic planning boards of the United Nations.

“The theory behind it,” said the *Christian Science Monitor* at the time, “is that if Europe is allowed to plan for its own economic recovery it will reduce the degree to which Russia and the United States compete with each other for influence in Europe.” The plan had the merit of looking toward a revival of continental Europe as a self-sustaining community—a goal reflected in the report of the UN Temporary Subcommission on the Economic Reconstruction of Devastated Areas, in late September.

With Churchill’s speech should be compared that made by Ernest Bevin in Parliament, in November 1945. He stated that he stood for the federation of Europe and recalled the fact that at the British Trade Union Congress of 1927 he had put through a vote in favor of a United Europe, the

(Continued on page 173)



Young Germans still in Denmark, and under Danish supervision, study under an anti-Nazi teacher

The Golden Rule in Denmark

How major victims of Nazi aggression have translated their principles into practice in dealing with the 200,000 Germans remaining among them.

JOHN HERLING

YOU WILL RECALL THAT THE NAZIS were supposed to have been kind to Denmark in their wartime occupation. Winston Churchill even called that country the "murderer's canary." Presumably, after a hard day in the slaughterhouse, the butcher comes home, flips the cover off the bird cage, throws the occupant some seeds, refrains from pulling its tail, and commands the bird to sing.

This feathered allegory lost its validity very early in the occupation. The Danes retained pleasant surface manners as long as they could, but became increasingly obdurate. First, the cold shoulder, then the stiff arm. The Gestapo, thereupon, got to work in earnest. Kaj Munk, symbol of resistance, foremost Danish playwright of his period, was assassinated on Nazi orders. Thousands of Danes were deported or consigned to concentration camps in Germany and Denmark. Hundreds died in confinement or were killed outright.

Denmark would not sing for the Nazis.

I reached Denmark some time after the Nuremberg trials. It was also the

—By an American observer of rare insight and background.

Mr. Herling was long an active force on the staff of the League for Industrial Democracy in all its causes and adventures in American life. Earlier, he had been Washington correspondent for the *Milwaukee Leader* and for *Time*, *Life*, *Fortune*, and the "March of Time."

With the launching of the Office of Inter-American Affairs, he became director of its Labor Relations Division; and was the initiator of repeated projects for understanding, south and north in the New World.

With its incorporation in the U. S. State Department, he was free to go overseas last summer under commission from several American newspapers and magazines.

third anniversary of the flight of the Danish Jews. You may recall the story of how, during a week of nights in late 1943, nearly all of this country's 8,500 Jews were able to make their way to a haven in Sweden. From all accounts, it was the best organized exodus of a people who for some time have had to learn the mel-

ancholy art of making a hasty exit. It was fortunate for this group that a turn in Sweden's diplomacy of neutrality provided them a haven at the time and also a comparatively safe crossing. Altogether 20,000 men, women, and children, including 12,000 political refugees, eventually got over to the opposite shore with the assistance of the Swedish government.

Their eighteen months stay in Sweden was calm and secure. With the aid of Swedish officials, an efficient refugee bureau was established. Special homes for the aged were set up; scholarships were provided for students at Swedish universities; living allowances were given younger boys and girls enabling them to attend school in comparative comfort.

Right after the war, the trek home began and, in common with all Danes, the refugees faced the necessity of reorienting themselves to a set of stiff postwar problems in the economy and social life of their country.

A particularly hard knot was the presence of German "refugees" who have been there since January 1945.

These were birds of flight left behind in the canary's cage—their number twice that of the German troops who had been stationed in Denmark during the occupation. When the Nazi war front, east and west, collapsed, their forces in Denmark were promptly disarmed and marched out.

Prussian Influx

Relieved of one obvious burden, Denmark found itself having to support, house, and in part school 200,000 old men, women, and children who had swarmed in on them from eastern Prussia, whence they had fled before the advancing Soviet troops. They had scattered over the countryside and through the towns and were quartered by the Nazi authorities in hotels, schools, industrial buildings, and sports clubs, pushing out Danes in the process. Danish children in Copenhagen were evicted from 95 percent of their classrooms. Such squatters did not endear themselves to their hapless hosts.

When hostilities ended, Denmark, like Poland and Czechoslovakia, might have bundled them off across the nearest borders and abandoned them to their fate or to whatever power cared to intervene.

The Danes did not care to do this for at least two reasons: first, they are a kindly people; second, they believed it was not in keeping with their democratic traditions to dump human beings, uncared for, into the

shambles of eastern Prussia. Modestly, they also believed that the Allies, after meeting more urgent problems, would assume their proper responsibility.

Bereft of their bully-boy escorts, the displaced Germans grew frantic with fear and uncertainty, but Danish policy quickly became clear. They were brought in from scattered places and housed in 102 camps, most of them constructed for the purpose. A typical establishment is the Klovermarken camp, set up on a golf course on the outskirts of Copenhagen. At the time of my visit last fall, 17,000 refugees were living there in 900 wooden houses and barracks, purchased mainly in Sweden. There were 9,000 women, about 5,000 children; the rest, chiefly old men, and boys between fifteen and military age.

The camp was laid out according to sound standards of town planning, with plenty of air and light between the dwelling places, small plots for growing things, playgrounds for the children, a special kitchen for preparing food for the very young, community buildings of various kinds, two hospitals, one of them for tuberculous patients. Gymnasias and kindergartens were attached to the schools where the children were taught the revived curriculum of 1933.

Altogether, the 200,000 German "refugees" equaled 5 percent of the Danish population and required a caretaker staff of 10,000. If the United

States had found itself saddled with an equivalent burden, we should have been feeding, housing, and fretting about 7,000,000 refugees, with a proportionately larger corps of 350,000 guardians. If we had done the job as efficiently as the Danes, it would have cost us 3 percent of our national income. As Lord Beveridge recalled, when all nations were invited to contribute one percent of their national income to UNRRA for its program of relief, the Danish representative, without boasting, could testify that his country was already laying out three times that percentage.

Denmark's Democracy

"You can be sure we want these people to go back to Germany," the commandant in charge at Klovermarken assured a Danish journalist and myself as we walked through the well laid out lanes of this little "municipality." "But while they are here," he went on, "we shall not give them any reason to go back with hatred for us in their hearts. We emphasize especially the care of the children. If we do that well, perhaps they will remember Denmark as being a good country. And besides, we *must* treat them well, if we wish really to teach them what it is to be democratic."

I looked over this blond, blue-eyed Dane very carefully. Like other men managing this refugee enterprise, he himself had been jailed by the Nazis



Klovermarken, on the outskirts of Copenhagen—one of the well planned camps built by the Danes for their uninvited guests

for resistance activities and knew firsthand what life in a concentration camp can mean. Striding along in uniform, looking rather like one of the forest rangers you see in the Yosemite, he explained the policy of his government with a quiet conviction which allayed my skepticism that his were perhaps well worn platitudes of good intentions rather than working administrative practices.

We went into several of the huts which I chose at random, and looked around. As we approached one of the barracks, he said a little regretfully,



A kindergarten class. "Perhaps they will remember Denmark as a good country"

"You ought to visit this, too. It is one of the worst crowded. We don't want you to think that everything is lovely."

A large oblong hall had been divided into square lean-tos, for privacy's sake. The wooden frames were covered with cloth, blankets, or burlap. It was neat, but, in general, inferior to the huts we had visited earlier, and the air inside was close. Elderly people sat around mopily; teen-age girls were reading books from the community library; small groups of children were playing in the center of the room; women were hanging clothes on a line. Some greeted us with a slight smile, others with indifference. It was not an animated assemblage.

"What would you like to do?" we asked a woman putting out her washing. "We want to go home," she said.

"Well, you know, we would like you to," our guide commented ami-

ably. The woman and the others nodded vigorous agreement. Through their camp newspaper and the system of block captains, they were kept informed of the repatriation efforts.

Nearly 96 percent of the refugees in such camps belonged originally to what is now the Russian zone of Germany. The USSR had said it might accept 100,000 of this largely nonproductive group. Denmark believes that under the Potsdam formula all should properly return to the place of origin. If the Danes yielded on this principle, they would be bur-

dened with permanent responsibility for those rejected by the Russians.

Only a few days before, the commandant told us, two women got in a bitter wrangle, with which their chosen district chairmen found themselves unable to cope. The women were hailed before the supervisory authorities. "She called me a Nazi," one of them complained. The other denied this indignantly. What the commandant found significant and gratifying was that "Nazi" had already become an insulting name. "That's progress," he said.

As we went on, there came toward us a woman of about sixty, with dignified bearing, an interesting, pale, and careworn face, who once might have been a library official or headmistress of a school. She looked at us pleasantly and we instinctively raised our hats, the Danish officer giving her a sort of half salute. As she murmured a greeting and passed on, my civilian friend dashed back

while the commandant and I turned to watch. Her face became a flaming red and she looked down like a repentant child. Women sitting outside a nearby hut laughed, as if sharing in her embarrassment.

What the woman had said in returning our salute was "*Heil Hitler.*" She had said it automatically, in a tone of quiet civility, but her mortification was clear and deep. "It was a slip of the mind," she was explaining in German, as if she herself were hardly satisfied with this excuse.

Mulling over the incident as we resumed our walk, the commandant broke out: "She saw my uniform and reacted to it the way she has been compelled to react to all uniforms for twelve years. That must be it." A little later the woman crossed our path again and timidly ventured a "*Grüss' Gott.*"

We looked in on a theater large enough to seat about four hundred. All the equipment was refugee-built. One of the "stage hands" came out to explain things. There was a very professional looking prompter's box. With a few exceptions, he told us, the actors lacked previous experience. They had erected a setting for Shakespeare's "*As You Like It,*" the current production. It had a primitive Elizabethan quality. On one of the trees hung a placard with the message, "*Rosalind, Ich Liebe Dich.*"

Elsewhere there was a busy carpenter's shop where older men and boys were making toys, ship models, and the like for the little children in anticipation of Christmas.

Outside one of the barracks, a middle-aged man and two companions were chatting. To our questions about life in the camps, they replied that they had no complaints to make—only, they wanted to go back to Danzig and start life over.

"What do you think of the Nuremberg trials?" That had been on our minds all day and it was natural to ask it. The three replied almost in unison: "Of course, we knew nothing of what was going on in the concentration camps." "We had no idea of gas chambers and such contrivances." "If they were guilty of such horrors, they deserve their punishment." The older man remarked sadly that he had lived most of his life before the rise of Hitler and could never reconcile himself to brutality. One of his companions interrupted: "I was fourteen when the Nazi regime came to power and so all my youth has been spent

under it. I have known nothing else."

When I asked the younger man whether he thought Germany was ready for democracy, his words spilled out over each other:

"Yes. Now we shall really have a genuine democracy. This time we shall build a real democratic system. And, mind you, it will not be a 'swindle democracy' such as we had before Hitler came to power. No, no, this time it will not be a 'swindle democracy.'"

The older man looked stricken; wordless, helpless, he tried to wave aside the young man's words. He was the only one of the three refugees who seemed aware that in the very act of rejecting Nazism, the speaker was actually accepting the Nazi interpretation of the Weimar Republic. It was as unconscious as the reaction of the woman we had met half an hour before. But here there was no awareness of any "slip of the mind," no embarrassment. It was an eager, self-assured expression of a point of view which would require very little adjustment to suit conditions prevailing in East Prussia under the new management.

Clearly, the Danes have had wished upon them a job of fantastic difficulty. Nevertheless they persist, furnishing the "refugees" at least 2,300 calories each day—just about the average for the people of Norway, which I also visited—and far above the scale prevailing in the occupied zones in Germany. The Danes provide "formula" kitchens for babies; schools, libraries, a community theater—and an atmosphere of freedom. They are attempting to reeducate into habits of self-respect women almost beside themselves with frustration.

They are trying to train youths in democratic ways, and hope with desperate earnestness that, so treated, these will remember it in years to come and not let themselves be used (as were many of their predecessors of the last war) as the flying wedge of an invasion corps or as spies in the forefront of aggression. Recalling the bitter lesson of their hospitality in World War I, the Danes have linked one long range precaution with this organized beneficence. They prohibit any learning of the Danish language by the refugees in these camps.

In short, it is almost as if a modern government, having studied the iniquities of the past, had decided to live according to the spirit and letter of the Golden Rule. That is the course



Photos from the Danish Information Office

Corner of an attractive, efficient camp creche, with its trim little cribs

Victor Gollancz, the British publisher, fervently advocates in "Our Threatened Values," his recent small volume brought out in England. Gollancz, a foremost anti-Nazi, has now turned full blast against all totalitarian power doctrines and in his book makes an appeal, at once passionate and rational, for the regeneration of decency in the western world.

"A Strong Sense of History"

Returning to Copenhagen from the camp, I picked up Gollancz's book to read again his plea for generosity as a basis of postwar policy:

If we treat these Germans kindly, kindness will stir in them. If we show them mercy, they will know by the immediacy of contact, how "delightful" mercy is. If we, the enemy, act justly to them when we could have acted unjustly, if we give them the rights that we might have so easily withheld, then they will understand what rights mean, just because we had the power to withhold them. . . .

I do not mean, of course, that a change in the temper of the German people can be a matter of days or weeks: a boy who has been indoctrinated for twelve years with Nazism does not become a liberal or a Christian overnight. Nor can it be accomplished easily or by the way.

The very depth of the moral wound requires a corresponding intensity in the effort to reach and cure it. Only if we feel the same passionate devotion to our ethic as Hitler felt for his and the Communists feel for theirs can we win the heart of Germany and ultimately, perhaps, of the whole world. And why should we lack passion? Isn't it as good, this way of life that has produced so much gentleness and so many freedoms,

as the barbarism of Hitler and the ruthless expediency of what is now called communism?

In her treatment of German "refugees," Denmark has been guided through the labyrinth of her own and the world's many troubles by such a sturdy skein woven from kindness, wisdom, and a strong sense of history.

The Allies have continued to give Denmark assurances of their concern. The United States, Great Britain, and France have promised that they will each take 12,000 into their respective zones in Germany. Great Britain arranged for their repatriation at the rate of 1,000 a month; presumably the American authorities will sometime follow suit.

The Danish government promptly informed the Russians that even on the basis of their own formula to match all the other allied powers in this responsibility, the Soviet government should be prepared now to arrange for the return of 36,000 Germans to eastern Prussia. The Soviet reply was that they were ready "in principle" to care for 15,000.

Although the Danes will be grateful for any lightening of the load, they point out that nearly all "the refugees" belong in the eastern (Russian) zone of Germany. It is hardly convincing to say you will assume half your obligation to your dependents, if the community assumes responsibility for the rest.

In the meantime, while the great powers maneuver, the winter months have found the Danes digging down into their own substance for the care and feeding of their uninvited guests.

Thumbs in the Dike

How neighborhood houses in the Netherlands held their ground under Nazi occupation and are today factors in the recovery of Holland.

LILLIE M. PECK

ONE AND ALL, HOLLANDERS SEEM EAGER to erase the marks of war as quickly and as completely as possible. This holds psychologically as well as physically. Characteristically, they want to get back to solid earth and orderliness and to feel that life is moving steadily.

"You can get your shoes mended now without coupons," they confide to visitors, with a look as if that were a momentous gain—provided the shoemaker has leather.

Everything is rationed, but the black market seems to be limited to cigarettes and textiles. When I wanted to get some chocolate in the stores, I was told that it was a pity but without coupons this would not be possible. And those delicious cakes I asked about? If I would bring equivalent sugar and butter, they would sell them to me.

While the visitor gets no coupons, hotels, restaurants, and clubs may serve you, and they do within limits. Meat is scarce, the portions small; vegetables and fish are plentiful; bread is dark but good; but there is little cheese and this is sorely missed. Milk is available but rationed as is everything—clothes, shoes, watches, tobacco. Prices are high.

War's Aftermath

There is a solid, quiet determination abroad in the land. On the other hand, some people concerned about what is happening tell you that youth has been utterly spoiled, that those who learned to sabotage by not working for the Nazis find it easy to live by the black market.

They add that the best liar also had the best chance to escape death under the occupation and that it will take years for young people to settle down to the kind of stable life their elders think they should live.

I gathered this from a teacher in a select school, no less than from boys' club leaders. Nonetheless, such forebodings are hard for a casual observer to accept because the young people in the trains and trams, while rough, have a high degree of courtesy, and in

—By the secretary of the National Federation of Settlements, who, last spring, was awarded the Barnett Memorial Fellowship. This fellowship is made possible by a joint British and American fund long since raised in honor of the founder of Toynbee Hall, London—the world's first settlement.

She employed the award to get in touch firsthand with developments in England, France, the Lowlands, and Scandinavia. A second article will tell the saga of the part played by settlements in war and peace not only in the Finnish cities but to the north in Lapland.

In late August, Miss Peck attended a meeting of key people at Brussels, and her article in *Survey Midmonthly* for October on "Social Workers in One World" was the earliest to bring Americans abreast of plans ahead for postwar International Conferences of Social Work in The Hague in 1947, in the USA in 1948.

the few clubs I visited the boys and girls struck me as quiet and disciplined. There is much talk of "asphalt youth," of how little organized activities meet the need. After a little talk, people say, "Well, until we get decent houses there will be no real stability." Clubs help, but the great want is housing. Not only were vast numbers of houses destroyed during the years of invasion and occupation, but provision for normal population growth has yet to be made.

On the one hand, Holland has long had a fine standard of home and town planning and has good plans that are full of promise for the future. On the other hand, the desire to put the war behind them is marked by the practical ways in which the people have sought to wipe out the signs of its ravages. Where there was ground fighting, one sees great gaps and gashes; where the damage was largely from the air the places are just blanks. Elsewhere you have to look for evidence and to know the signs of air raid or street fighting, for the cities have been cleaned up to a degree that is unbelievable.

Take Rotterdam, which suffered greatly. The station itself is very orderly and traffic heavy, but you do not notice at first that all the buildings are temporary. There is no glass over the platforms, but there is no broken glass underfoot to call your attention to the fact.

As you come out of the station, you seem to be in the midst of fields across which people are making their way. You find yourself wondering why the station was put so far outside the town; and then you catch a glimpse of the shell of a nearby church and realize that the city was obliterated for blocks along the railroad. The rubble has since been cleared and nature has taken over. It is all very tidy. Much of the wreckage was so complete that nothing could be salvaged, but elsewhere neat piles of cleaned brick stand ready for new building.

There *is* new building, but it is with cement, for all other materials are scarce or non-existent. We passed some large structures going up near the edge of the wasteland and found one a cinema, another a restaurant, a third a bank. My companion said bitterly, "And houses should come first."

Once you have seen behind and through this prevailing orderliness, the aftermath of aggression is ever present — windows boarded up or patched, bashed-in buildings, bridges half rebuilt, and streets being relaid.

Then as you travel in third class carriages, crowded beyond anything known in prewar years, you get used to windows with panes gone or replaced with wood, and to the utter darkness at night on the coal burning lines. As the train goes on, you pass, seemingly, miles of engines, freight cars, and carriages on every siding or along the lines, smashed beyond reclamation. Even salvage has been impossible as yet.

So you no longer wonder that trains are overcrowded or that there are not so many. Rather, you come to speculate on how there are any means left to get about. You hang

on the edge of a street car. Someone has courteously given you an extra shove in, with the explanation that "Our good trams are still in Hamburg," or "Of course people used to ride bicycles before the war; but there are less than a third of them left."

However, the canals are cleared for traffic and life goes on. When you ask friends, "What happened to you in wartime?" you come upon a real reluctance to say "Oh, I carried on" or "It was bitter"; or "We lived in a kind of shell, seething inside, frustrated because we could do nothing, seeing what belonged to our friends or fellow citizens carried away, and knowing that our young people themselves were being taken to Germany to work in the German plants. Some of these escaped but many did not."

Protection of the Jews

There have been Jews in Holland for hundreds of years. There is a tablet in the old court church to Isaac da Costa, a Jewish citizen who was born in 1790, and I noted with interest the name of Lopez Cardoza among the board of directors of *Ons Huis* ("Our House" — a Rotterdam settlement).

Some Jews, fortunately, escaped and were hidden by friends, but many families disappeared without trace.

The business manager of *Ons Huis* did twenty-eight months of forced labor in Germany along with Jewish doctors, lawyers, and others. He was young and came through, but of the six hundred or more in his camp no more than sixty survived. "Yes, it was hard, but it's over now and there is so much to be done," he said.

You hear stories of gallant efforts to protect the Jews—how the longshoremen moved into one district, for example, when the first raid on a poor Jewish neighborhood was rumored. With these big brawny Hollanders filling the doorways and standing out in front, the raid was called off for the time being. The next time, the Nazis came swiftly and with machine guns.

I was told of one woman who took five Jewish friends into her home, hid them and fed them on one ration card and what she could get illegally. They could never move about her small flat when she was out and the strain and overcrowding dragged on. Then, through some slip, her place was raided. Three of her friends got away, but two were caught.

Some of the organizations which correspond to our American settlements kept right on and their workers took part in all the general efforts for relief and served on committees. Of course, the general curfew and the blackout imposed at night made it impossible to have evening activities and there was great danger in bringing young people together because a sudden raid might mean that they would be scooped up together. Many of the settlement leaders themselves had joined the Netherlands army or taken on special jobs. Some houses, such as *Ons Dorpshuis en Eelde*, were requisitioned by the German army and later, when deliverance came, became recreation centers for the Canadians. Today, they have picked up the strands of their work as if nothing had happened.

One prominent leader, J. W. Hoekstra, was shot by the Nazis for his part in the resistance. Dr. Hoekstra had not only been active in adult education but at one time had been secretary of the Settlement Federation of Holland. His loss was widely mourned.

There are several movements in Holland which seem to stem from the



In the "black winter" of 1944, *Ons Huis*, Rotterdam, established a food center where children were sure of a hot meal

same source as the corresponding movements in Britain and America. All go back to the industrial revolution and to the humanistic efforts to counter its evils and build a community of interest for all the people.

History has it that here in the United States our public education



The late A. de Koe, founder and director of *Ons Huis*, Rotterdam, adult education center which has branched out to include activities for children

had its beginnings in the free schools the Dutch established in New Amsterdam at the mouth of the Hudson. The other way round, two hundred and fifty years later, the settlement movement, the early university extension movement, and the workers education movement as these spread in English-speaking countries, stimulated kindred undertakings in Holland. The American public library also caught imaginations. Later, but equally important, Jane Addams' writings had an inspiring influence. Not only "Twenty Years at Hull-House," but particularly "The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets" still circulate and are quoted.

Three Pioneer Settlements

***Ons Huis*, Amsterdam.** This was founded as early as 1892, eight years after Toynbee Hall in London. Its inspiration was "a woman of good social feeling," Helene Mercier; its backer, a philanthropist, C. W. Janssen; and its first leader a former minister, J. A. Tours. His successor was Miss Van Asperen van de Velde, and today J. W. Barentz is the head. There are eight branches in various parts of the city. The main building is well built if institutional; the rooms are large and comfortably furnished. There is a gymnasium, a good hall and stage; growing plants and bright table covers and curtains make its club rooms informal.

The evening of my visit, there were sewing groups and a class in pattern making and design. Women, old, young, and middle-aged, eagerly asked questions about how America could send so much clothing and still have any left. They were greatly interested that rich, poor, and in-between, had contributed; also that we, too, had shortages in low-priced goods, and that women in settlements made over old clothing and exchanged good clothes outgrown by children, through "Swap Shops." A women's club council asked about American women's clubs and especially the Women's Club Federation of the Chicago settlements which had sent a gift of money to a kindred group in Amsterdam.

Naturally, work with children increased rather than lessened during the occupation. *Ons Huis*, with its eight branches, reports 1,000 a day now coming regularly in groups.

Beyond this, *Ons Huis* has built a small addition for factory boys from thirteen to eighteen. From these it is hoped to develop leaders for clubs to come. The membership is limited to forty who joined on their own initiative, and can come in any time they wish outside of working hours. There are the usual games, simple carpentry, books, some music, and out-of-door activities such as excursions and hikes. Three leaders (one a young doctor) work with the boys intensively and know them in their homes and jobs as well as in the club. The hope has been, also, to found a number of so-called "Youth Houses" for intensive work with girls as well as factory boys but money, space, and leadership have been lacking.

During the occupation *Ons Huis* felt that its primary tasks were to work actively against the infiltration of German ideas, to build morale and strengthen the resistance. The Nazis required the house to post a sign that no Jews were admitted but it let it be known quietly that no one knew who was a Jew and who was not—and everyone came. Similarly, the Nazi propaganda office demanded that meetings be held for its purposes, but somehow these were never held. In the "black winter" of 1944, the house managed some heat and established a food center where children came for a hot meal. Everyone helped and the children were less hungry and cold because of it. During the occupation and especially that black winter, the agencies worked together to meet



Miss E. C. Knappert, for many years director of the *Leyden Volkshuis*. She also founded and had charge of the School of Social Work in Amsterdam

emergent needs and to plan for joint action after the war.

***Volkshuis*, Leyden.** This was established in 1899; its inspiration, Professor M. H. L. Drucker; its first and long time directress, the redoubtable Miss E. C. Knappert. Born in 1860, Miss Knappert had been well known as a student of renaissance literature. She soon became one of the most dynamic and spirited of Dutch social workers, and gave zest to all the main movements of her time, as founder and head of the School of Social Work in Amsterdam.

In her prime, she had built a sound building in the *Apothekersdijk*, and the present *Volkshuis* is fresh and bright with excellent colors and growing plants. It has been known for its children's play days and its spring festivals which the present leader, Miss Ruth, herself directs. There are folk dancing, a playhouse, a shop, and a library; sewing and the care of plants are also among the activities, and in addition a large number of lectures and clubs for adult members.

Today, Miss Knappert still lives in the future, hates the Germans with a mighty zest, and next hates her own incapacity to get about at eighty-six. She intends to move to a small flat in a village house, where she can be independent physically and spiritually, as she says, "among my own people—the Unitarians." She and her associates suffered much from cold and hunger, and she asked me to underscore their gratitude for food sent after the occupation by Kingsley House, Pittsburgh—at the suggestion of Hospites.

(Continued on page 174)

BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS—

and the Unfinished Business of the New World

From a Spanish friar of long ago and a Pueblo's grazing program today, there comes a profound lesson as to the essential basis for creative race relations.

JOHN COLLIER

THIS ARTICLE STARTS WITH THE DAWN of the struggle for liberty in the Western Hemisphere. It starts with Bartolomé de las Casas, concerning whom the workers for racial democracy in the United States ought to know more than most of them do know.

Then the article passes to the recent and contemporary scene at home and abroad.

In Mexico City there stands a sixteenth century convent, built with stones from a destroyed Aztec temple. It now houses the Ministry of Education of the Mexican Republic.

In the great central court the revolutionary Mexico of two decades ago placed four statues, facing the four quarters of the world. They are Quetzalcoatl, the half-mythical light-giver who united Mayan with Toltec legend and drew the Aztec spirit toward these; Plato; the Buddha; and Las Casas.

Las Casas, the Spanish friar, looms at the very gateway of the effort of liberty and of racial mutuality in North and South America. His philosophy is one of those fixed stars which guide the thoughts and hopes of striving men across our own time and times far beyond ours.

The Shadow of a Man

So multitudinous were the deeds of Las Casas that different historians have given differing meanings to his story; yet rarely has a more integrated life been lived. And very dramatic are the contrasts between Las Casas and his age, the alternations of triumph and failure through his ninety-two years, the recurrence of his inspiration across the centuries after.

When his philosophy has been outlined, it will be plain that his challenge is addressed to ourselves, now and here, and to the future we work for.

Las Casas was born at Seville in 1474. In his young manhood he was the owner of some of the earliest Red Indian slaves. He became, in

—By an international authority on ethnic problems, who served as U. S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1933 to 1945. In those twelve years, Mr. Collier was largely responsible not only for shaping and administering policies and programs embodying a new understanding of the Indian people, but for a new governmental attitude toward them.

Since his retirement from the federal service, Mr. Collier has continued to serve as United States member of the governing board of the Inter-American Indian Institute. He is also president of the Institute of Ethnic Affairs in Washington.

His article is in sequence to our January issue, a special number on "Segregation: Color Pattern from the Past—Our Struggle to Wipe It Out." Part of this article will be incorporated in Mr. Collier's forthcoming book, "Indians of the Americas," to be published by Norton later this year.

1510, the first Roman Catholic priest consecrated in the New World, in Espanola (Haiti and Santo Domingo). A year later, as a member of Velasquez's colonizing expedition to Cuba, he took to himself an *encomienda*—a piece of land seized from the Indians, with the natives forcibly attached to it as serfs. Then, at forty, through the immediate stimulus of certain Dominican monks, he experienced a profound spiritual upheaval—a "second birth," a conversion. Self, man, and God were apprehended in a new, compelling light. On its social side the vision was that of freedom without bounds, but freedom under God, for all the inhabitants of the New World.

Perhaps than Las Casas no man ever has attempted a more exhaustive application of the principle of freedom of conscience to the realities of an unfree world. This was because freedom of conscience to Las Casas was not a mere precept of tolerance and avoidance. Rather, it was the striving of the whole man toward inner freedom, and toward a society

made free — a striving toward the free will and the mystic love of God.

From the depths of the Spanish Inquisition, and from within the court of the authoritarian Spanish Crown, rose the voice of Las Casas proclaiming a different and opposite world. The scourge of his words lashed out at the wrongs being done by State, Church, and private adventurers to the natives of the Caribbean, of Mexico, Central America, and Peru. All Europe heard Las Casas. The Spanish Indian record became a horror in the mind of Europe, yet never did the Inquisition or the absolutist Crown move to suppress the voice; the years passed, and Las Casas continued to speak and to work.

Here is one of the many elements of drama and mystery of that Spanish age of extreme darkness wherein extreme light was yet permitted to burn.

Historians have found differing meanings in Las Casas' life. He was a brilliant polemical pamphleteer. He was a persuasive lobbyist. He framed the Spanish Indian Code which was part of the New Laws of the Indies, promulgated by Charles V in 1542. He rejected the coveted bishopric of Cuzco, in Peru, but accepted the bishopric of sorrowful Chiapas, in Southern Mexico. There, the Spanish colonial population resisted him *en masse*. When he denied the sacraments to Spaniards who persisted in murdering, mutilating, or enslaving Indians, his own clergy deserted him. He went alone to an unsubdued warlike tribe in Guatemala and in two years brought it to Christianity through reason and love alone, and departed leaving the tribe free.

Back to St. Augustine

When Bishop of Chiapas, Las Casas was nearly seventy years old. During that time, he elaborated his philosophical position in a Latin document of 800 folio-pages which historians, preoccupied with Las Casas'

enormous enterprise and adventure, long ignored. This massive work only elaborated that which had come to Las Casas whole and unchangeable in the crisis of his conversion. His argument, flowing from his vision, rejected the dominant scholasticism which bears the great name of St. Thomas Aquinas, and reached centuries behind Aquinas to St. Augustine. It can thus be summarized; only, it must be borne in mind that Las Casas' doctrine was not only theological, but political and sociological as well.

Man, said Las Casas, is a spirit, a spark from the cosmic fire, which needs to burn toward God. (We of today can change the terminology if we need to, and in place of God can speak of the Universe, and of the God uncompassable yet finite Who strives within the Universe; of the Web of Life, the Race, the Society; or of the sentiment of the good, the just, the true, that "cold unchanging gleam" which age transmits to age.) God, said Las Casas, burns toward man, and that union is the "far-off divine event" in the terms of which "the whole creation moves." But there is no union except in perfect freedom, never except when the will and love in the free soul are travailing to bring the whole man—body and soul—and the whole society, in freedom, to the mystical, cosmic altar.

Thus rejecting scholasticism, as he would have rejected philosophical positivism today, Las Casas proclaimed that the first and last reality and law of human life, and therefore the supreme dynamic mainspring of society, is impassioned spiritual inwardness. Such inwardness is the gift of Creation to all men, he held, and its realization is the master-instinct, the master-duty, the one eternal social task which includes all tasks.

This is the City of God, Las Casas said; and the good, the successful human society can be nothing less or other than the free, cooperative commonwealth—which systematically relies upon, and ministers to, that impassioned inwardness whose first and last law is freedom. Such would be the *practical* society, Las Casas affirmed, and nothing else ever could be practical, that is, practicable for the genius of human life.

When in his early manhood this vision came to Las Casas, he had witnessed with his own eyes the rapine which the Spaniards unloosed upon

the gentle natives of the Caribbean islands. The swift depopulation of the West Indies was almost complete when Las Casas, through his conversion, was propelled into his vast endeavors. All the continental mass of North and South America was virgin, still. He urged on the Spanish Crown a course of action which, had it been adopted, would have insured a different history in our Western Hemisphere from the one that unrolled, a different destiny to Spain.

The New World of the 1500's

Forbid—urged Las Casas upon the Crown—the entry to continental America of any secular adventurer, mercenary, or soldier, any missionary seeking to proselytize through over-persuasion or force. Give entry to none save ecclesiastical agents of the Crown, but let these be rigorously chosen. Let only those priests go who would demonstrate that they were moved by love and that they believed unconditionally in freedom. Thus, urged Las Casas, all the millions of America will be brought through love to God; and thus Spain will grow great in spirit, and as an earthly state will prosper and will be impregnable.

Such was the utopia of Las Casas. Events, when he had gone from this earth, were to demonstrate that his was a wholly practicable utopia; but there was no chance that the Crown or the folk of Spain, or the Church of that day, would put it into effect. Crown and Church alike were engrossed in European dynastic intrigue, and the Crown was embarked on costly European wars. The flow of gold from America to Spain was already a dominating motive in Spanish policy, and soon, with the conquest of Mexico and Peru, was to grow into an all-consuming madness. The entire spirit and momentum of Spain, hierarchical, exploitative, and absolutist, was set against Las Casas' vision of freedom and its life-releasing power.

Yet Las Casas fought on. The City of God was not to be allowed; so he fought, and not alone, for crumbs of protection for the desperate Indians. There were great spirits in Spain and in America who joined with Las Casas in building that tradition of noble, sad, defeated endeavor through which he is chiefly remembered.

Las Casas died; and then, after fifty years, beginning in 1609, the Jesuit order, in a vast and remote

region of South America, undertook to make good on the whole of Las Casas' utopian dream.

The Crown gave its consent, for there was no gold in Paraguay; and for a century and a half the Crown, and Spain, tolerated the most exhaustively wrought-out, the most successful utopia, the world has yet seen.

On the river La Plata, and back across pampas and forest to the Andes, the numerous Indian tribes were unsubdued, but they knew the white man. His slave-raids had plagued and sometimes decimated them. Few, and without weapons, but magically armed with sonorous musical instruments and chanting voices, the Jesuits came. They were not Spaniards alone, but priests from many lands. Fear was not in them, and ascetic discipline toward a productive purpose had imbued them with joy and resourcefulness—as such discipline, self-imposed toward purpose, can do. They were not whipped into haste by the thought of brief life or limited opportunity. They equipped themselves with every skill of seventeenth century Europe.

The Utopia of Paraguay

A number of books have told how one by one their *congregaciones* or *reducciones* increased. At maximum expansion, just as Las Casas had foretold, probably one hundred fifty thousand Indians, with fewer than one hundred white men to assist them, realized a fusion of work, play, worship, and art, and of personal and communal advantage. What all the documents dwell on is the happiness of the life of these communes and their many-sided, economic productiveness within an abbreviated work-week borne upon music and ceremony. The Crown received its full tribute, and was content. The communes were virile enough; they manufactured their muskets, cannon, and gunpowder; their militia beat Portugal back from the utopian boundaries for a hundred years.

The historians account through external events exclusively for the downfall of the Jesuit utopia, commencing in 1760. European political conflicts caused the order to be expelled from Spain and from all Spanish-America. Leaderless, the communes were overborne by Portugal, and the Indians dispersed to the wilderness. The city-states went back to the earth. The golden age was done.

The historians were accurate; but

they missed a point, and that point is a central one. Stating it, we are led to the present and future of our world of today.

Las Casas perceived *the individual* profoundly. To my mind, this depth and clarity of perception, as with his theological master, St. Augustine, were such as to make the insight of Rousseau, Thomas Jefferson, John Stuart Mill, and Emerson appear thin and gray by comparison. Here is the source of Las Casas' impelling doctrine of liberty. Those who worked in his tradition perceived as he perceived.

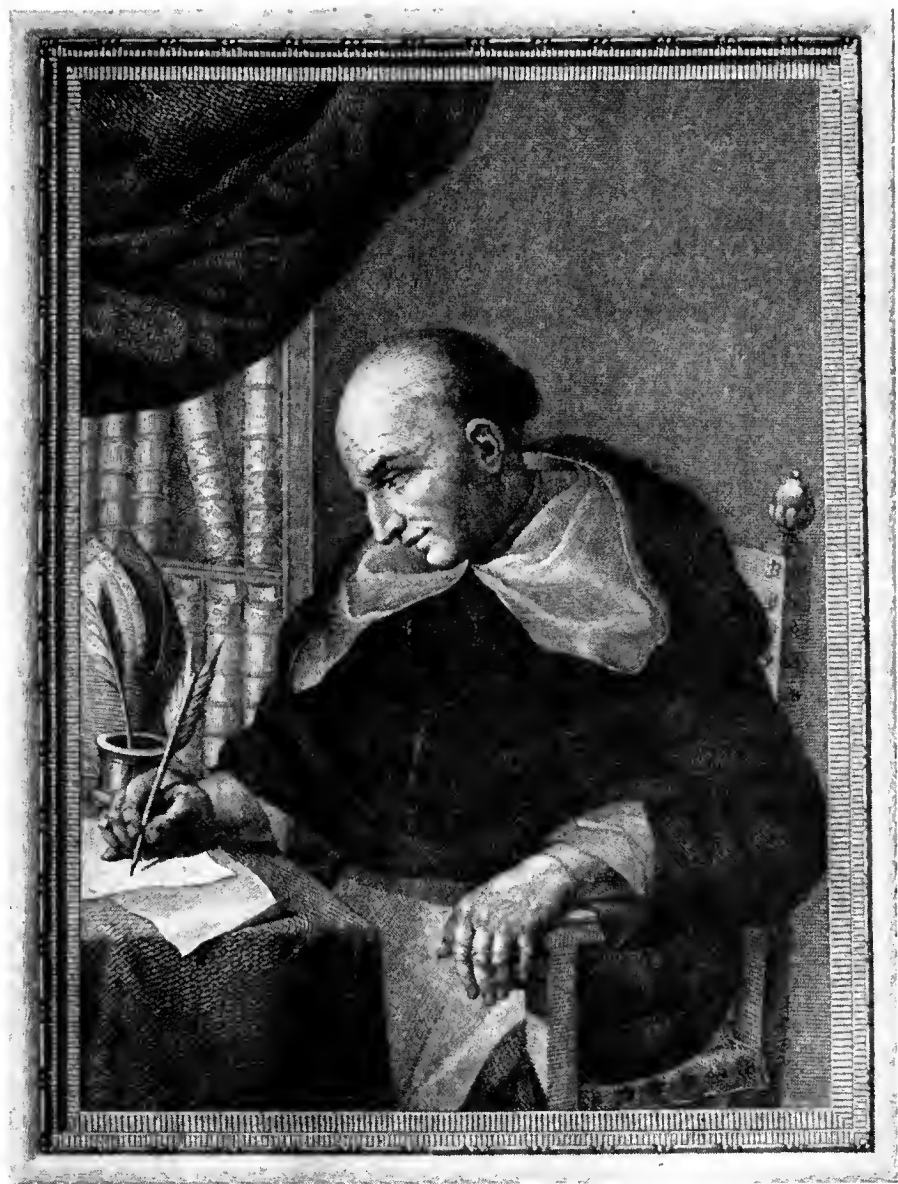
What Las Casas Did Not Know

They saw and announced the individual Indian—friendly, practicable, resourceful, cooperative, and often splendid. *They did not perceive the societies which had formed the Indian personality.* Las Casas and those who followed him never even glimpsed those ancient affirmations, avoidances, and canalizing processes consciously institutionalized — or in their profounder workings unverb-alized, merely existent and not told, even covert, unconscious — which constituted the living, native societies and which shaped these magnetic personalities and held them in form.

It was not prejudice which blinded these Europeans. They could not know what none in their age had guessed — what administrators and educators in our time (in American Indian country and in Africa, Oceania, Asia) apprehend but timidly and in the main negatively. Las Casas could not build into the foundations of his spiritual and social philosophy the ineluctable potency of the native society, so silently unassertive and yet so indispensable.

The role of leadership in the native societies; the ways that leaders are chosen and trained for the two-way flow between them and the people; the educative processes of native societies — often unformalized, sometimes even secret—which are so nearly infallible; the ways through which innovation is embraced by the societies and made organic with the action-propelling heritage of the group—these are subjects out ahead of us, awaiting discovery even now.

Being thus unaware, Las Casas' followers substituted fiat leadership for native leadership, fiat forms for native forms, fiat motivations for native motivations—they substituted, in fact, a fiat society for native society.



Courtesy The Hispanic Society of America

Las Casas, Spanish bishop and friend of the Indian, defended freedom in the unfree world of the sixteenth century. Engraving by Enguidanos, Madrid, 1791

What they substituted did take into account and build on the native propensities, temperaments, and socially-inherited genius; but the transposition was comparable to the substitution of a hothouse with ecologically untrained gardeners for the age-formed ecological complex of a forest. What they achieved, within these conditions, could endure only if the Las Casas disciples themselves endured. It would pass like dew when they passed, as pass they did. And it is the almost unapproached greatness of their achievement—the loveliness joined with virile power, within freedom — which makes immortal their lesson to the world, though the historians have not spelled it out.

“Colonizer, missionary, oralist, idealist, crusader for causes: it is to the hurt of all that you love, to the de-

feat of your own purpose and the ruin of men, if you, plunging toward your aim in terms of individuals, aggregations of individuals, or external material results, ignorantly or impatiently by-pass the society.”

In the United States there rise two mountain ranges of living history which bear on their flanks and summits the influence of Las Casas.

One of these is the central body of United States Indian law, fortified by Supreme Court decisions, which has been consonant with the Laws of the Indies, and carried into congressional, administrative, and Indian tribal policy in the New Deal years.

The other is the Pueblos of the Southwest.

The Jesuit *reducciones* of Paraguay were special cases of the *reducciones*

of Indians carried out by Crown and Church (inseparable in Spain) in South and North America. The Paraguay *reducciones* exceeded any others in completeness and duration of achievement; and all the others, with one exception, were marred and ultimately destroyed by the single but incalculable weakness which I have indicated. The exception was the Pueblos along the Rio Grande and out to the Arizona state line.

The Pueblos Did Know

In New Granada (New Mexico), Spain and the monastic orders found their *reducciones* or *congregaciones* ready made; the Pueblo city-states were ages old when the Spaniards came. They were elaborate in form; ancient in their agriculture and agricultural engineering, fully equipped with their own institutions of education, consciously oriented toward a magical-mystical world view. They were undisposed to be "pushed around," physically or spiritually.

So it came about that there, at the outer margin of the Spanish Empire, State and Church incorporated the Pueblos without essaying to provide them with substitute societies. Superficial adjustments were enough to satisfy Spain, which did not seek to understand or to modify the "core" institutions and values of these tribes. The foreigners found indispensable the hospitality and the productiveness which seemed to rise from the ancient ways, and depended on the lithe ferocity of these peaceful Indians when Comanches, Navajos, Apaches, and other raiding peoples swept down upon the Pueblos or the Spanish towns.

As generations passed, many of the superficial adjustments made by the Pueblos became profound adjustments—infusions of European culture to the recesses of conduct, if not of belief. So it came about that in all the domain of Spain and possibly in all the world, the Pueblos supplied—they now supply—the most instructive example of that "acculturation" which does not degrade the past into caricature or into dust, but rather extends farther the arc of living history.

Let me give one instance here—a contemporary one which started in 1936. Before that year, the Indian Bureau's sixty-year-old policy of "breaking up the Pueblos" had been set into reverse. Rather, the gears had

been shifted from reverse to forward and into accord with the decisions of Chief Justice John Marshall, with the Laws of the Indies—and with the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934.

But these policy changes had not saved the soil at Acoma Pueblo. That community of the Stone Age was watching its agricultural resources disappear through the operations of the modern livestock business. Its gutted range was pulverized and flash-flooded under a 400 percent overload of cattle and sheep.

The livestock was owned by the Acomas, not communally but individually. Less than a majority owned stock in commercial quantity; these had unequal ownerships; and wealth, and to a significant extent social status, were measured by livestock ownership. The range, tribally owned, was grazed by its members without fee. The Acomas' living was not much above a subsistence level. How, and at once, could Acoma simultaneously reduce its sheep-units from 33,000 to 8,500, revolutionize its range-use practices, improve its livestock, and establish cooperative marketing practices?

Never had white livestock operators, using the free public range, voluntarily made the adjustments and sacrifices needed to conserve the soil. Compulsion had been the universal reliance. Should the Acomas be compelled?

Enter the Indian Service

The Indian Service of 1936 decided that they should not be compelled, although full governmental authority existed. In those years, the concepts of democracy and freedom—freedom with responsibility—for Indians were being almost passionately affirmed. Coercion, where the processes would have to reach as deeply into communal system and sentiment as the Acoma crisis would have required, might have wrecked the ancient social system and implanted an embittered resistance to essential growth and change. Coercion was rejected as a means; the Acomas were told by highest authority that they would not be forced—that if their subsistence base finally was washed and blown away, it should be through their own freely chosen refusal to act.

But just as definitely, *laissez faire* was abandoned. *Laissez faire* in

*"Indian Administration as a Laboratory of Ethnic Experience," *Social Research*, September 1945.

society presages coercion usually brought to bear too late; *laissez faire* had made the Acoma crisis. Coercion and drift; between those horns of dilemma our modern world, especially our American world, hurls itself to right and left. Can the dilemma be transcended? Can social invention within the democratic striving transcend it? "Yes" or "No" casts the die of our mortal future as between liberty and totalitarianism.

Acoma Pueblo in 1936 was one of the innumerable trial-grounds for attempting an answer. The nearby Navajo Indian tribe was another. The Acoma answer proved to be "Yes." The Navajo answer, due to faults of method and of spirit now understood but not yet corrected, was "No." Both of the records have been set down in detail elsewhere.* Here the Acoma record is sketched very briefly.

The Soil Conservation Service and the Indian Service assembled all the facts—ecological, engineering, and economic—which entered into Acoma's distress and threatened ruin, and tentatively, drawing on all accessible experience, they outlined the technological remedy.

They did not try to indicate the kinds of social action which might apply the technological facts; this, because they knew that their own ignorance of the internal structure and dynamics of Acoma was the ignorance of science itself. But one aspect of the core values of Acoma they did know, and relied on. This was the community's sense of the livingness and sacredness of the earth, mother of the body and spirit of men, along with the emotionally affirmed obligation of the living, ere they should be withdrawn into the eternal earth, to insure the future of the race. These fountains of the will, they knew, were Acoma's, though not Acoma's alone. If the technical facts and these central realities could be made confluent, they believed, it would be enough.

So consultations were launched which lasted many months, between the government's technicians and administrators, and the leaders and people of Acoma. The assurance: There will be no governmental coercion, and the reminder: We know the technical goal but not the social way, were iterated and acted upon. Outside these consultations, and beyond

(Continued on page 171)

Menu à la Carte

MICHAEL M. DAVIS

Appetizer

NINETEEN FORTY-SIX WAS A YEAR OF accomplishment for national health. Congress did not pass national health insurance, but it did chalk up an impressive list of laws each of which fills a needed niche in the wide front of a comprehensive health program.

Ten million dollars was authorized by the National Mental Health Act for psychiatric research and \$7,500,000 for a Neuro-Psychiatric Research Institute. Federal grants-in-aid to the states for general public health purposes were increased; grants for maternal and children's services were doubled. The wartime school lunch program was set up on a permanent basis with federal aid.

A long-postponed plan of health service for federal employes was established. New social security legislation for railroad employes included maternity benefits and cash benefits for temporary disability due to sickness. The Federal Security Agency was expanded to include the Children's Bureau and the Division of Vital Statistics, thus offering fuller opportunity for the coordination of special health programs.

National help to build hospitals and health centers is on the way. Under the Hospital Survey and Construction Act, passed last August, surveys by each state will be made to determine needs and grade priorities. Some surveys are already far along. The Public Health Service has set up the federal administrative machinery, the states are proceeding with theirs, the 80th Congress must now make appropriations. The official charting of hospital needs and the mapping of the country into hospital service areas will be important educational contributions in themselves.

Voluntary health insurance grew bigger. The Blue Cross hospitalization plans topped 25,000,000 members. The limited service plans sponsored by medical societies expanded somewhat. Both groups would now like public funds to help them enroll low income people. Many more labor unions than ever before negotiated contracts with employers to set up health and welfare funds. The coop-

HEALTH— TODAY & TOMORROW

—A series by the chairman, Committee on Research in Medical Economics; associate editor, *Survey Graphic*.

erative movement organized a Health Federation to push consumer-controlled health insurance plans. A program to demonstrate the medical advantages and the financial economies of group practice was assured when the New York City government voted \$500,000 last autumn, to pay half the charges of municipal employes who would join the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York, and the Rockefeller Foundation pledged a \$250,000 no-interest loan towards the working capital of this important experiment.

Medical progress in other fields was significant. A wonder-drug applied to tuberculosis, for instance, or the new methods of rehabilitating the disabled, would need articles for themselves.

Roast Beef of Old England

In 1942, the Chairman of the Council of the British Medical Association declared that after the war most of the British people should and would obtain their medical care through compulsory health insurance. The Association has officially advocated that policy since 1930.

In 1944, Winston Churchill announced his government's policy thus: ". . . to create a national health service, in order that everybody in the country, irrespective of means, age, sex, or occupation, shall have equal opportunities to benefit from the best and most up-to-date medical and allied services available."

In 1946, the Labor Government now in power effectuated this policy by passing the National Health Service Act. It became law on November 6. In 1948, the actual delivery of medical and hospital services under the new law is to begin.

A few days after the act became law, a plebiscite was taken of the 56,671 members of the British Medical Association. Each physician was asked: "Do you desire the Negotiat-

ing Committee to enter into discussions with the Minister [of Health] on the Regulations authorized by the National Health Service Act? Please answer YES or NO."

Up to the middle of December, 83 percent of the civilian doctors had replied. Fifty-four percent said "No," that is, Don't negotiate! There are still large numbers of doctors in the armed services, however, and less than a third of these had answered up to that date. The majority (56 percent) of the doctors in service voted the other way: "Yes," that is, We should negotiate! Over 10,500 of the 39,000 civilian doctors replying are on full time salary in hospitals, public health, teaching, research, and industry. These 10,500 voted "Yes" by a majority of 62 percent. On the other hand the 21,000 general practitioners said "No" by a vote of 64 percent. The consultants and specialists (4,600) were in between with a "No" vote of 54 percent, the same "No" percentage as the over-all average.

What's the row about? Not over the general principle of a national health service, open to everybody, supported by general taxation plus insurance contributions. The British profession has accepted this principle.

There are several outstanding specific issues, which would need a full length article to explain. Underlying the cleavage is the belief of many doctors that the government has taken too much power. "The independence of medicine is at stake," was the concluding sentence of a committee report which accompanied the "Yes or No" questionnaire to all members.

What will happen? The Minister of Health, Aneurin Bevan, has made public statements expressing the hope that the government and the physicians could get together, but showing no sign of any basic change in government policy. A special meeting of the Representative Body of the BMA (its supreme governing group) was called for January 28 to consider the results of the plebiscite, and to decide whether the association will refuse to cooperate with Mr. Bevan or whether it will not. The chairman of the Association's Council

made a public statement in which he may have prejudged the decision:

He [the Minister] may have many offers of help, but none from the main body representing the profession. It is important to remember that the National Health Service Act is not a Conscriptio Act and that a decision not to join the Service is not disloyalty to the country. Whatever the ultimate outcome the doctors will be loyal to their patients to whom, as always, they owe their first duty.

What is the trend of public opinion? An editorial in the usually conservative British weekly, *The Economist*, expresses a view which seems to be widespread. Says *The Economist*:

It is difficult to see exactly how far the BMA thinks a refusal to negotiate, if this is the outcome of the special representative meeting called for January 28, will take it. It is utterly unrealistic to think that the Government would introduce, or Parliament agree to, an amending Act.

Mr. Bevan, moreover, has already announced that he is proceeding to consult the many other bodies concerned in the National Health Service preparatory to setting up the administrative machinery. Nor does the result of the plebiscite mean that the new service cannot come into force on the appointed day because there will be no doctors to work for it.

About 19,000 are in favor of negotiations, and although there may be many of these who will remain in private practice, there will be also some who voted against negotiations, thinking that a large negative vote would persuade the Minister to give the profession good terms, but who, the BMA's warning notwithstanding, have every intention of joining the service. And since a majority of the 14,000 doctors who have not yet replied are probably in favor of the service, or at least of negotiating—for they are mostly in the Services, and the Service vote has so far shown a majority in favor—a complete result might well show the profession evenly divided, if not a majority for cooperation with Mr. Bevan.

In fact, the BMA's attitude seems calculated to achieve nothing except to split the medical profession into two camps and to place itself in a position which may forfeit it the respect both of its members and of the public as a whole.

Just before this article went to the printer, our newspapers reported the January 28 meeting. Influenced undoubtedly by the temper of the public and perhaps also by an inside swing

of professional opinion, the Representative Body voted 252 to 17 to enter into negotiations with Mr. Bevan. Certainly the conference table is a better agent of evolution than the brickbat.

Canadian Salad, Country Style

On January 1, there began in Saskatchewan the first complete, publicly supported hospital service on the American continent. Every one of the 900,000 people who has lived in this province for six months or more can now get hospital care whenever he needs it, without charity and without profit. He doesn't pay for it. He has prepaid it. Everyone must pay a special tax of \$5 a year into the hospital fund, with a maximum payment of \$30 from any one family. This is a personal tax, with no variation according to family income.

The public response has been gratifying. By the first of January, \$3,000,000 had been collected out of an estimated \$3,500,000 revenue from this tax. Large families have until May 1 to pay in full. Another \$1,000,000 is due from the government, representing obligations previously assumed for old age pensioners, relief cases, cancer cases, and others. The full expense of the act has been estimated at \$4,500,000. The government, however, is obligated to make appropriations from general revenues to cover additions due to rising hospital costs, or to the "back-log" of cases who have long needed hospital care and haven't felt they could afford it.

Anyone may now be admitted into a hospital on the recommendation of a doctor and may stay as long as medically required, without any charge for the hospital service. Only if he wants a private room must he pay the hospital the extra charge. He must also pay his physician or surgeon for his care while in the hospital. The national government continues to be responsible directly for the hospital care of soldiers, veterans, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and some of the Indian tribes on reservations.

Saskatchewan is a farm province nearly as large as our three states of Wyoming, Utah, and Nevada put together, and has about the same population as the total of these three. To get and to keep doctors in these rural areas has long been one of the farmers' worries, but during past years Saskatchewan farmers have done

something about it. A third of all the rural communities have taken advantage of a long-standing permissive provincial law, and voted local taxes upon themselves to pay a doctor a regular salary. His services are for all residents. The larger part of rural Saskatchewan, however, has not been thus covered by local action.

In 1944 a law covering the whole province made medical care available to everyone suffering from prolonged and costly illness, that is, cancer, tuberculosis, mental diseases, and the venereal diseases. These services are paid for out of general taxation. The next year, complete medical care was assured to all persons receiving public assistance or relief. Now under the new Hospitalization Act, these persons will receive hospital services in the same way as everyone else, the government paying for them into the hospital fund.

A Health Services Planning Commission, affiliated with the Saskatchewan Department of Public Health, is starting the administration of the new law. Each local government has registered the people in its area and collected the tax. The local hospitals, whether governmental or voluntary, will continue to be independently managed as before. They are paid cost-of-service (including depreciation) on a basis which has been worked out with the hospital representatives.

How do the hospitals like it? And the doctors? The answer is that the government, the hospitals, and the physicians have proceeded cooperatively. The provincial medical association has long worked with the Department of Health and the local bodies in maintaining salary standards and other needful conditions for the salaried rural doctors. Representatives of the hospitals, the medical profession, and the local governments worked with provincial officials in designing the Hospitalization Act before its passage last April.

Demitasse

Progressives, today, are unhappily divided into three groups—the cynical, who build a wall of talk and live inside it; the hopeful, who watch while the mills of the gods grind; and the determined, who go into action and join with others in the going.

Cynicism is defeat. Hope is whole-
(Continued on page 168)

A Reconstructed Rebel

HARRY HANSEN

WE ARE BORN WITH MANY OF OUR physical disabilities, but we acquire our prejudices. If we live in a closed community, dealing only with those of our own social and economic standing, we find foreign anyone who lives across the tracks. What we accept and reject in maturity depends on how far our minds control our dispositions and desires. The mass of men finds conformity easy and revolt difficult; the labor movement was retarded not only by employers but also by the unwillingness of many employes to exert themselves.

In the South—always the rigid, uncompromising South—the landowners have been described as inflexible. For many years they formed the strongest barrier to eliminating racial restrictions based on deep-rooted prejudices. But the third and fourth generations since the Civil War are now in the saddle and among them are the Arnalls of the South. Katharine Du Pre Lumpkin is one of them. She is a descendent of slave-holding planters. Her attitude toward industrial problems and her work in labor research were not inspired by the conditions under which she grew up, but were consciously developed. Miss Lumpkin is an example of a southerner born into a full equipment of local prejudices, who rejected them because they did not make sense.

Thus her book, "The Making of a Southerner" (Knopf, \$3), becomes an attempt to describe the evolution of a progressive mind in the South. As such, it supplements Gunnar Myrdal's studies in white and Negro relations and shows how elements of the landowning class have changed.

Miss Lumpkin is a native of Macon, Ga. She received her early education in South Carolina and Georgia, then attended Columbia University and the University of Wisconsin, where she earned her doctorate in sociology and economics. She was a YWCA national student secretary, 1920-25, taught at Mt. Holyoke, and then went to Smith, where she is director of research for the Institute of Labor Studies. Her leaning toward inquiry and analysis, and her disposi-

tion to be fair, brought her over the barrier of rigid conventions, but her book shows the time and effort it cost to overcome the old taboos and acknowledge the wrong in "our most sacred racial mores."

The background of Miss Lumpkin's life is fully filled in and sympathetically described. Part of the chronicle deals with the experience of her parents, both of whom came from plantation-owning families and suffered the uprooting of the Civil War and the violence of Reconstruction. Her father, at fifteen, became a courier in the Confederate Army in the final year of the conflict. Her mother's parents died during the war.

The Family Background

Miss Lumpkin's description of Reconstruction, with the demoralization of the labor market, the exploitation of the South by northern "carpet-baggers," and the rise of the "Invisible Empire" of the Klan is based on what her family told her and shows again how much the disaster of war contributed to these conditions. The basic attitude that she, as a little girl, inherited was that the Negro was inferior to the white man and must be "kept in his place," if the South was to be "safe." This was done, in her father's time, by segregation laws and disenfranchisement, which sometimes disenfranchised white voters, too.

Miss Lumpkin was twelve years old when her father moved to a 200-acre farm that by no effort of the imagination could be described as a plantation. The land was poor and round about lived poverty-stricken Negroes and whites. The traditions of the "old plantation" had not prepared her for a community where everyone had to struggle to make a bare living.

Here she met another kind of prejudice—the suspicious attitude of the poor toward those better placed, of the ignorant toward those who had more schooling. After she and her friends organized dances to the music of a harmonica, the local preacher began his summer revival series by denouncing her group as risking eternal

damnation, and friends fell away from her. When she left home in the fall to attend school elsewhere she had begun to think of this as an "ill-begotten country."

Higher Education

She writes that when she entered college it was as a skeptic, a reaction to the fundamentalist religion of the Sand Hill country. But here we have to recognize the inquiring mind that eventually set her free. She also "took for granted a lively intellectual interest," because her mother had cultivated this.

After her graduation from Brenau College, in Gainesville, Ga., she remained on the campus as a tutor. Late in 1915, when she was nineteen, Miss Lumpkin, as one of a group of young women from several southern colleges, was asked to participate in a YWCA "leadership conference" held in Charlotte, N. C.

It was here that she first came in contact with a cultured Negro woman, a member of the staff of the YWCA, invited to address the conference on Christianity and the race problem. When this Miss Arthur spoke, new windows opened for the young women present. "It was of no small moment to hear her low voice sound in the speech of an educated woman, and to have my mind let the thought flicker in, even if it disappeared again immediately: If I should close my eyes, would I know whether she was white or Negro?"

Miss Lumpkin describes her growing interest in economic conditions. She became acquainted with two Negro attitudes—the old-fashioned "Uncle Tom" deference to the whites, and the militant attitude that is now so general. She still had to overcome what she calls "exceptionalism," meaning that every race has "exceptional" individuals. Many southerners were willing to admit that a few Negroes have ability, "but as a race. . . ." And they pointed with satisfaction to those who spent their lives as servants.

The author seems to have overcome this by witnessing the destitu-

tion of the whites in mill towns. She had grown up using the phrase "lower classes" to describe those who worked for a living with their hands. With her developing interest in economics, she began to study the South in terms of labor, and herself took a job in a shoe factory. The value of such an experience can never be overestimated. From it, Miss Lumpkin learned how ignorance, overwork, meager wages, insecurity can defeat the desire to get ahead—whatever the color of a man's skin. She also discovered the friendliness and helpfulness of workers toward one another:

We were hardly more than instruments, moved helplessly by a larger machine that ran all the smaller ones at which we worked, and which was operated by some remote control, a vast over-all mechanism that was not geared to human consequences. People beside me on the job were being laid off; they had families at home, maybe someone ill; nothing was laid by because it had all been spent at the last lay-off; rent was overdue; credit out at the stores. Management would say monotonously: we are sorry; business is poor; come back another time.

Miss Lumpkin analyzed the economic conditions of the South, which treated Negroes and whites alike in doling out hard times, and she put aside theories of "group incapacity."

"Change was in my blood," she admits. Hers was "a personal quest for a kind of certainty, a sense of self-consistency in my discordant world." She speculates about the turn in her affairs, how she, the inheritor of the Lost Cause, became a rebel against its dogmas.

"We may call it chance. We may speak of the mysterious chemistry of individuality." Whatever it was, it happened to a child of an old plantation family. Even the mountains change, and human beings are far more pliable than mountains.

LABOR AND THE LAW, by Charles O. Gregory. Norton. \$5.

THIS BOOK, BY A PROFESSOR IN THE University of Chicago law school, is valuable and fascinating. It is valuable for its clarity, its factual analysis of labor law, present and past, and its stimulating aggressiveness. It is fascinating for its wit, its plain and salty Anglo-Saxon, and for the audacity with which it rebukes Supreme Court justices and overrules their decisions.

Whether you agree with its con-

clusions or not, its analysis of court decisions is of utmost value. The obvious intent is to present the cases in such a way that the layman will be spared the bother of reading the decisions for himself. While this object is achieved in part, the complexity of some of the cases, together with the highly controversial nature of the treatment, suggest that the thoughtful reader might profit by perusing this book in a law library, immediately in front of the stacks devoted to the U. S. Supreme Court reports, or with an up-to-date case book at his side.

The book is partly analysis and partly attack. Unusually clarifying are the discussion of the labor injunction and the treatment of procedure under the National Labor Relations Act. Incidentally, what the author thinks of the latter is indicated in a passage referring to the Norris-La Guardia Anti-Injunction law:

This Act was passed in 1932, before the New Deal period. Hence it belongs to that time bracket in which unions were expected to, and did, depend on their own economic resources to put their programs across. Thus the Act is the last monument to the spirit of complete free enterprise for unions.

The main thesis of the book is that under the new legislation, plus court interpretation, the unions have become both powerful and largely immune from public control. As a result, the author believes that some of their activities "have become fully as harmful to the interests of consumers and to our national economy in general as were the practices of the great corporate structures that originally inspired the passage of the Sherman act." Responsibility for this situation he places at the door of the Supreme Court. This body, he asserts, by a series of decisions culminating in the well known case involving the carpenters' union (*U.S. v. Hutcheson*, decided in 1941), has practically removed the unions from all restraint under the antitrust laws.

These decisions, which the author considers socially deplorable and legally unsound, create a condition that calls for remedy. Mr. Gregory believes that Congress should either enact legislation reestablishing the Sherman act as applying to labor organizations, or subject the unions to other forms of control. He does not make as clear as could be desired the exact nature and extent of these

proposed controls. He does, however, cite with evident approval Thurman Arnold's proposals, when Assistant Attorney General, for the prohibition of certain uneconomic practices. He views with extreme disfavor Supreme Court decisions upsetting laws in Florida and Texas for the licensing of union organizers. Apparently, he would require the unions to make public accounting of their finances. He is not averse to compulsory arbitration.

No brief review could do justice to either the merits or the demerits of this book. The author's enthusiasms both help and mar his writing. Here, for example, is one of the best accounts to be found anywhere in such brief compass, of the abuses of the labor injunction. But the net effects on union activity are described in such fashion as to leave the uninformed reader with the impression that strikes could not, and therefore did not, take place during the heyday of this form of judicial interference. On the other hand, his justifiable indictment of certain recent trade union practices is so sweeping as to suggest that all unions are equally guilty of antisocial behavior.

The writer's theses are ably, even brilliantly advanced. They deal with real problems. No honest defender of the right of labor to organize and bargain can fail to share some of his misgivings. That he has overstated his case at times and that he is not always an infallible judge of union policy is equally evident. His strictures on the Supreme Court may be left to the lawyers.

Rhinebeck, N. Y. JOHN A. FITCH

THE FUTURE OF HOUSING, by Charles Abrams. Harper. \$5.

ABOUT THE PAST OF HOUSING, Mr. Abrams has written an admirable and fairly exhaustive book. This is the first broad survey of the whole field of housing in the United States, as it has developed during the last quarter century. The author brings to the task experience as legal adviser to the New York City Housing Authority, as well as wide knowledge of the financial and economic problems of housing in all their phases. He puts the problem in its broadest frame, not merely as a matter of clearing away slums or preventing new ones from coming into existence, but as a matter of changing fundamentally the pattern of our urban life.

In dealing with the real estate business, the construction industry, the mortgage system, and the various public housing administrations that sprang up in the Thirties, Mr. Abrams' analysis is at its best. Many of the points he makes—in criticism, for example, of the extravagant donations made by the municipality of New York to the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company's private investment in Stuyvesant Town—are extremely well taken.

Although Mr. Abrams is a staunch upholder of private enterprise, he sees the essential dishonesty practiced by business in trying to use government aid to "socialize losses" and eliminate those risks on which the claim for profit is theoretically based. No one who wishes to bring informed opinion to the whole subject of housing can avoid the obligation of reading and discussing this book.

But at the end, where Mr. Abrams seeks to lay a basis for the future of housing, his book becomes something of a disappointment; and the weakness of his program here is due to certain basic contradictions in his own thinking. His first aim is to make the housing program a "democratic program"; but he takes that to mean that private mechanisms must be utilized, "private ownership be respected and encouraged." This equation of democracy and private enterprise is a specious one, especially as he has already pointed out, in detail, how incapable private enterprise has been in providing either good houses at reasonable rents or an orderly pattern of urban development.

If Mr. Abrams had said that a democratic program demands a large degree of decentralization, that it demands regional public agencies that are responsible to local criticisms and responsive to local needs, that it requires the formation of public authorities in our states that are capable of coordinating the many economic and social factors which enter into housing, he would have established a sound basis for his other proposals.

But the fact is that he has concealed, even from himself, his underlying wish to have a fundamental change take place in housing and city development without any effort being made to produce a fundamental change in any other part of our economy. By sticking to the immediately "practicable" — that which requires no large change of public pur-

pose and policy—he has produced a program that is ultimately self-defeating.

Hanover, N. H. LEWIS MUMFORD

THE SHORE DIMLY SEEN, by Ellis Gibbs Arnall. Lippincott. \$3.

PARAPHRASING A FAMILIAR QUOTATION—"Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?"—many people throughout the nation have wondered whether, because of the preponderance of southern reactionaries in public life, any progressive thing could come out of the South. Governor Arnall's book gives a magnificent affirmative reply to the question.

Ellis Arnall was born and bred in Georgia, and has recently boomed into a figure of national significance. His stature will be enhanced by this book. For he was born in the twentieth century, and is aware of the fact. He knows that many "sacred" southern traditions have gone with the wind, and that many more are being shaken by the gales of thought, purpose, and social change sweeping the world of our day.

The liberal and progressive people of the South—far more than their disproportionate representation in Congress indicates—are proud of this man. His book, complementing an unparalleled progressive administration of four years, has added several degrees to that pride. The two together have created more hope in the soul of the South than has been there since the war between the states.

In substance the book is impressive. Its style is excellent. It reveals a high standard of scholarship. The author's reading has given him a wide range of knowledge and a competent grasp of history. He displays a remarkable understanding of the main trends of thought throughout the western world. His literary and philosophical allusions demonstrate a prodigious memory. A dynamic and creative mind shows itself in the positive programs he proposes for a better South, nation, and world.

Scarcely an issue pertinent to the economic, political, and social life of the South and nation escapes discussion. The contents of the book include description and analysis of southern colonialism, natural and human resources of the region, agriculture, industry, monopolies, need of decentralization and planning, freight-rate differentials, education, poll taxes, the "open" primary, the eighteen-year voting age, the Ku Klux Klan,

fascism, communism, democracy, the race problem.

Many arresting statements are climaxed in his closing words: "We can have freedom if we make the freedom of other men our concern, because nowhere in all the world can some men be free, until everywhere all men are free. And they will be free on the shore dimly seen . . ."

WITHERSPOON DODGE
Committee for Georgia, Atlanta

NOT SO WILD A DREAM, by Eric Severeid. Knopf. \$3.50.

IT IS GOOD TO KNOW ERIC SEVEAREID. His "Not So Wild a Dream" is not wild at all. It is the story of a young American who comes to grips with realities and who, thanks to his integrity, his search for truth, and his sensitive awareness, emerges as a figure of national importance.

Most readers will immediately identify the author as one of Edward Murrow's gallant band of radio reporters, familiar to every household during the war. They did their job well. Disasters were never minimized. Truth was not juggled. Courage and conviction faced disaster; truth was illumined by unquenchable faith. It would be difficult to overestimate the contribution these young men made in clarifying public opinion in the United States, in promoting unity at that "rendezvous with destiny" which President Roosevelt had prophesied.

Mr. Severeid's book is exciting and absorbing. His progress to maturity was not easy, the going often arduous. But he comes of sturdy Scandinavian stock in the Northwest, where "wheat was our solace and our challenge. My mother, who came from a green and pleasant city in the distant, mystical East — in Iowa — feared and hated it. My father simply met the challenge without emotion, as a man should, and grappled with it as well as a man knew how."

Eric was seventeen when he left Velve, N. D., in search of his first unbelievable adventure. A high school comrade, Walter Post, had learned of the legend that the Vikings had penetrated far into the North American continent as early as the fourteenth century. This legend is supported by the discovery in Minnesota of a stone with Runic inscriptions bearing the date 1362. The authenticity of the tablet remains questionable. But the two boys, believing that a water route could be found which would connect the North Atlantic

to the Gulf of Mexico, undertook a journey of 2,200 miles to Hudson Bay. They had a canoe; they had their youth; and they had their fortitude.

Toward the end of the trip, discouragement and tired nerves provoked an explosion. Over a trivial incident Eric and Walter fought savagely until exhaustion and cold rain chilled their anger. They "entered the canoe avoiding each other's eyes." Some hours later they met human beings, the first they had seen in two weeks. Warmed by fire and food, they discussed "with excitement the approaching end of our trip." The fight was forgotten. "We were fast friends; we were less than twenty."

This trip gives the key to Eric's character. It does not change, it ripens and deepens during his ensuing story. And what a story it is! The prose has power, simplicity, and a salty humor that seasons his shrewdest observations. Severeid faces life where he finds it: at home, at college, in England, in war-torn Europe, or, after a plane crash, among the forbidding Naga tribes of the Burma jungle. He meets these experiences as his father met the wheat problem of North Dakota—"as a man should."

The reader will find himself intimately attached to Velva, N. D. He will want to share the author's belief that there are many Velvas. It is heartening to claim intimacy with places that breed such Americans. Yes, it is good to know Eric Severeid.

ALBERT SPALDING

Formerly with the army's Psychological Warfare Division in Italy

FINANCING FULL EMPLOYMENT, by J. Philip Wernette. Harvard University Press, \$2.

MANY OF THE IDEAS IN THIS BOOK CAN be traced back more than twenty years to Herbert Hoover's "Business Cycles and Unemployment," and they have been brilliantly elaborated by Professor Alvin Hansen and the late Lord Keynes as well as by Mr. Wernette. But in spite of the fact that he cites the British White Paper on Employment Policy with warm approval, and suggests in one chapter some "Complementary Plans and Policies," the fundamental assumption of Dr. Wernette's volume is that monetary policy is capable of attaining full employment in the United States.

On one page, it is suggested that the prewar depression was due to the fact that our "luck," in the matter of

monetary expansion, "ran out" in 1929. A few pages later, the author explains that under his Full Employment Standard (which is to replace the present monetary standard) "additions to the country's supply of money would be made by creating new money and distributing it through outlays by the federal government at such rates as the Federal Stabilization Board [Dr. Wernette's all-powerful successor to the Federal Reserve Board] found necessary to maintain full employment." Further on he explains carefully that monetary expansion is more important to his program than monetary contraction.

Although this reviewer agrees wholeheartedly with the statement that "the term, sound money . . . often stands for an emotional attitude rather than a definite or positive thing," it must be remembered that this is true of innovators as well as conservatives. Dr. Wernette's emphasis on the efficacy of monetary policy allows him to underestimate important problems in regard to individual wage and price policies, while even in technical matters of monetary policy many students would be inclined to question his dogmatic statements regarding such matters as the growth of population in the United States and the steadily expanding desire to hold stocks of money.

There can be no question of the fact that American prosperity is of vital importance to the people of the United States, and to hundreds of millions beyond her borders. But that prosperity can be maintained only if we are continually alive to the brute realities of the complex American economy and unwilling to adopt oversimplified proposals. F. CYRIL JAMES
McGill University, Montreal

NEW CITIES FOR OLD, by Louis Justement. McGraw-Hill, \$4.50.

LOUIS JUSTEMENT IS AN ENCOURAGING example of the architect turned city-planner who has reeducated himself for his new job. To the great good fortune of the readers of this book, he has realized that the tough problems of the broader-gauge planning are matters of economics and politics rather than of aesthetics and design.

The book is divided into three main sections. Part I begins with a candid statement of the author's point of view. It is that of a realist who might be tagged "liberal," "progressive," or "truly conservative," anything between

the lunatic fringes of reaction and wild-eyed radicalism. Then comes a summary of principles agreed to by most modern economists, with particular reference to the opportunities that threatened unemployment might provide — to replan and rebuild our towns and cities as they ought to be. The author's analysis of just how this can be accomplished leads to a conclusion that those who have not thought the problem through will not like, namely, that public ownership of urban land will be an eventual necessity of the kind of continuous collective action that the patterns of our urban communities will require.

Part II applies the reasoning of Part I to a planning scheme for the author's home town of Washington. This will be of special interest to professional planners. But the drawings are so well done, and the explanatory text is so clearly written, that the layman, too, will find the material easy to follow.

In the final third of the book the author gets down to cases. Along with suggestions for local government, federal aid, municipal realty corporations, private and public housing finance, and other specific matters, all possible emphasis is laid on participation of the people themselves in planning their communities. Doubtless, there will be plenty of honest difference of opinion about the detailed proposals, but that Mr. Justement has attacked the whole of the urban problem, comprehensively, courageously, and interestingly, there can be no doubt at all.

GUY GREER
Consultant on housing and community planning, New York

MENU A LA CARTE
(Continued from page 164)

some and there is good reason for hope. Action infused with cooperation and guided by reason is victory.

Underlying economic and social forces were not dissolved by the last election. The worldwide yearning for peace is slowly becoming a demand for organized international cooperation. The long time need for more and better housing is becoming a demand for housing from politically potent groups. The need of farmers for doctors and hospitals, the needs of wage-workers for self-respecting protection against the costs of medical care are becoming demands for action.

These mass demands are not yet translated into specific formulas. Congresses, legislatures, and a host of business, labor, rural, and social organizations will translate them. Let us not be cynical because they do not follow all *our* blueprints.

The task of progressives is not to ride social currents but to utilize their force. Our future rests upon combining ideas with action. A soldier said: "You aim with your brain. You fight with your guts."

On one of the last days of December, I drove from White Plains to New York in the early morning. The east glowed with dawn, the west was dark with cloud halfway to the

zenith. On the Cross-County Parkway one mounts a hill from which spreads a vista of the Saw Mill River valley, the Hudson River beyond, and the silver-painted western tower of the George Washington Bridge pricked against the horizon. Some towers sweep upward into a spire, symbol of hope whereby we may endure. This tower rises broad-based, square-topped, symbol of courage whereby we quash our fears. Sunrise came as my car topped the crest. All the valley lay somber, the tower alone stood shining in the sunbeams against the black background of the sky. The car sped down toward the tower and the New Year.

THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

(Continued from page 144)

satisfactory solution of our agricultural problems during the next several years it is essential that we maintain these high rates of consumption, or even increase them. This is desirable not only from the farmer's point of view but from the point of view of American diet and standards of living.

The President might have added that it is desirable also from the point of view of industry, because until the rates of consumption are increased in the United States to a point that will make American agriculture self-sustaining, it will be impossible to escape resort to the government aid programs which have constituted a large portion of the "federal spending" so roundly and so eloquently denounced in many a campaign speech.

President Truman refers approvingly to the permanent school lunch program recently authorized by Congress in cooperation with the states, and he says, "I hope this program will be expanded until we are sure that every American school child gets an adequate diet." This is good enough so far as it goes, but the permanent elimination of the farm problem will not be achieved until the consuming standards of the millions of American industrial workers have been raised and stabilized by the elimination of unnecessary unemployment.

Science has multiplied the productive capacity of industry manifold. All authorities agree that production is the only effective antidote to inflation. But production in industry

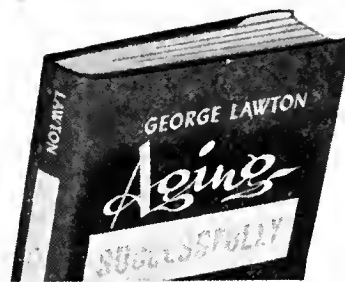
will stall on dead center unless we maintain the full employment which will guarantee a rising standard of living for all and a market for the products of both agriculture and industry.

The warning signals of approaching economic storm are already flying. They cannot be safely disregarded. The Economic Report specifically mentions that the prices of foods and fibers are likely to be the first to show declines in response to competitive forces. Let the farmer and the Congress take heed! For, since the report was filed, there has been a significant falling off in the retail prices of certain foods.

During the third week of January, there were declines in the livestock and butter markets, as well as in cotton and grain. During January, the wholesale price of butter dropped as much as fifteen cents in New York with retail prices falling, while cattle prices were lower than at any time since last October when the OPA ceilings were removed. This means a reduction in the farmer's purchasing power, with no corresponding cut in the prices of the things he must buy. Here, unless constructive action is taken, is the beginning of the familiar "farm problem."

Storm Warnings

If the farm problem is resurrected, then an industrial crisis will not be far behind. During the year 1947, it would not be at all surprising to see a 10 percent increase in industrial production, but as the President's Re-



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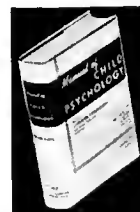
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To Aid in Understanding the Behavior Problems of the Normal and Abnormal Child

MANUAL OF CHILD PSYCHOLOGY

Edited by LEONARD CARMICHAEL,
President and Director of the
Laboratory of Sensory Psychology
and Physiology, Tufts College

This excellent book is written by leading authorities in the field of child psychology. Emphasis is placed, throughout, on the importance of bodily growth and development as companion and comparative processes to mental growth and development. Each chapter is complete in itself and gives an accurate picture of the way in which psychological characteristics develop. Thus a better understanding is gained of mental processes in general and the book becomes an introduction to the knowledge, not only of child psychology, but of the psychology of the normal adult human mind, and even of the abnormal human mind. The range of subject matter is wide, and includes The Feeble-Minded Child, Gifted Children, The Adolescent, Mental Growth in Children, Language Development, Emotional Development, Environmental Development in Children, Character Development in Children, etc., etc.



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port has pointed out, many groups of consumers suffered a drop in purchasing power in the latter half of 1946.

There has been a striking reduction in savings since V-J Day. The rate began to rise with the preparation for war in 1940, and maintained a level of between 25 and 30 percent of disposable income during the years 1943, 1944, and 1945 until the Axis collapsed. Then net savings dropped precipitously, and at the time the President's Report was filed with Congress, they had declined to less than 10 percent of disposable income. They had gone back, therefore, to the level of 1939. It requires no argument to prove that increasing production and declining purchasing power are the elements which, when brought into conjunction, produce economic explosion.

It is not too much to say the institution of private property, that is, the capitalistic system, could not survive such an explosion, for the United States now carries the heaviest national debt ever accumulated by any government anywhere at any time. The magnitude of the figures is so great that they are as difficult to comprehend as is the distance from the earth to the outer limits of the expanding universe. Although the Truman administration has paid off more than \$12,000,000,000 out of receipts from bond sales, the national debt remains at \$260,000,000,000, that is to say 260 thousand million dollars. The annual interest upon this debt is \$5,000,000,000—more than twice as much as the entire annual cost of Congress, the federal courts, the executive offices of the President, and all the civilian departments and agencies of the national government.

Even if it should be assumed, and a very dangerous assumption it would be, that it is necessary only to pay the annual interest upon this debt without attempting to reduce it, it is perfectly obvious that we cannot preserve a system which rests upon a foundation of such debt without maintaining a rate of production greater than any that has ever been achieved in time of peace. Production cannot be maintained under the capitalistic system without markets—and markets mean purchasing power here in the United States, because foreign markets are being financed out of deficit-creating loans. Communists argue that the capitalistic

system is doomed because they believe that it cannot sustain the debt it incurs.

It is notable that nowhere in the Economic Report is there any discussion of the problem of debt management. Without a full disclosure of the significance of the national debt and its management, there can be no clear comprehension of the crisis in which capitalism is involved, and therefore of the significance of the work the Joint Committee on the Economic Report has to do.

The world has reached the fork in the road. It must choose between authoritarianism and freedom, between a world in which the people will be controlled from above by economic and political managers or a world in which, in harmony with the ideals of the American system, the people are the source of all the authority, both economic and political, which can be exercised over them. All this is bound up with the insight and sagacity with which leadership in government, in business, and in agriculture approaches the crisis.

ACTION FOR D.P.'S (Continued from page 137)

the fact that the contributions of some 38,000,000 immigrants have helped to write the history of America. That is worth remembering.

There are the extremists who even favor drastic curtailment or complete foreclosure of immigration for a period of years. Last year this viewpoint was represented by two types of bills introduced in Congress. One bill provided that immigration be reduced by 50 percent for the next ten years, and was barely defeated in committee. Another took the form of a proposal that no immigration be permitted so long as there are 1,000,000 unemployed. This would be tantamount to a permanent and complete closing of our gates, inasmuch as in an advanced technological economy that amount of unemployment is "normal" even in prosperous years. Similar bills probably will be introduced in the 80th Congress.

But the action Congress will take depends in the last analysis on the votes of the citizens of the country—on their enlightened viewpoint, and on their strong determination. In a very real sense then, we, the people of America, will decide the fate of

those men and women and children waiting patiently for us to welcome them—or to turn our faces from them. Perhaps it does not matter whether our help stems from our own self-interest or from our sympathy and understanding. Only the action that we take counts now—and few among us would let that action damn the war's displaced persons to a useless, wasteful life—without homes, without hope. For in our hearts we know too well that there, but for the grace of God, indeed, go we.

UNESCO IN PARIS (Continued from page 147)

to collecting information on present facilities and needs, and the methods by which these media could be used more effectively to build the defenses of peace in the minds of men. One of the proposals which aroused the greatest interest was for the establishment of a worldwide network of radio broadcasting and reception through which leaders in education, science, and culture from every country might reach people in every part of the world, and people, in turn, could communicate with each other across national boundaries.

The program for 1947 envisages the first step in the fulfillment of such a plan: a fundamental study of the problems involved. However, it was also proposed that without waiting for this worldwide network, UNESCO should arrange a series of talks by leading authorities on educational, scientific, and cultural subjects to be available to any network under the title "World University of the Air"; and further, that UNESCO should stimulate an "International Forum," through the press or radio or both, with discussions on international subjects by well known authorities of various nationalities.

These are only a few examples of projects recommended for initiation in 1947, and of the larger number included in the total program discussed in Paris. Space requirements prevent even a brief summary of those approved in the fields of libraries and museums, philosophy and humanistic studies, and creative arts.

It should be noted that almost every one of the projects mentioned, as well as those not mentioned, requires the support and participation of people in many countries. It is a

vital part of the concept of UNESCO that the very process of cooperation and collaboration should contribute to peace and security through the growth of mutual respect and understanding. To fulfill this purpose there must be the widest dissemination of information about UNESCO, its purposes and what it is doing, in terms that everyone can understand. It is hoped that the National Commissions will channel back to the people of each nation the goals and practical programs of the organization. The national organizations also, in specific fields such as the natural sciences, social sciences, education, and so on, will have much to contribute and much to gain through the effective development of UNESCO.

But its purpose and scope, as these took shape in the minds of the delegates from forty-three different nations, go beyond the mere advancement of learning or of intellectual cooperation. At first timidly, and then with kindling imaginations, they blocked in the outlines of a foundation for peace built not on an international police force or a delicate balance of power, but on an understanding and a realization in the minds of people everywhere of the common purpose of mankind.

BARTOLOME DE LAS CASAS
(Continued from page 162)

the point the white advisers tried to reach, there went forward profounder influences, and it was these which determined the outcome.

Acoma's leaders announced that they accepted the facts and comprehended them; they would lift this load, they stated, and would carry it where it had to go. They did lift the load, and carried it to the very end. In three years, Acoma had done the almost impossible.

Its stock load was down to range capacity; devices of engineering and of range management, novel to the Acomas, were fully established; the upbreeding of stock was under way; new marketing methods had been tried and found good.

Ancient man had mastered a crisis which is of the twentieth century world, a crisis local yet almost world-wide. Ancient man had once more conquered the future. Corporately and individually, an ethnic group,

through the mainspring of its own individuality, had increased its local and world citizenship, had served the world while intensifying its own nature. It had proved that democracy can transcend the dilemma of coercion and drift, and therefore can be victor in that contest which is the final fact of our epoch—the contest between totalitarianism and social liberty.

At this point, we move out from the American Indian zone; but we answer, first, certain questions which readers may ask:

—Was the Acoma experience unique? Pursuant to the letter and the spirit of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, Acoma's experience has been paralleled and equaled among Indian tribes of forest, plains, desert, oceanside, and Arctic ice.

The defaults of the principles used at Acoma, and of that method of democratic "action-research, research-action" exemplified at Acoma, also have persevered, producing their stalemates and disasters. The variety of situations has been fairly representa-

(Continued on page 172)

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tive of mankind's geographical and social situations. Acoma is not unique, a hundred other cases could be substituted. We are in the realm of human universals, here.

Being in the realm of human universals, as it is, the Indian enterprise is subject to a universal law—that no human creative achievement sustains itself through mere precedent and inertia, once it has been attained. Creation must be ceaseless, or else the created values die. That is the hardest law to learn, for individual and for society alike.

—*Is the Indians' situation, and the federal Indian Service environment, atypical?* If so, valid deductions applicable to the United States or the world at large can not be drawn from Indian experience. The answer is emphatically, no. Space here does not permit an expansion of this proposition, which needs to be explained. But an example, in summary, from the writer's recent experience may be given.

This article was written while I paused at the Eastern Cherokee "reservation" in North Carolina. These Indians, from living with the wildcats and bears in the Great Smoky Mountain fastnesses after refusing to go on the "Trail of Tears" to Oklahoma in 1838, furtively emerged, one by one, toiled for the white dispossessioners, saved money, and individually bought land. They merged these holdings into a tribal holding—this was two generations ago—and incorporated themselves under North Carolina laws.

They had blazed the way for the federal Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, but they elected not to function under that law: they remain a body corporate under local law. Their religion is Southern Baptist, their tongues are English and Cherokee. Their mountain-cabin life carries one back to the hospitality, the sense of the amplitude of time and the sense of continuance, experienced among the southern white highlanders forty and fifty years ago.

Some 17 percent of these Eastern Cherokees went into the armed forces in World War II. Now the returned G.I.'s are engaged in an exciting enterprise of land salvage and regeneration, cooperatively framed, ramifying through the entire holding of the tribe. They are the acknowledged banner-bearers of socialized

G.I. training in North Carolina, and possibly in the nation. Indian Service is functioning here, most productively, but here as elsewhere it interplays with the other factors of our common life—national, state, county, and non-governmental. The Indians' situation is not atypical; deductions of general application do flow from their experience.

—*How many Indians?* In the United States and Alaska, 400,000; in the Hemisphere, between 25,000,000 and 40,000,000, according to definition. The Western Republics recognize that Indian experience—administrative, educational, esthetic, industrial—is interchangeable. By treaty, the Inter-American Institute of the Indian functions from Mexico outward, with National Indian Institutes in the constituent Republics. Here in the United States, the Subcommittee on Interior Department Appropriations of our House of Representatives has flouted the treaty obligation; hence, in this country alone, the National Indian Institute, although governmental, is dependent on private subscriptions. The second intercontinental Conference and Congress on Indian Life is planned for next September, at Cuzco, the ancient Inca capital, in Peru.

Now this article will touch briefly on two further aspects of its theme.

Cultural Sub-Groups in Russia

Amid the clashing contradictions concerning the Soviet Union, one set of facts emerges with a good deal of clearness; and its significance and influence are enormous. Ethnically and culturally, the Soviet Union and its territories are a pluriverse—not a universe, but a progressively integrated pluriverse. The persisting fallacy that a minority within a nation constitutes some sort of illicit, regrettable dual citizenship, weakening in its effects, was dialectically rejected by the Soviet forerunners, including particularly Joseph Stalin, in the years prior to the first world war. Ethnic group citizenship, the feeder of personality, social energy, and national citizenship, are in Russia viewed as functions reciprocally essential to stability and progress.

The Soviet Union's formal policy, and its actions in the case of many of its minorities, are best viewed against the background of other co-

lonial and minority records.

Take Spain: Spain governed the western world through Spaniards alone. Even the Creoles—pure Spanish blood, but born in the New World—were shut out from all but minor responsibilities. The Mestizos, or mixed-bloods, and the Indians, could aspire only to subordinate local status within the exploitative system. The policy was applied to Church as well as to State.

England, Holland, France in Indo-China, the United States: They each have governed minorities through their own nationals. The Philippines and, recently, the Indian country, are the exceptions in the case of the United States. This fact has involved a multitude of consequences: the flow of power and of policy-formation, cruel or kind, has walled off the native societies, stagnating and confusing them, even dismembering them, and instilling slow-growing hate into them. Now the whirlwind is being reaped by western Europe, once the dominator of the far peoples; and who will reap power through the whirlwind?

The Soviet Union, confronted by its more than one hundred ethnic groups large and small, undertook to place on the native leadership a responsibility conditioned only by adherence to the five-year plans and the political-economic, as distinct from any cultural or racial, dogmas. Where a group needed a new skill, it was the group's own members who were trained. In the actual event, the mass transfers of populations and the intensified centralization of political control in the Soviet Union have variously violated the conception here set down. Yet it remains a steadfast conception of USSR policy, and, if long term peace should come, it logically would become dominant. How much it has contributed to that collective energy and will power which have surprised the world, one can only guess; but what (in spite of tragic inconsistencies in practice) it means to minorities and to dependent, subjected peoples the world over, is plain enough. It may be one of the determinants in the world contest now upon us.

Our Nation and Its Races

For us in the United States of America, our genius and our future rest in our ethnic diversity. We who fight against racial prejudice and dis-

crimination may sometimes forget the great, outlasting verity: that the cross-fertilization of differing cultures is a main creative force in our human, therefore our national, future.

The many societies have a persistence more stubborn and resourceful than the nineteenth century dreamed of.

We want equal opportunity for individuals and for their societies. We want this, not only for the sake of a nation enriched, made more many-sided, and more creative, but for the sake of our children and their sound growth. For it is in one or another of the many groups which we can oppress but can not destroy, that the decisive, personality-shaping years are lived. There, in a little world which is wholesome or impoverished, the man is formed. Hence, every effort toward betterment for or within an American ethnic group—Negro, Slavonic, Latin-American, Indian, Jewish, and all the rest—is an effort toward the production of the adequate American.

We are now within that war against fascism which is beyond the World War. What is fascism? It is not something interchangeable with totalitarianism; it may in fact be nihilistic, as much of our native American fascism proves. Fascism is the orientation of hate and scorn toward the socially different; ultimately, it is a psychosis driven by hatred and directed against the sense of life.

We must fight, and die if need be, to defeat the overt actions of fascism here and in the world. But we will conquer fascism—we will cure it—only by finding ways to increase the sense of life within all men. And these ways lead to the local community, and to the many lastingly different, ethnic groups, for it is there that life's wellsprings rise and values are formed and men are made.

ONE EUROPE
(Continued from page 151)

object of which should be to prevent the domination by any one country and to create a great free trade area with common service in railways, shipping, mail, and so forth. Back in 1927, he had hoped that it would be possible in this way to save the Weimar Republic.

As we review the movement for a federated Europe (the idea has also

an interesting pre-modern history, of course), two names stand out, that of the great French statesman and orator, Briand, and that of the devoted crusader for "Pan-Europe," Count Coudenhove-Kalergi.

In other words, the idea for some considerable time has been discussed on "the highest political level." While I am in no position however, to assess, in a realistic sense, the force that may be behind the United Europe idea, one can say that something of the sort seems necessary. Clearly its actual accomplishment demands very great political pressure, pressure sufficient to overcome immense inertias, powerful oppositions on every level, and complicated and intense psychological hostilities—pressure exerted both from above by governmental, and from below by popular, demand.

Economic Europe

As regards the economic aspects, one must ask oneself less what is in the minds of governments, than what businessmen and financiers might be ready to accept or even to push for. I was therefore interested in rather detailed plans which I was allowed to see (though so far as I know they have not been published) made by a leading German industrialist at that time living outside Hitler Germany. These contemplate a European Railway Corporation, a Superhighway Corporation, an Airways Corporation, an Electric Corporation, and so forth, a Headquarters for European Public Utilities and a European Federal Reserve System. He raised the question of what might need to be done as to a proper balance of population—agricultural and nonagricultural, as to the creation of new communities, and the best way of dealing with monopolies.

It is to be noted that an encouraging beginning has been made on the politico-economic level in ECITO (the Central Inland Transport Association) the mandate of which runs to September 1947, and which has regional offices in Paris, The Hague, Warsaw, Prague, and other capitals. This agency undertook a census of railroad equipment throughout the area except for those parts, such as Russia and Portugal, which do not have standard gauge tracks. Certainly transportation seems to have revived better than other parts of the eco-

(Continued on page 174)

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conomic system, and at an unexpected rate.

I was still overseas at the time of the encouraging announcement of a 450-page report by the United Nations Temporary Subcommission on the Economic Reconstruction of Devastated Areas, a report perhaps not unrelated to the supposed Byrnes project of last April. The Associated Press defined it as "a broad program designed to put war-torn Europe back on its feet and to formulate a long range European plan of unprecedented scope."

This report proposed that the Economic and Social Council of the UN should at once create an Economic Commission for Europe and pointed out the great need of such a body to correlate the plans that "almost every country of Europe" has prepared on its own. It proposed, further, an international housing agency; an agency for the coordinated development of power resources, including hydroelectric plants; an agency to deal with problems of financing and assistance to meet the difficulties of foreign exchange.

A Swiss Plan

To turn again to the proposals of the Swiss Europa Union, these, too, are quite specific in the social-economic field. Basic is the principle that the economy of United Europe should not be dominated by the state nor should the state be dominated by its economy. It urges that economic development should be unforced, democratic, free and independent — under a constitutional state and separate from political institutions. It proposes an Economic Council endowed with power to legislate on economic matters and an Economic Court or Tribunal together forming an Economic Auto-Administration. Along with this, associations would be set up to deal, some with national problems such as production, some with international problems such as economic relations between peoples. There would also be public enterprises with mixed control. The Economic Auto-Administration would deal with questions of wages, prices, and maintenance of a sound balance between the production, circulation, and consumption of goods. Armament production and the aviation industry would be completely under its oversight. And there would be ample provision to encourage consul-

tation between agencies.

On the one hand, as the Swiss framers see it, labor should not be regarded simply as a commodity. The worker has a right to employment, to a minimum wage, and to unemployment insurance as well as to other provisions for his social security. There should be constitutional guarantees of the right of association and in particular of labor union organization.

On the other hand, the Swiss hold that commercial relations between states depend on the return to free and equal trade, both as regards importation of raw material and marketing of products. Necessary also, to their minds, is a common monetary system free from state manipulation, with gold retaining its place at least for settling balances.

Altogether these Swiss proposals seem a "middle way" program, social without being Socialist, and especially interesting in the provisions for specific legislative and judicial bodies to deal with economic matters.

It must be said that after the Geneva *Rencontres*, with their intellectualism and literary art, such detailed and factual discussions, carried on with a determination to "make something happen," seemed fresh, robust, and resolute.

And as we talked, shifting lights and moving mists on the mountain sides reminded me of the wonder of the ever-changing world in which it is our lot to live.

THUMBS IN THE DIKE (Continued from page 158)

Ons Huis, Rotterdam, began in 1908 as an adult education center with serious courses for semiprofessional and white collar workers.

The death in 1941 of its founder, Dr. de Koe, was a great loss to that movement. Its present leader, Dr. K. F. Proost, was so outspoken against Hitler that he had to go into hiding during the occupation.

This house has four branches in Rotterdam and has wide circles of influence. A lending library of films is included among the present activities as well as lectures and study programs for different age groups. Adults come from a distance to the main house; children from the immediate neighborhood, which is tenement and industrial and has an aroma all its

own due to a sugar beet refinery on the same street.

Under the leadership of Dr. Bos, a well known architect and town planner, *Ons Huis* has been a sort of laboratory, influencing plans for new housing projects in Rotterdam. Play space, centers for recreation and education, and facilities for meetings have been incorporated largely on the basis of experience at *Ons Huis*.

Boys and Girls Clubs

In the kind of children they serve, the boys and girls clubs of Holland are much like the settlements. *De Arendt* ("The Eagle"), Rotterdam, has a main club house and three branches, open in the afternoon to boys and girls of from ten to twelve years in separate groups. But in the evenings, the game and club rooms, a canteen, gymnasium, and library are open only to boys of thirteen and upwards. The director described these as mostly street or factory boys who first need "basic education in getting along with themselves and with each other." Later on, there are joint activities.

There are similar clubs in Nymegen and The Hague and there is a movement throughout Holland for more, though handicapped by the dearth of qualified leaders. To fill the gap *de Arendt* itself is offering a year's training course to a score of students who have good background and show capacity. Living together with their teachers in a house used normally for weekend camping parties on an island near Rotterdam, the group studies in the morning and works in the clubs from 4 o'clock until 9.

Another type of project, part of the same general movement, is the Village-House, such as that at Paterswolde, Eelde, near Gronningen in Drenthe. It was in 1915 that Mrs. G. Bahler-Boerma made a study of local conditions in and about this village, discovering that the great evils were tuberculosis, alcoholism, and lack of education. She had been much influenced by accounts she had read of American public reading rooms and the idea came to her to start something that would help her neighbors do something for themselves. She sensed at once what she must do, who the president should be, and how to begin.

That summer she talked with the village people about books they would like to read, about what they would

like to do; and in the fall she opened a small room with such reading matter as she could collect. Later, with Miss Knappert's help, came a building. Now she has a gymnasium with showers, an excellent place for children's work, and a big central reading room lined with books, together with smaller rooms which local organizations use by paying a small fee. There is some subvention, and books are loaned by the central library in Gronningen. The real problem is to find another Mrs. Bahler to relieve the founder, a vigorous volunteer of seventy who works with a committee elected by 4,000 members, comprising everyone in the village! Each pays a small fee, and the book circulation is around 20,000 a year.

Another type of rural center is the *Buurthuis* (Neighborhood House) in Jubbega, Friesland. This house is in a district where peat was once cut and carried by canal throughout Holland. Today there is little left except for local use. With the failure of the bog came unemployment and poverty.

Even before this happened, the Moor people had been an ingrowing group among themselves, with little self-initiative and standing. A social-democratic deputy instigated an inquiry. This was discussed in Parliament and a commission was established which built and developed the center.

Buurthuis is directed by Miss C. Barentsen, a young graduate of the School of Social Work in Amsterdam, who has been in residence for seven years. The people are very conservative and at the start were suspicious. She has three young and delightful assistants, trained for children's work and sewing. The four live in the house (with two local girls coming in to help each day) and there is a fine air of vigor and teamplay about them. They ride their bicycles over the village and along the lanes and canals, and today are well known and accepted throughout the community.

Some upstanding families manage to get a good living out of the land and a few animals; others live in overcrowded houses, with no water other than what they carry in pails from the canal. Many of the Moor people still feel outcasts, yet their children who come to the two kindergartens (one in a local public school) get a good start at friendships. Sewing, cooking for girls and women, carpentry for boys, folk dancing and



games, singing, and the like are common activities, but probably the most effective medium is the neighborly living of the resident group.

The village nurse uses the house as her headquarters and has a clinic for babies. Here I saw American vitamins, and American clothing in orderly array for distribution. Most of the garments have been given out and made over to fit the members of a family. I was glad to see there was children's underwear, for little of that is to be bought in Holland.

There are thirty such rural centers in the provinces. Their leaders meet together frequently through the *Nederlandschen Bond van Volkshuizen* which was formed in 1928 under the leadership of the late Dr. de Koe and Miss Knappert. It has published material for use in clubs, stimulated exhibitions and produced a very attractive calendar with an interpretation of the work at the centers.

Acute Needs Today

Some of my informants put textiles first in the order of need in postwar Holland. Everywhere I went, people spoke with glowing eyes of American packages, from relatives and organizations. If I were sending one today I should put in some children's toys, pins and sewing materials, pieces of cloth to make things of, yarn for stockings, and as extras, chocolate or dried fruits.

I am convinced that every scrap of good material sent to the Netherlands from the USA has been used effectively. I saw coats and clothing being turned and fitted, good looking caps and bonnets being made from little pieces—all warm things such as they need badly, for theirs is cold country for months at a stretch with harsh

winds and much rain.

Wooden shoes are essential along the muddy paths, but warm stockings are greatly needed. The children leave their wooden shoes at the door—how they sort them out is a mystery which only they can solve—then they run around in socks or stocking feet. Felt sandals would be a godsend, but I saw none.

The city children now wear shoes though they loved the wartime clatter of wooden shoes; but for country children, leather shoes are thought impractical.

Both urban and rural centers in Holland need repairs and replacements. While, fortunately, there were no outright losses of city property by settlements and clubs, the vacation work carried on by them met with destruction and pillage by the Nazis. No equipment for camps and vacation houses is as yet available, nor have the organizations funds to buy it later. Replacement should be undertaken for the group as a whole so as to assume speedy and fair distribution. As the urgency for food becomes less acute I have suggested that this might afford a next phase for American giving through the United Service to Holland, Inc. However, clothing and household goods, blankets and towels and the like are still gravely needed. The USA has helped tremendously and there is no country where that help has been more appreciated than in the Netherlands.

The world owes the Hollanders a great debt of gratitude for their resistance to Nazi aggression and for the fortitude with which thereafter they met vicious propaganda, mental torture and physical suffering. What we have done thus far has been only a gesture, not adequate thanks.

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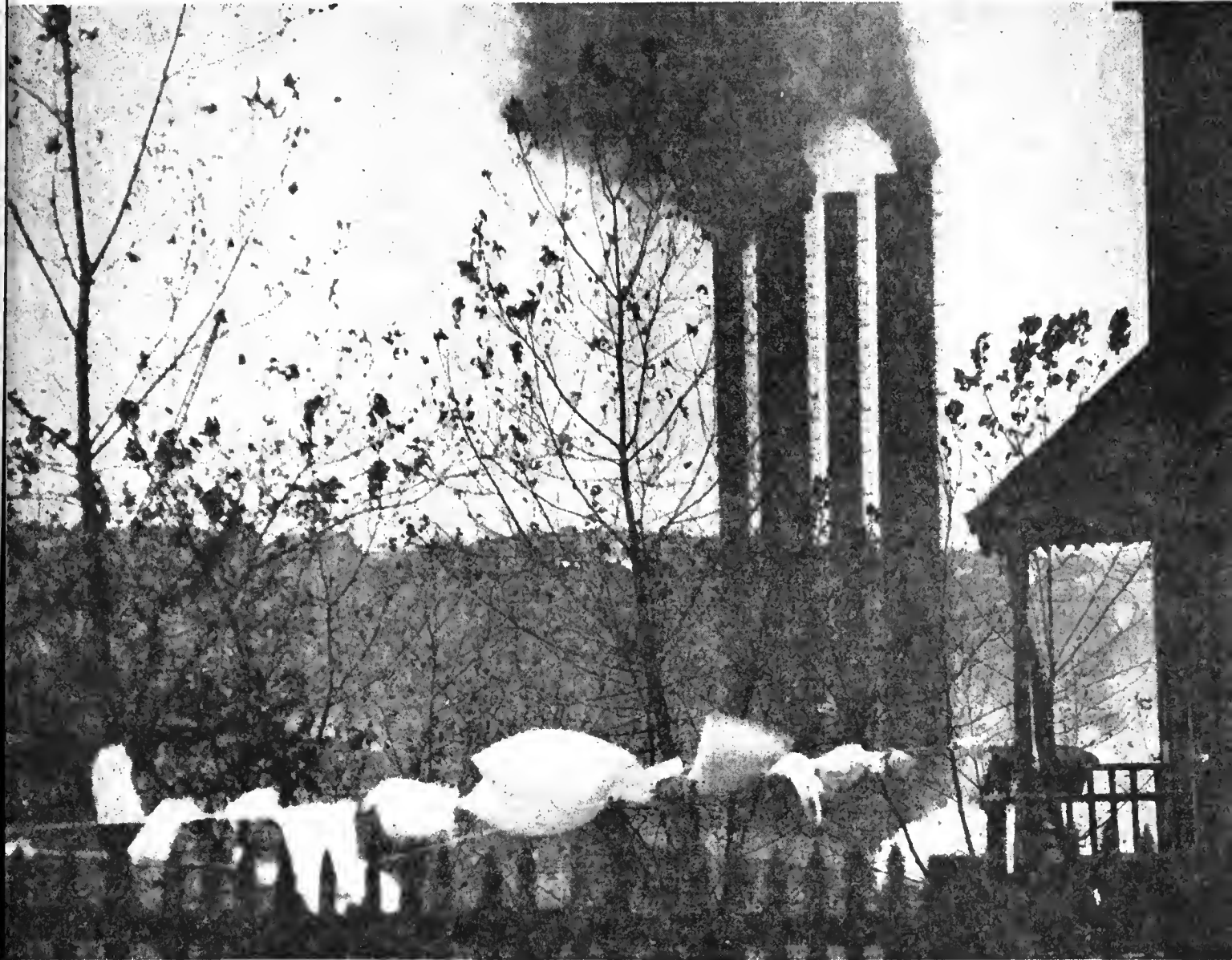
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Contents

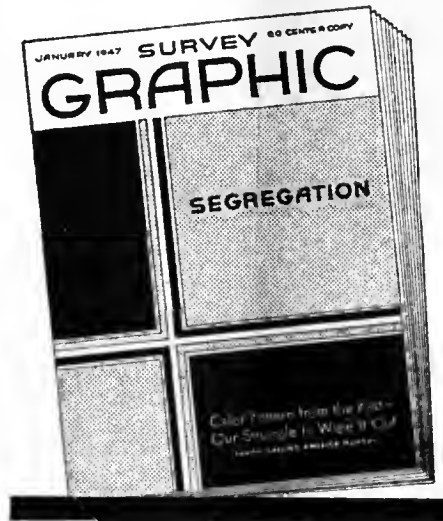
This twelfth Calling America number examines racial segregation the country over in schools, employment, churches, the armed forces, residence, recreation, and travel, appraising the cost to us in money, and in moral and psychological conflict. Outstanding authorities, gifted writers — white and Negro, northern and southern — assess recent changes and show how *each of us can help bring about a democratic solution of the problem.*

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Letters, newspapers, magazines and radio have carried messages of praise for this special number.

William H. Hastie, Governor of the Virgin Islands, finds it a "substantial contribution to public education." *The Federal Council Bulletin* contends it "will recast much of America's thinking and action." In



the opinion of George M. Houser, executive secretary of the Congress of Racial Equality, it is "excellent." The National Institute of Social Relations holds it "fills a real need . . . should be carefully studied."

Eleanor Roosevelt calls it "a fine job." Mary McLeod Bethune finds it a "marvelous edition." Channing H. Tobias, director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, praises it as "a source book." Harold L. Lundquist, associate editor of *Moody Monthly*, thinks it is "unusually fine."

H. Vail Deale, Iowa librarian, spots it as an "excellent summary"; F. E. DeFrantz, Indiana YMCA secretary, hails it as a "magnificent issue." Desmond W. Bittinger, editor of *The Gospel Messenger* and a reader of our Calling America Series, considers it "among the best I have ever seen." *The Woman's Press* writes, "It provides information and directive for the future," and *America* describes it as "a noteworthy contribution."

Clippings have reached us, too, from *The New York Times*, *Post*, and *Sun*; *Christian Science Monitor*, *New Jersey Herald News*, *Pittsburgh Courier*, *Amsterdam Star News*, *The Afro-American*, *Raleigh Carolinian*, *The Christian Century*, *Philadelphia Tribune*, *Sunday Chicago Bee*, *Memphis World*, *School and Society*, and many other newspapers and magazines.

The NBC carried it across the nation, WMCA to the New York City audience.

While copies are available—help place them where they will promote wider understanding. We suggest particularly, teachers, librarians, students, church leaders, business leaders, labor leaders, members of women's clubs and discussion groups, public officials, editors.

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How much does the telephone company earn?

We asked a number of people this question . . .
"How much would you say the telephone company makes (after all expenses and taxes) on the money invested in the business?"

Twelve per cent said "6% or less."

Eleven per cent said "7% to 10%."

Twelve per cent said "15%, 20% or 25%."

Eight per cent said "30% or more."

Fifty-seven per cent had no opinion.

The actual figure is less than many people think. Even with telephone calls at a record peak, Bell System earnings on the money invested in the business have averaged only a shade over 5½% for the last five years — including the war years. And that's not enough to insure good telephone service.

We thought you might like to know in case you have been wondering about telephone earnings.

BELL TELEPHONE SYSTEM



THIS IS A POSTWAR STORY THAT WARMS THE cockles of the editorial heart. It came to us through New York friends of an American educator, now an officer in the army of occupation in Japan, assigned to teach college classes in American history. One of his faculty colleagues is a Japanese sociologist, Professor T. A.

An order from General MacArthur in October 1945, a few weeks after his occupation of Tokyo, freed the "thought convicts," among them Professor A. who had been held in solitary confinement for more than two years.

This was the request from the American teacher, which came to us second hand:

"Prof. A. is now heading a small social research laboratory, which is undertaking studies of living conditions and wages. In addition, he lectures here, and is also trying to organize a social work curriculum at . . . College. More than anything else, he wants *Survey Graphic*. In fact, it is the one thing he has asked me to try to get for him. He used to subscribe, but like so many individuals and libraries here, he lost about everything in the bombings and fires. He wasn't even sure the magazine was still published. Is there any chance of some back copies for the college library? They would be worth their weight in gold to him and to other teachers, too."

Except for a few issues which were completely sold out, a file of *Survey Graphic* from January 1942 to the present is on its way.

We like to think of Professor A., at liberty now to pursue those "dangerous thoughts" of freedom and democracy, turning our pages, using *Survey Graphic* as his chosen tool in helping educate social explorers for a new Japan.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO KATHARINE TAYLOR, daughter of the founder of the Chicago Commons (and also of the magazine, *The Commons*, which was one of *Survey Graphic's* journalistic forebears) embarked on a piece of pioneering in the field of education. In 1921, she became director of Shady Hill School, in Cambridge, Mass. Started a few years earlier by Prof. and Mrs. William Ernest Hocking in their own home, Shady Hill in 1921 was a small neighborhood venture in progressive education. Under Miss Taylor's leadership, it has grown until today it is recognized as one of the foremost institutions of elementary education in the country.

In honor of the director's quarter century of service, friends of Shady Hill have launched a campaign to raise the Katharine Taylor 25th Anniversary Fund of \$300,000.

It is not the plan to build a brick-and-mortar monument to rare educational achievement, but to broaden and enrich the program of the school itself. The Fund will be used to increase teachers' salaries at Shady Hill, to provide more scholar-

Survey Graphic for March 1947

Cover: Photograph courtesy of Pittsburgh Community Fund

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ships, to clear the mortgage on the school plant, to expand teacher training, to make possible several research projects, to establish a consultation service "available . . . to all who seek Shady Hill's help."

EMILY GREENE BALCH, CO-WINNER OF THE 1946 Nobel Peace Prize, known to *Survey Graphic* readers also for her recent articles in our pages (October 1946, February 1947) has decided to give \$10,000 of her \$17,000 share to the Women's International League of Peace and Freedom. Twenty years ago, Miss Balch served as international secretary of the League, with her headquarters in Geneva. In 1936, she was elected honorary president, the post which at eighty she still holds.

THE FIRST MEETING OF THE RECENTLY formed education committee of Survey Associates was held on February 25, in the

office of the chairman, Dean Ernest O. Melby of the School of Education, New York University. The committee, it is hoped, will serve as a two-way street—to increase the interest and value of *Survey Graphic* by bringing to the editors suggestions for articles in the educational field; and to make *Survey Graphic* better known among educators. In addition to Dean Melby, the members of the committee are: Read Bain, Harold Benjamin, Theodore Brameld, William G. Carr, Morse A. Cartwright, Ruth Cunningham, J. B. Edmondson, Roma Gans, H. H. Giles, Willard E. Goslin, Sidonie M. Gruenberg, Bryn J. Hovde, Herold C. Hunt, Alice V. Keliher, William H. Kilpatrick, Paul Klapper, E. C. Lindeman, John K. Norton, Walter Pettit, Ira de A. Reid, Charles A. Seipmann, Mark Starr, Mabel Studebaker, Harold Taylor, Ordway Tead, J. Raymond Walsh, Beulah W. Burhoe, secretary.



United Steelworkers of America

FIRST STEPS

Early days of what has become "the hardest ten-year-old this nation has ever seen." Employees of Jones & Laughlin vote overwhelmingly for the Steelworkers Organizing Committee in an election ordered by the National Labor Relations Board, in 1937



Steel Makers: 1937-1947

A review of the first decade of collective bargaining in the nation's basic industry, and the changes it has wrought

KATHRYN CLOSE

TEN YEARS AGO THIS MONTH newspapers across the country carried an announcement that electrified the nation. "Big Steel" had capitulated! Organized labor had broken down the ramparts of the largest and traditionally the strongest anti-union fortress in the country.

Myron Taylor, chairman of the board of the United States Steel Corporation and John L. Lewis, at that time the head of both the United Mine Workers of America and the Committee for Industrial Organization, had reached an agreement which paved the way for union recognition and collective bargaining within the corporation's five huge operating subsidiaries. What was more amazing, the truce had been signed before the battle had been joined. It was a bloodless revolution.

That was the beginning. Within five years every important steel company in the country had a contract with the Steelworkers Organizing Committee, the body set up by the United Mine Workers of America to reorganize labor in the steel industry. These contracts were not all won with such apparent ease as the first, nor were the battles for union recognition through which they were achieved as bloodless. But once gained, each victory was decisive, so that today unionism in the steel industry is an established fact attested to by some 850,000 steelworkers the country over and recognized with varying degrees of cordiality by 1,470 companies engaged in the manufac-

—By an associate editor of *Survey Graphic*, now on leave of absence.

Miss Close, whose home is in Pittsburgh, center of the vast steel industry, bases her article on interviews with labor leaders, management representatives, and plant workers, and a careful study of union, corporation, and government reports and statements.

ture of basic steel or the fabrication of steel or related metal products.

Collective bargaining between labor and management in steel, long outlawed by the heads of the industry, is now an accepted procedure. Even as this is being written, the United Steelworkers of America, CIO, (the adult SWOC) and the U. S. Steel Corporation are carrying on negotiations which will set the pattern for the 1947 basic steel contracts to be adopted throughout the country.

A Decade of Progress

What have these ten years of meeting together accomplished for once tough-minded steel executives and the labor leaders they dreaded? For the workers in the mills and factories? For the industry itself?

Several months of living within earshot of the nation's industrial heartbeat, with opportunity of talking with labor leaders, industrialists, and steelworkers, have helped this reporter to form a picture of changes wrought by ten years of collective bargaining in the steel industry.

The outlines in respect to labor-

management relations are unmistakable. They reflect definite advance. Men who less than a decade ago were hurling verbal brickbats in the daily press, through becoming personally acquainted across the bargaining table have found each other to be human. The process of give and take has produced mutual respect, even a few friendships. Ten years of face-to-face encounter have created at least a partial understanding of the other fellow's problems and point of view, though not necessarily agreement with his conclusions. The industrialists still zealously guard against any infringement of management's "prerogatives," while labor leaders fight for a stronger voice in determining the worker's share in the proceeds of production. But statistics have displaced epithets as weapons.

It is strange to remember how new the steel industry is to this democratic process of attempting to compromise differences. Ten years ago steelworkers died in Chicago, in Youngstown and Massillon, Ohio, in desperate attempts to gain recognition for their chosen representatives. Twenty-eight years ago, after a prolonged and violent nationwide strike, unionism had been "stamped out" of the steel industry, as it had been more than once previously in the industry's history.

The Background of the Story

The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, a fusion of craft unions, was formed in

agreement effecuated pursuant to Section 4 hereof,
e until February 28, 1938.

CARNEGIE-ILLINOIS STEEL CORPORATION,

By OB Fairless
President.

STEEL WORKERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE,

By Philip Murray
Chairman

David J. McDonald
Secretary-Treasurer

Van A. Sotner
Director, Western Region

Robert J. Gleason
Director, Northeastern Region

W. C. Cressman
General Counsel

Press Association

Contract signed ten years ago by Benjamin F. Fairless (now president of the U. S. Steel Corporation, then head of its chief unit) and leaders of the SWOC

1876. The climax of its stormy career came in 1892 when a strike was called to protest against a reduction of wages by the Carnegie Steel Company at Homestead and the company's insistence on signing individual contracts with its men. The strikers' battle against bargeloads of Pinkerton men sent up the Monongahela to crush the picket lines was perhaps the most costly in American labor history. While it ended in temporary victory, its final outcome was an enduring defeat for the union not only in Homestead but in the whole western Pennsylvania steel area. John A. Fitch of the *Charities and Commons* (forerunner of *Survey Graphic*) visiting Pittsburgh eighteen years later found:

A repressive regime that makes it impossible for men to protest against conditions that are inimical to their welfare serves now, and has served since

the destruction of unionism, to keep the employers in the saddle. . . .

. . . The steelworker sees on every side evidences of an irresistible power, baffling and intangible. It fixes the conditions of his employment; it tells him what wages he may expect to receive and where and when he must work. If he protests, he is either ignored or rebuked. If he talks it over with his fellow workmen, he is likely to be discharged. As a steelworker said to me . . . "The galling thing about it all is the necessity of accepting in silence any treatment that the Corporation may see fit to give. We have no right to independent action and when we are wronged there is no redress."*

Union revival came with certain government protections during the first World War, but it was short-lived. In 1919 the Amalgamated, after an organizing drive led by Wil-

*"The Steelworkers," by John A. Fitch. Russell Sage Foundation, 1911.

liam Z. Foster, claimed 100,000 members throughout the country. In that year, the union called an industry-wide strike to gain recognition. Defeat came almost as much from the internecine strife among its rival craft locals as from the traditional managerial tactics, such as the use of armed strikebreakers and appeals through a bitterly non-union press for the men to return to work.

More than fifteen years passed before the word "union" was again mentioned among steelworkers in tones above a whisper. When the Steelworkers Organizing Committee began its drive in 1936 the old Amalgamated had scarcely more than 8,000 members the country over. Most steel plants had employe representations plans (usually known as the ERP). These company formed and company dominated unions were the industry's answer to the government requirement, first through the NRA in 1933 and after 1935 through the National Labor Relations Act, that employers bargain collectively with the freely chosen representatives of their employes.

Enter the CIO and the NLRB

Into this picture stepped John L. Lewis's United Mine Workers of America in the fall of 1935 with an offer of \$500,000, through the CIO, to the Amalgamated to be used to organize workers in the steel industry along industrial union lines. The amount was later boosted to \$1,500,000, jointly raised by the several industrial unions within the CIO. After some hesitation Mike Tighe, the Amalgamated's long-time president, accepted under pressure from his own membership, but soon found himself outside the organizing plans.

These were mapped by a group of top-flight organizers from Lewis's own union who were brought together to form the CIO's Steelworkers Organizing Committee under the chairmanship of Philip Murray, vice-president of the UMWA.

The understanding was that the SWOC would hold newly organized steelworkers together temporarily in its own locals. But this new child of labor grew so rapidly that it soon swallowed up the step-parent. By the time its first anniversary rolled around, the SWOC claimed a membership of 450,000 and contracts with 230 manufacturers of basic steel or steel products.

The United States Steel Corporation had attempted to keep the new union from its doors by bolstering its ERP organizations, and even granting a 10 percent wage increase, which it earlier had pronounced an impossibility. However, the National Labor Relations Board had helped the SWOC's attack late in 1936 by a ruling that company formed, financed and dominated unions were illegal.

While Big Steel's sudden switch in policy, in March 1937, gave a tremendous push to the steelworkers' organizing drive, a further impetus was provided in April by the Supreme Court of the United States in decisions upholding the constitutionality of the National Labor Relations Act and the procedures of the NLRB. By the end of the year, SWOC membership had jumped to 500,000 and the number of contracts signed to 445.

"Little Steel," the four large independent companies that produce 30 percent of the nation's steel output, held out against union recognition in any form. Five years were to pass before these companies eventually capitulated, and then only after bitterness had exploded again into violence.

According to the report of the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee on the causes of deaths and injuries during Little Steel strikes in 1937, the four companies (Bethlehem Steel, Republic Steel, Inland Steel, and Youngstown Sheet and Tube) had built up strike arsenals including "army-type machine guns, sub-machine guns, large numbers of army rifles and rifles of lesser caliber, shot-

guns of the regular, repeating, and sawed-off types, and pistols and revolvers of all makes and calibers as well as prodigious quantities of gas and gas equipment."

Against this grim background the representatives of the steelworkers and their employers today are attempting to develop a civilized method of composing differences. Undoubtedly resentment and mistrust still rankle within some breasts. But however disgruntled the industry representatives may be, their prevailing attitude is that the union has come to stay and ways must be found of getting along with it. Labor's representatives, on the other hand, show an increasing disposition to recognize

the problems of management, as well as their own.

Examples of an almost revolutionary courtesy were afforded during the nationwide steel strike a year ago, when wartime controls of wages and prices were still in force. The union had demanded a wage increase under the terms of contracts which provided for a reopening of wage negotiations at the request of either party. The companies, led by Big Steel, refused to grant an increase unless the government permitted a boost in price; but when a strike was called, no effort was made to break it. On the contrary, individual plants seemed to vie with one another in their efforts to make the strikers comfortable. Food and hot drinks were served on the picket lines and stoves were provided to keep the pickets warm. The union in its turn arranged for maintenance men to go into some of the plants and in at least one instance, ordered the pickets to let shipments of material through.

In 1942 the SWOC converted itself into the United Steelworkers of America, an international union affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Today its 1,800 locals in the United States and Canada embrace 850,000 members, the largest union membership on the American continent. Nursed from a makeshift committee to the hardest ten-year-old this nation has ever seen, the vigorous union is passing into the third of the four stages of industrial relations growth, described by Philip Murray, its mild-mannered president, as:

1. Paternalistic and un-unionized;



Photos United Steelworkers of America
PHILIP MURRAY
International president, USA-CIO



DAVID J. McDONALD
Secretary-treasurer



JAMES G. THIMMIS
Vice-president



VAN A. BITTNER
Vice-president



Associated Photographers

Board of Conciliation and Arbitration: Eugene Maurice, union representative; Herbert Blumer, impartial chairman; Walter Kelly, industry representative

2. The struggle for unionization ending in recognition, collective bargaining, and a written contract;

3. A gradual strengthening in contractual relations and continued efforts toward improvement in "hours, wages, and working conditions";

4. The beginnings of labor-management collaboration for greater gross productivity in which both may share.*

There are even budding omens of the proximity of the fourth stage.

Union Leadership

Mr. Murray and his associates are keenly aware of the increased responsibility for capable union leadership demanded in each of these stages. Because of the crushing union experience in the industry, few natural leaders were available among steelworkers at the beginning of the organizing drive. The development of leadership is now recognized as one of the major tasks of the union's research and public relations departments as well as of the field staff in its thirty-seven district offices. "Hot-heads," as one district representative puts it, "do the union as much harm as the company."

The International's present executive officers are, with one exception, men who were among the mine-

workers picked in 1935 for the steel organizing job. Developments have borne witness to their astuteness and ability. Besides Mr. Murray, they include: Van A. Bittner, vice-president in charge of organization in the South, one-time president of the UMWA's District 17; James G. Thimmes, vice-president and special consultant to the president, the only former steelworker in the group; David J. McDonald, secretary-treasurer, private secretary to Mr. Murray during his UMWA days and now in charge of finances of an organization having an annual budget of more than \$6,000,000.

Most steelworkers speak of Philip Murray in a tone of reverence. Though international officers are subject to election every two years, the white-haired soft-spoken president and his associates undoubtedly will go right on leading the union until they decide to resign. The loyalty they engender may be mainly based on accomplishments, but steelworkers who have any personal contact with Mr. Murray cannot fail to sense a sincere conviction and bold tenacity that will not let them down. If they find toughness, it is not the bluster often associated with labor leaders, but toughness of moral fiber—fundamentally important in a man to whom each union member entrusts his economic future.

For much of the steelworkers' future is in Philip Murray's hands. The USA-CIO is a highly centralized union, with little of a policy-making nature finding its way up from the bottom. Union members, of course, elect the officers of their locals and their district directors. However, the former are concerned chiefly with carrying out the provisions of their specific contracts; while the latter serve as administrative officers for the International, which pays their salaries, and carry out policy set by the executives at headquarters in Pittsburgh. District representatives sit on the executive board with one vote for every thousand persons in the membership they represent, in the rare instances when a roll call vote is taken. However, the international president and the secretary-treasurer are each entitled to as many votes as are cast by the board member with the highest number, while the two vice-presidents are entitled to ten votes each.

The union's constitution fails to give strike-calling power to any officer or union body but it specifically prohibits any strike "without the approval of the International President." The 1946 strike was called after a referendum vote of the members left the decision up to the executive board's wage-policy committee.

All membership dues (\$1.50 a month) and initiation fees (\$3.00) are sent directly to the international secretary-treasurer who returns half the dues and one third the initiation fees to the locals. The books of the locals are checked regularly by representatives sent out from the Pittsburgh office, while the International's books are audited twice a year by an outside auditing firm. The union publishes a semi-annual financial report which, it maintains, is the most detailed of any in the country except that of the federal government.

Any charge that the steelworkers have put their affairs entirely in the hands of outsiders would be completely unfair. The constitution provides that all officers must be steelworkers or incumbent union officials at the time of election. All district directors and local union officers have come out of the mills and steel fabricating plants. They have come from all types of jobs. In one Pittsburgh district may be found a local union president who averages \$25 a day as a highly skilled steel roller and another who is a day laborer paid at the base

*"Organized Labor and Production," Morris L. Cooke and Philip Murray, Harper.

rate of ninety-six and a half cents an hour. Except in the larger locals, union officers usually keep on working in the plant with time off for union duties allowed by the employer, compensated for by the local unions.

In spite of the highly centralized character of the USA-CIO, local union officers bear a large portion of responsibility for the character of labor-management relations. It is they who are called upon to interpret the contract on the scene where its provisions apply and to settle differences over interpretation with management. Further, it is they who are expected to prevent wildcat strikes—a duty involving many ticklish problems. They must know how to deal wisely not only with management but with their own men.

The attitudes of local and district union officers are as various as the men. Some are apt to display still smoldering resentments against management. Others maintain that this is no time to bring up the past. A clear-eyed, forthright machinist, president of a Lawrenceville local, tells of how his employers came down to the picket line during the 1937 strike with large numbers of strikebreakers armed with clubs and rocks.

"We gave 'em a battle then," he

says, "but why bring that up now? We're getting along okay these days—though the company's crying about not making any money."

Another president of a much larger local in Pittsburgh's Southside is less philosophical: "They're no good," he says of management. This man, however, is intensely interested in keeping down wildcat strikes, and proudly points to the plant record of only three minor unauthorized walkouts in the two years since he has been in office.

To help in the development of responsible local leadership the International is launching a large scale program of workers education designed to reach union members in every part of the country. Begun last summer on an experimental scale with four one-week institutes at Penn State College and one at Antioch College, the plan will be extended next summer to ten strategically located universities.

Nearly five hundred steelworkers attended the five 1946 institutes, hearing lectures and taking part in discussions on such subjects as: collective bargaining; measuring the worker's performance; labor economics; the labor union in the community; conducting the union meeting.

The union's public relations staff is also planning a manual for local union officers. Eager to make the manual useful as a guide in dealing with management, the staff has arranged with the University of Chicago to test it as teaching material in a series of classes for steelworkers, revising it to fit the problems brought up by the men.

How Grievances Are Handled

Union officials are practically unanimous in maintaining that a sense of security in his job is the union's greatest contribution to the steelworker. The most important factor here is the grievance machinery, which gives the worker the chance to protest unfair treatment without endangering his job.

The machinery is alike in all contracts, except for the choice of arbitrators at the final step. The first step, where, according to both management and union spokesmen, 90 percent of the grievances are settled, is the discussion between the union grievance committeeman or shop steward, and the foreman—with the aggrieved worker present or not, as he chooses.

If the complainant is not satisfied, he may demand the second step, a



A steelworkers' grievance committee thrashes out the question: Is this a sound case to take up under the union contract? United Steelworkers of America

meeting between the grievance committeeman and the superintendent of the department or his representative.

The third step involves presentation of the grievance at the next regular meeting of the union grievance committee with the superintendent of the plant or his representative.

The fourth step takes the grievance to a meeting between a representative of the international union and a representative of the company.

The fifth step is a final decision by a mutually agreed upon arbitrator.

In the days of the first contracts the grievance machinery threatened to bog down at the fifth step because of the inability of union and management to agree upon an arbitrator. This difficulty was overcome in the 1945 Big Steel contracts with the establishment of a permanent Board of Conciliation and Arbitration to settle all last step grievances arising in the corporation's five subsidiaries. The board has three members: an industry representative, Walter Kelly, paid by the corporation; a union representative, Eugene Maurice, paid by the union; a neutral chairman, Dr. Herbert Blumer, a former university professor, whose salary is paid jointly by the corporation and union.

The board only considers grievances involving interpretation of the current contract. It is not used to settle disputes arising in the course of negotiating new contracts. However, its decisions on cases under its jurisdiction are final and are so accepted by both management and the union.

Of 56 decisions reached from September 1945 through July 1946, all but 3 were achieved without dissent on the part of any one of the three members. Sixteen grievances were upheld in some measure and 40 denied. Of the total, 21 involved wage rates; 5, discharges or suspensions; 15, job assignments, transfers, or seniority rights in promotions; 6, size of work crews. The 3 dissents, written by the union member, involved two discharges for work stoppage and one change in incentive wage rate.

Similar arbitration boards have been set up jointly by the managements of other large corporations and the union. To settle disputes in smaller companies with no permanent boards, management and union officials frequently use the services of the American Arbitration Association.

Besides bolstering the individual's sense of job security, the United Steel-

workers of America has won for its members definite economic and social gains. How much last year's 18½ cent wage increase amounted to, in view of subsequent rises in living costs, is a subject calling for more technical economic analysis than can be developed here. However, the relationship between other union achievements and improved standards of living among steelworkers are clearer: the forty-hour week with time and a half for overtime and for work on holidays; a minimum daily wage guarantee; vacations with pay; the reclassification of job titles to wipe out intra-plant wage inequities; the consideration of seniority in promotions and layoffs.

Though many of these goals were finally won only through the aid of National War Labor Board directives, they are a part of all union contracts in the steel industry today because the union originally raised the issues involved. A few isolated contracts represent further gains—for instance, the recently signed agreement with the Electro Metallurgical Company of Sheffield, Ala., eliminating the customary southern wage differential.

The New Contracts

The union is now asking that renewed contracts include: a "substantial" wage increase; a guaranteed annual wage; portal-to-portal pay; a company financed, union-company administered welfare fund; recognition of seniority as the determining factor in promotions, layoffs and reinstatements; severance allowances for permanently displaced employees; time and a half for Saturday work and double time for Sundays and holidays, with straight time for holidays not worked.

At this date the union has not announced its definition of the word "substantial" in terms of dollars and cents. What the amount of the requested increase will be, probably depends on how many other goals are achieved and at what cost to the industry.

The steelworkers' leaders shrug at management's insistence that a guaranteed annual wage is an impossibility in an industry in which production is based largely on customers' specifications and seasonal orders, and where the tremendous size and weight of the products makes storage impractical. "Management can find a way if it has to," comment the union-

ists, remembering when steelworkers worked twelve hours a day, for seven days a week because an eight-hour day was "an impossibility in the steel industry." The more thoughtful among them, however, offer some constructive suggestions.

Proposed Changes

Clinton Golden, retired international vice-president and now staff consultant, points out that among the industry's largest customers are some, such as the railroads, whose annual steel needs are fairly predictable and bear no relation to the seasons. Mr. Golden suggests that the steel companies could offer price inducements for nonseasonal industries to place orders in slack periods, thus spreading production schedules more evenly throughout the year.

Whether or not union leaders expect to collect all of the hundreds of millions of dollars they have asked for steelworkers in back pay portal-to-portal suits, they are determined to see written into future contracts a guarantee that a man's pay begins the moment he enters the gates of the mill. In basic steel some mills are two or three miles long, and though there may be several gates, distances from gate to job are often considerable.

The welfare fund is one request concerning which some USA-CIO leaders have mental reservations. Their doubts arise not from any question of its benefits—medical care, hospitalization, sickness insurance, retirement pensions—but from a belief long expressed in official CIO pronouncements that such benefits should accrue to the whole American population through an improved government social security plan. Will the winning of a private social insurance program for their own group at the expense of the steel industry have a deterrent effect upon expansion of the federal social security program? Some union leaders who are bothered by this question justify the inclusion of the fund in this year's demands by the fact that steelworkers, dependent for their livelihood upon an erratic industry, cannot wait for the slow process of arousing public opinion to bring them the protection of a comprehensive social insurance system.

How great an advantage the Negro steelworker has gained from unionization is difficult to determine. The USA-CIO has followed the CIO's

(Continued on page 219)

Shakespeare's Heavy Rivals

Book-centered classrooms are failing in their competition with today's real educators—radio, movies, tabloids. Can we rescue our schools?

GEORGE H. HENRY

FOR THE FIRST TIME IN AMERICAN public school history, educators, probably always in the past a little optimistic over schooling, are now anxious and alarmed. They are skeptically re-examining the very foundation of public education, openly acknowledging that our colossal public school system is playing but a minor role in the education of our youth. Teachers everywhere exclaim: "I can no longer cope with the forces arrayed against me. I feel helpless."

It is not so much a question of what is happening inside the schools as of what is happening *outside* them. The public schools are growing increasingly impotent as they become bigger and even better. In our day, schooling and education are becoming two very distinct things.

In the most paradoxical situation in the whole history of education, our schools must meet head-on a vast, well-marshalled counterattack that is something different from what we used to call roughly "the outside-world," or, traditionally, "the school of hard knocks." Even back in ancient Greece the teacher recognized the existence of a strong, outside foe—the market place—which, however, he respected as a majestic enemy. He knew the market place gave a reality to a youth's development that formal schooling could not hope to provide. He welcomed it; the great teacher aggressively sought the crowded porticos, teaching in the thick of trade. As to our own country, up to the advent of the automobile, James Truslow Adams shows how the cracker barrel of the country store was an educative device supplementary to the little red schoolhouse, not competing with the schools, but rather adding to a person's general education.

The Counterattack

But the *laissez faire* give-and-take of ideas in the market place and the bull sessions at the country store are not the same as the present day combination of movies, radio, and press. These new out-of-school channels of education are not so much the old

—By the Superintendent of the Dover, Del., Special School District, who has been for eighteen years the principal of the high school in that city. He also teaches English, and contributes articles to both professional and general magazines.

Mr. Henry writes us, "In my spare time, I collect original paintings, study the piano, and write poetry, all of which I find more helpful in administering a school than courses taken at a teachers' college. School work in a small city is a round-the-clock affair."

time "school of life" as they are another interpretation of life; not so much supplementary to our schools as contradictory; not so much adding reality as establishing a different reality; not so much an objective evaluation of life as a deliberate creation of a counter set of values.

To find out how teachers inside the schools are feeling about this competition is one way to learn the nature of these outside forces that are in every sense of the word a "school"—a rival to the public schools—not only borrowing, often, all the schools' pedagogical methods but also, because of greater concentration and more ruthlessness, impairing or perverting these methods. While we citizens heap upon the schools more and more responsibilities,



Drawings by Luke Gwilliam

"... they are as sick that surfeit with too much as they that starve with nothing"

these other agencies of education grow more irresponsible in their debasement of taste, their materialism, their false values.

As the personnel of the teaching profession declines and schools are staffed with substandard teachers, these outside agencies procure high-priced, talented men—scenario writers, blurbists, advertising writers, script men, news analysts, feature writers, headline makers, comic strip artists—who are not under the same restraints as teachers and need not be as disciplined by truth, logic, and integrity. Real education is slow, years in its getting; these Machiavellian schools never let it grow, subtly uprooting it before true values are assimilated beyond destruction. The shabby, thumb-tacked walls of the schools and the inadequate equipment of many teachers are pitted against spectacle, show, sensation, money.

Youth's Choices

The "big four" activities of American youth, according to Witty and Kopel, reading specialists, include "listening to the radio, going to the movies, riding in an automobile, and watching athletic sports." Where is reading, the central school activity, the one justification of any school's existence? The *Wilson Bulletin for Librarians* answers the question for us, complaining that these activities "have captured the child's world—so that he has little time and less patience left for the printed word." Thus, while the schools, inside, have availed themselves of the vast new discoveries of science in teaching youth to read, on the outside youth does not read, and will not read with any degree of effort or critical sense, because he is diverted by another specialized environment that knows every psychological appeal. Our pupils are held captive, and schools, once thought of as liberating influences, cannot cut the bonds.

Let's dig our fingers into some of these knots that our schools cannot loosen. *Parents' Magazine* estimates that there are 125 different comic books on the market, selling 15,000,000 copies



"I know a bank where the wild thyme blows"

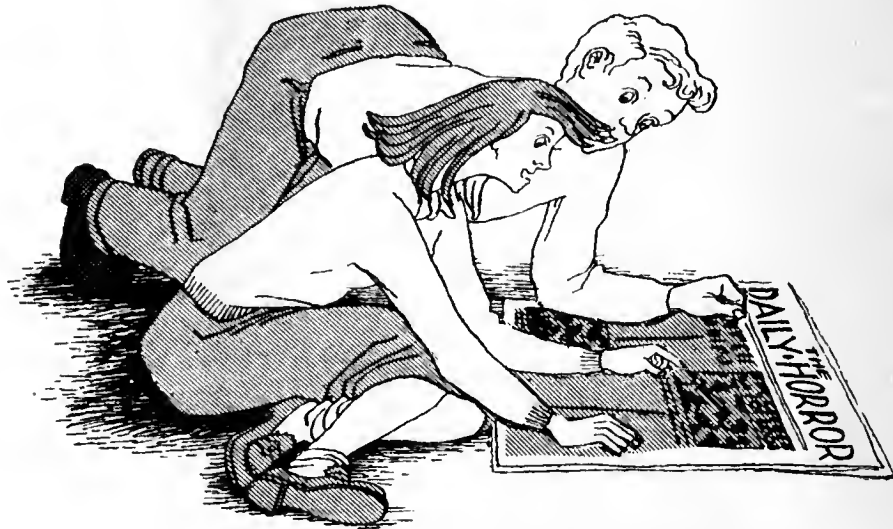
monthly, 180,000,000 copies a year. "One study of grade pupils," reports the *Church School Guide*, "revealed that during one week these pupils had read an average of thirty-four of these magazines. Of this group 35 percent read nothing but comics. Daily doses of superman horror and crime are not conducive to a balanced view of life."

A mother writing in *The Brearley School Bulletin* described her eight-year-old-son's uncouth language and gestures, and commented, "I found this all very baffling until it occurred to me that people in the comics communicate with one another that way. These are their gestures, their expressions. . . . My boy talks this way and so do his friends." Even as the elementary schools try to build up social values through reading, the picture books painlessly set the ideals for our children. Reading requires effort; mere looking entices the child.

One morning while coming into the city on the train, I observed a nine-year-old in the seat back of me. The great billboards, high in the sky and stretching across a whole building, enthralled him and he would spell all the hard names aloud, breathlessly, "R-u-p-p-e-r-t—Ruppert beer!" "No, Roopert," his mother corrected. "Dixie" cups came with relief, but he stumbled and stammered over Mueller's macaroni. A ride on the train—

but what delightful things he missed because these big-eyed cyclops stared him down and filled him with themselves, out of all proportion to their true worth. For growing youth, such advertising is authenticating a world that in a few years he takes for granted, like sun and flowers: business materialism becomes *natural*.

Every week 90,000,000 people attend the movies. Edgar Dale, of Ohio State University, distinguished in the field of visual education, comparing texts with movies, writes, "Much of what is read is forgotten because each event is so tersely and textually presented



" . . . and some have greatness thrust upon them"

that it is a notable memory feat to remember it. The motion picture can recreate, it can animate the inanimate—can build indelible impressions." He adds, in the *Bulletin of the AAUW*, "I suggest that we quit kidding ourselves that Hollywood is going to do something for us."

Joseph M. Tewinkel, assistant superintendent of schools in Spokane, Wash., laments: "After a third of a century, visual education still plays a relatively insignificant part in today's instruction. Why? Plain bullheadedness on the part of America's commercial organizations. The wrong people are making the school films. Victims, the [school] children."

Well, the movies are certainly playing a significant part *outside* school. Hollywood spends more money on one luscious stage set to enhance a materialistic or shallow view of life than the schools of America spend on new educational films for a whole year. Even if schools had the money there is not enough visual material to buy for school use. For millions of young people, morals, behavior patterns and attitudes toward life are being made in Hollywood, not in our schools.

In 1944, the sociologist Gerhart Saenger "discovered after careful scientific inquiry" that the slanting of news by tabloids and yellow journalism "has left its mark on the opinion of its readers, who frequently repeat the very arguments quoted in their pages." The classroom, as it is now set up, is helpless before this sort of thing; never before has it met such a powerful counterforce. To read between the lines in order to detect propaganda requires critical reading

of a high order, an informed background, and a well-trained mind, all of which are too much to expect of the average adolescent. No high school classroom in America knows how to cope with this rip-tide of propaganda and counter propaganda.

Islanded Schools

Two distinguished authorities, Woelfel and Tyler, writing in *Radio and the School* regret "that radio is still a stepchild of education"—meaning our nation's schools. Here, again, schools are at a loss. They can get very few good programs during school hours and they have as yet no techniques to guide youth in out-of-school listening to the little that is good. Yet they are aware that the soap operas and the thrillers are influencing youth much more profoundly than is classroom Shakespeare.

The managing editor of *School Activities*, C. R. Van Nice, succinctly states who is winning this whole phenomenal tug of war between our public schools and these often interlocking private-interest "schools": "Business is doing our teaching." While the educators are told to stick to the 3 R's, "attitudes—the all-important factor in citizenship building—are being developed by advertisers, politicians, and propagandists."

In his book, "The Social Understandings of the Superintendent of Schools," Bair sums up the situation:

The schools are an island amid a tossing sea of other "educational"—informative or deformative—forces, all serving, more or less tastelessly, the God of the Machine: radio, press, movies, steam-roller organizations without number, predatory, subtle, penetrating, and from the standpoint of any decent education, often vulgar and disintegrating.

Naturally these outside schools are not all bad—there are good radio programs, good newspapers and magazines, a few good movies. But the important aspect of the tug of war is this: the failure of our schools (public and private) is not due to the present worsening of the schools themselves but to the fact that the task of education, under present conditions, is well-nigh insuperable. No criticism of public education is just or valid unless these other extraschool forces are considered part of the total educational pattern. Our schools have not only ignorance, illiteracy, and superstition to combat, but a new, deliberate, self-

seeking foe well versed in the strategy of using ideas as weapons. And all this in a time of confusion, when the schools are handed more services to perform than ever before, including a program of recreation for the youth of the community.

No educational controversy, whether it be over the great books, the place of vocational education, or the democratization of the colleges, can approach this problem in importance. The inner life of the school is at stake. Along with mastery of the basic tools, good citizenship is the chief goal of public education, and it is in this area that the schools are meeting more than their match. In our two types of "schools," continental in scope, irreconcilable in basic intent, we have the private-interest agencies working on the assumption that citizens exist for the continuance of their special product, and the public schools which must think of any industry as only one of the many bases for the life of a people.

This public school ideal does not in any way conflict with American democratic-capitalism. It does not challenge the nature of our economy. In fact, to attempt to solve this whole problem on a totalitarian basis—left or right—is never to solve it at all, but only to wipe out our whole scheme of education. This ideal gives the right to a newspaper to be anti-labor or anti-capital, to a radio program to plug or to damn free enterprise in its monopolistic forms, the movies, to do business with a Franco or a Stalin. In short, this ideal can

absorb the private-profit doctrine yet oppose any form of self-interest.

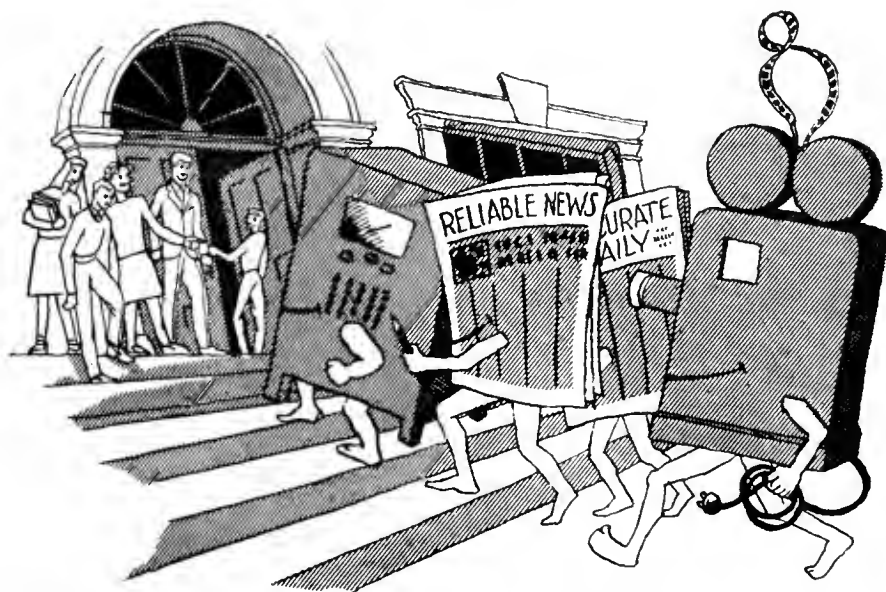
For no economy can long exist on moral chaos—on these special appeals that titillate desire, create "needs," and exploit emotion; that do not differentiate between limelight, money, and success, and trade on vanity, envy, weakness, greed, prejudice, and tensions. It is the sacred duty of the public schools to try to point out the virtue of restraint, to select what human beings *ought* to want. Yet in respect to this ideal our public schools are becoming a minor part of education in America, breach-riddled bulwarks of democracy, and teachers themselves, mimes without an audience.

Three Proposals

What can be done? Only experimental, tentative beginnings can be made. The schools are, to put it candidly, unprepared; but at least they now see the problem. The public generally is not yet aware of the defeat of their schools, which is rapidly becoming a rout. Here are three ways to meet the situation.

Instead of insisting on better methods or a return to this or that, we citizens and taxpayers could get more for our money, educationally, by aiding the classroom more directly—that is, by taking a few practical steps outside our schools to reform these extramural "schools" that harass and hamper the classroom. That action does not mean repressive legislation or censorship, for this recourse to force is contagious and can be used as well against the schools, which need above all else the

(Continued on page 217)



"... creeping like snail unwillingly to school"

Left Goes Right in France

A report from France—clarifying new line-ups, showing progress to date in the brave fight against the disorganization and wreckage of war and occupation.

MALCOLM W. DAVIS

"RATHER HITLER THAN BLUM" WAS the slogan of reactionaries in France who before World War II formed the right wing of the Third Republic. Yet after the war, with Hitler gone, responsibility for moving to the right fell on Léon Blum—a man of the left wing. He took the first positive steps towards checking price inflation, cutting governmental expenses, dismissing large numbers of officials, balancing the budget, and defending the currency.

This frail, slight but wiry intellectual—seventy-four-year-old survivor of Nazi imprisonment—had to take the premiership in a trying period of transition. France had been living under provisional government through a Constituent Assembly, but without a Constitution accepted by the people. Then with a new Constitution for the Fourth Republic duly ratified, it was Blum's part to carry on until an elected Parliament met in January.

Moreover, he had to face the emergency with a Cabinet drawn from the Socialist party minority which he leads—reduced in strength even more than before by the last elections. This came about because in maneuvers for a national coalition the Communists wanted the Ministry of National Defence. This the Popular Republicans vehemently opposed. While neither of these two stronger parties would concede power to the other, each was willing to accept provisionally a Socialist administration.

The Radical as Conservator

So it came about that the former head of the Popular Front coalition, brought together in 1936 from left wing groups (to the horror of conservatives at the time), had to undertake ten years later an essentially conservative task in the battered France liberated from Hitler's grip. Blum's first move, just after postal and telegraph and transport rates had been raised, was for a five percent cut in prices all along the line. This campaign to create a "state of mind for lower costs"—although it met

—By an American long and intimately acquainted with France, who returned in January after some weeks in Paris. Acting director of the Division of Intercourse and Education of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Mr. Davis has also served since 1935 as director of that foundation's European Center.

Mr. Davis was formerly foreign editor of the *New York Evening Post* and editor of *Our World*.

Survey Graphic readers will recall his article, "France Shakes Herself," published last April.

criticism from some Communists and trade unionists who favored instead a drive for higher wages—caught the imagination of the French people and rallied widespread support.

"To understand what is going on, you have to realize that the terms left and right no longer mean what they did." An old acquaintance was speaking, a professor of history in the University of Paris and a counselor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. On an exceptionally cold afternoon, last December, he was sitting in my office in the Carnegie Endowment building on the Boulevard St.-Germain. Just twelve months before, we had sat in our overcoats in this same room talking over conditions in France—and prospects. This time, although it was freezing outside, he had been able to lay aside his wraps because there was a little coal and the place was tolerably warm. That in itself was a bit of evidence that things were better in December 1946 than in the winter of 1945.

Let me sketch the new right and left, as this informed Frenchman defined and described them for me:

What used to be called the right, has been almost liquidated. It was composed of people who wanted what is meant by strong government. Not many of them were monarchists—those were the negligible survivors of the far past—but many of them were authoritarians who aimed at arbitrary administration. They were impatient of democratic debate and conflicting

views, and intolerant of the republican system. They believed in decisions by a few individuals, presumed to be qualified to determine what to do, and in compliance by the people as a whole.

What used to be called the left was made up of people who preferred the Republic and were its supporters—whether they were Socialists, or the so-called Radical Socialists whose principles really amounted to progressive liberalism, or even more moderate groups maintaining the ideas of free democracy. The principle that tied these factions together in a kind of loose and changing association, despite their differences in party programs, was the liberty of the individual and the defense of personal rights. They were agreed as to the worth of the people, whom they placed before power or property.

Several factors led to the liquidation of the prewar right wing: the feeling that industrial and military reactionaries misled opinion and opposed the prosecution of the war; the experience of Nazi occupation; and the spectacle of Vichy where the government called itself the French State—*l'Etat Francais*—not the French Republic. No one who favored the regime at Vichy or who cooperated with the Germans voluntarily has a place now in political responsibility. This means that the people who used to work in parliament and the ministries for government by authority are out of the picture.

The Alignment Today

The *new right* is composed of groups that used to form the center, the middle-of-the-road parties, conservatives and moderate liberals and Radical Socialists.

The *new center* is composed of the Popular Republicans and the combination known as the Assembly of the Left—the *Rassemblement des Gauches*. The Socialists who follow Blum are a little to the left of the center. However, like the rest of the parties in the center and to the right, they are committed to the ideas of indi-

vidual liberty and the principles of the Republic. So, in effect, the old left has become the large majority of the nation.

The *new left* is made up of the Communists and some Socialists. This group was relatively weak before the war, but from the fight against the Nazis in the underground resistance movement the Communists have emerged as numerically the strongest party, with a little under 30 percent of the parliamentary seats. Officially, they support the Republic. But what kind of republic it would be if they alone held power is at least a question. Doubtless a republic reorganized and regulated by their party. Consequently, it is important to keep in mind that even the Communists and the Socialists, taken together, no longer make a majority in Parliament. That was the big change in the elections of last year.

That is a point which, my informant felt, most Americans do not grasp. The American impression, he observed, seems to be that the Communists gained a commanding position.

But that impression is mistaken. In fact, the election results amounted to a Communist reverse. Earlier, in the first Constituent Assembly chosen to draw up a Constitution for the Fourth Republic, the Communists had the largest representation, and together with the Socialists held a majority. The two might have formed a government. Yet the margin was narrow and the risk was not taken. Instead, there was the triple coalition with the Popular Republicans, which moderated the draft constitution that was advanced. But even this failed to get sufficient support from the people, chiefly because it left the office of president with too little influence and opened the prospect of a one-chamber parliament that might pave the way for a government dominated by one party.

Another Constituent Assembly had to be elected. In this, the Popular Republicans won the strongest position, with the Communists taking second place and the Socialists third. The triple coalition carried on.

The Constitution produced by this second effort somewhat reinforced the presidency and provided for a two-chamber parliament. It left the Chamber of Deputies as the more important legislative house but added a Council of the Republic, replacing

the old Senate. This assured a consultative check on the actions of the lower house, and also a form of representation for the different interests and professions in the Republic.

After approval of this Constitution by a sufficient though small popular majority (numbers of people did not vote), elections for the new Parliament were held in considerable confusion. The balloting rules were complicated. Also, General de Gaulle criticized the Constitution as leaving the presidency still too weak, and advised against supporting the parties that favored it. An independent Gaullist movement had been started. Many of his followers felt uncertain what to do. The outcome was that considerable numbers of men and women stayed away from the polling booths.

A proportional representation system was used, and the calculations after the elections brought the Communists out strongest. The Popular

Republicans were a close second, and the Socialists a weakened third. Probably an extreme faction of the left Socialists had thrown their votes to the Communists, and this partly explained a result which did not really mean that much opinion had shifted.

The significant thing was that taken together the Communists and Socialists had lost a majority in Parliament. Moreover, many Socialists, from their experience and loss of strength during the year, shifted toward the center.

"All these influences," my friend summed it up, "together with the competition between the Communists and the Popular Republicans, brought the Socialists into the role of mediators under the guidance of Blum."

Today, as the man behind Ramadier, the new Socialist Premier, who heads a chiefly Socialist coalition Cabinet, Blum remains a vital driving force in the reestablishment of France.



Photos from French Press & Information Service
Interested voters line up for admission to the Chamber of Deputies



In a northern textile factory. During the war deprived of pure wool and silk, France has developed substitute materials

Significantly, he has not accepted the post offered to him as a Minister of State in the government. His age and need of rest were given as the reason. But from what I heard in talks in Paris in January with Frenchmen who were working closely with him, he was not really as tired as he was reported to be.

What Blum Accomplished

Even in the last days of his short and trying premiership, he had the strength to go to London and carry through the conversations with the British cabinet chiefs which led to a military and trade understanding between the United Kingdom and France. He left office with this achievement to his credit, alongside

the reversal of price inflation that checked the costs of living, and plans for a further cut in prices by the end of February. He remains as an adviser, but free of present responsibility for policies and their outcome. In effect, he offsets de Gaulle, as a leader who might head a government in a future emergency.

"You see, Blum's timing has been good—or fortunate," said a young economist who was among his consultants before his decision to call for a five percent lowering of prices.

We were sitting at lunch in a quiet little restaurant down the rue des Saints Peres on the "Left Bank," on the late January day that I was to fly back to New York. He was a man who had headed a section in

the underground, lived for months with one set of false papers after another, arranged to blow up bridges and burn factories and to smuggle people across frontiers. He was now heading a section in the Ministry of National Economy concerned with reconstruction of the things that he had had to conspire to destroy in fighting the Nazis.

"What do you mean when you say that Blum's timing has been good?" I asked him.

"First of all, psychologically. People were getting to feel desperate. Prices kept going up, taking away every gain in profits or salaries or wages that anyone except a black marketeer could make. No one could see where it would end. So they were



With France's famous vineyards restored, grapes are available for wine which can be laid away for marketing and export

ready to respond to any move that called a halt.

"Even if his was only a small price cut, it was at least a step in the right direction—not another increase. People felt and said that at last something was being attempted. It stopped the tendency to go on raising costs indefinitely. And it did so, not by decree, but by putting it up to producers to act voluntarily. Politically, too, it presented to all the parties first the issue of steadying prices and then of moving them progressively down. They can't get away from that, and it implies the other things that Blum initiated—economy in government, reducing the staffs of public officials, balancing the budget, building confidence in the currency.

Still, there is more than that in the timing."

"What else do you mean?"

"Well, after we had advised Blum to take the risk of proposing a price cut, we began calculating how it might be expected to work. We compared our figures for gradually improved production with the charges for commodities that were current because of shortages and speculation in supplies. What we found on that basis was that many actual prices had gone beyond what economists call theoretical prices — that is, beyond prices that would represent actual production and potential power to purchase. If our calculations are correct, then Blum's lead came when there was a practical possibility of pushing

prices down, and that, the economist knows, should have the effect of bringing hoarded goods into the market."

"That is something of a surprise," I countered, "after all that we have heard about slow and slight recovery."

My friend replied:

Things may be better than you have heard, though that does not mean that there are not still great handicaps to overcome. Agriculture has regained a lot of ground. The trouble is that the farmers have been hoarding their produce rather than sell to the towns. They have been uncertain about politics and about payments in paper money which might again be devalued. However, the fields have been de-mined and the soil has been recultivated. Orchards and

vineyards have been restored. Herds of cattle and sheep, and stocks of poultry and hogs have been largely reestablished.

Harvests in 1945 were less than two thirds of the harvests for 1938, but only a year later some of the crops amounted to over four fifths of the prewar level. Still, grain is being held. Grapes are being made into wine that can be laid away for later marketing, particularly for export. Milk is being turned into cheeses that can be stored. Calves and lambs are not being slaughtered, but preserved to increase the herds. Wool is being sheared and put aside. Except for immediate needs, you see, the farmers prefer to build up real wealth until times are more certain. There is a lot of this sort of thing, enough to contribute to a rapid recovery once the machinery of the Fourth Republic gains momentum.

The Brightening Outlook

He gave me figures to back up his feeling about the improving prospects along many lines. In 1944, industrial output had been slight. By 1945, it was back to about one third of the 1938 level. By 1946, it had risen on an average to nearly four fifths, better in some branches, not so good in others. As to basic equipment, most bridges, harbors, main roads, railway tracks, and waterways have been restored. Bridges have been particularly vital work; and by the turn of the year 1,230 had been permanently repaired, 1,260 temporarily repaired, and only 113 remained to rebuild. Quite an achievement, in a country short of materials!

Rolling stock—locomotives and cars for railways, buses and trucks for roads—is in worse shape, but part of the railway equipment seized by the Germans has been recovered. Meanwhile, locomotives and cars have been repaired and some new ones built, and the manufacture of motor vehicles resumed. This means that the situation has been partly remedied and services on main railways and roads restored. On tools and machines for industry, repairs and maintenance have been advanced, but lack of materials remains a great difficulty. Factory inventories have been reestablished only in part. New investments are negligible.

In key sectors of economic life, the fuel supply is improving. This winter, coal production is above prewar levels, but coal formerly imported from the Saar and the Ruhr is lacking and coal and oil shipped from

America are helping—at a high price—to make good the lack. In transport, although the shortage of locomotives and cars slows progress, the records of car loadings show a rise from one fifth of prewar levels in January 1945, to four fifths of those levels in September 1946.

In manpower there are still major shortages despite the use of war prisoners and the return of workers deported by the Nazis. Nonetheless, the numbers have risen from a low point two years ago to about two thirds of the level prevailing before the war.

Arrangements for imports continue to be difficult, because of limited holdings in foreign exchange currencies and diminished production in many countries. About half of the imports have been coming from the United States. These doubled in 1946 to around \$440,000,000. Exports, on the other hand, grew from all but nothing at the start of 1945 to some two fifths of their prewar volume by the latter part of 1946. Basic recovery is thus underway.

The Grim Past

Almost casually, my friend's wife, who had been with him throughout his secret underground work in the occupation period, gave me an insight into what they had survived and what life had been like. She said:

I never began to breathe easily any day until I could see him coming along the road on his bicycle in the late afternoon. We lived outside a town, and of course a bicycle was the only way of getting there and back. I always had to wonder whether he might have been caught and put in prison. That befell one of our friends who went through six weeks of interrogation and torture before he died—without betraying a name or revealing a secret. So, as each afternoon wore on, I watched the road.

There came a day when he had not come home at the usual hour. Time went by. The light was fading and I could not make out any figure pedaling towards the house. Frantic, I set out for town. That was between three and four miles away—and alternately I walked as fast as I could and ran as much as I could.

When I reached his office, it was closed. All the superintendent of the building knew was that he had left. I went to the homes of two old friends. They had heard nothing of my husband. Finally I went to the apartment of others with whom he was in touch through the underground. Ordinarily I would have avoided going to see them

so as not to risk being followed there.

But I was desperate and began to ask about him as their door opened. Then I saw him sitting in their living room, along with some colleagues in the resistance movement. They were sharing a bottle of champagne in celebration of some success in their underground work. This their host had kept hidden for just such an occasion and they hailed me hilariously, urging me to join them.

The shock—and relief—were too much. Suddenly I was furious, to see him sitting there jubilant, when I had been wild with anxiety. Of course there was no way for him to telephone. But he could have come home—and to the amazement of all concerned, including myself, I found myself scolding him roundly. Then I stormed out, went to a corner restaurant and drank a pot of herb tea all alone.

It's something to laugh over now but it wasn't funny then.

Her husband shook his head, half smiling, half rueful. "No, it wasn't funny then."

Living is not fun in France, although the French make light of its limitations. Clothing and shoes are hard to get. Prices in markets and restaurants are up to eight or ten times what they were before the war, depending on the kind of commodity. Comparing this increase with what has happened to incomes, my informants estimated that organized trade unionists are averaging five to six times as much in money wages as they earned before the war; civil servants and office workers, perhaps four to five times their prewar salaries; teachers and other professional workers, three to four times. Clearly, food and material speculators have been doing well in paper profits, while the brain workers of the country are the least favored group.

The Outstanding Needs

"Our imperative need," said an eminent economist, formerly an official of the Bank of France, now director of a research institute, "is to decrease the expenses of government, stop the rise in prices and money inflation, and begin to build a confidence in the franc that will get goods into the market."

"There are the makings of material recovery," he went on. "At the same time that gold reserves are at a point so low it is almost without precedent, there is hoarding of gold and foreign

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Time for a Positive Morality

A psychiatrist shows how the lack of a creative moral goal contributes to our shocking crime record, weakens the whole fabric of Western culture.

HENRY A. MURRAY, M.D.

THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION for several years has been calling our attention to the fact that more serious crime occurs in late adolescence than in any other age range. Recently the annual peak has varied between nineteen and seventeen. A period of less serious delinquency, it is well known, generally precedes the arrests upon which these official figures are based. The youthfulness of today's criminals, I submit, is not a fact by itself. It is of one piece with a multitude of other facts, which indicate weaknesses and rents in the moral fabric of our culture, in the integrity of the Western world.

There is one determinant of delinquency which has not been revealed through research nor, I venture to predict, will it be shown by statistical comparisons of delinquents and non-delinquents. It probably will not be demonstrated for two reasons.

First, this determinant is a deficiency of something which is intangible and hard to estimate—in contrast to say, poverty, which is a deficiency of something tangible and easy to estimate.

Second, this intangible something is probably deficient in the histories of law-abiding youths as well as in the histories of delinquents. Consequently, even if the degree of this particular deficiency could be measured, a comparison of the two groups would reveal no marked difference between them and therefore no evidence of the operation of this factor.

A Vital Lack

This situation is somewhat analogous to a "goitre area," where the incidence of thyroid disease is high because of the lack of a certain factor, iodine, in the drinking water. Although the drinking water of almost everyone in that area is deficient in iodine, not everyone suffers from thyroid disease. To explain why some members of the population have symptoms and others have none, one refers to differences in susceptibility. But to account for the prevalence of the disease, one points to a common factor,

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During the war he was a Lieutenant Colonel, M.C.A.U.S., serving with the Office of Strategic Services.

the lack of a certain element necessary to the best health.

The factor that is lacking in our society today, as I see it, is a positive ideal of moral development, widely shared, well defined, and inviting. We are suffering, I submit, from a deficiency disease, a deficiency which largely accounts for the fact that, although here in the United States we have the highest standard of living in the world, with schools, colleges, social welfare and law enforcement agencies second to none, our crime rates are the worst on record.

One fundamental rule of behavior is this: Define your aim. This is true for both individual and collective endeavors. If we, as a community, or as a nation, want to achieve a goal, we must come to some common understanding as to the precise nature of that goal. Not until it has been defined can we decide on coordinated and effective methods of attaining it.

This principle is applied in business, politics, law, medicine, science, but not in moral education. We do not seem to have any widely shared, well defined, positive ideal to aim at. Many of us have a negative idea of goodness: a "good" boy is simply a boy who does no wrong; or, if not this, our concept of goodness is likely to be extremely vague. In most cases the images of virtue received by the child are not at all appealing.

A "good" boy often means a namby-pamby sort of fellow, tied to his mother's apron strings. There is no exhilaration, no adventure in the picture. Or our ideal is that of mere respectability, too low an aim to offer a challenge to the child.

Further, the ideals of one family are

likely to differ from those of another, creating a clash of values when the children get together outside the jurisdiction of their parents. This clash leads to inner conflicts, most of which are solved by the triumph of the lower value. The girl comes home and says, "Why, mother *all* the girls are doing it"; and the mother, anxious to protect her daughter from the ridicule to which a variant is commonly exposed, is apt to yield. Worst of all, perhaps, are those parents who preach doctrines which they do not sincerely try to practice.

In any event, a great many boys and girls have no widely accepted ideal as model for emulation and thus no positive goal toward which to bend their efforts. Some children can get along after a fashion without a target of this kind, but others require one. Lacking an approved ideal, some of them become irresponsible, some delinquent.

How did we arrive at this condition of moral depletion? Why do we lack an exhilarating, positive ideal? Proper answers to these questions would require a book, rather than an article. I can only touch on a few points, omitting many equally significant.

The Negative Background

My first observation is that our social philosophy has had a negative orientation from the beginning. We have been able to agree on what we *don't* want, but we have not been able to agree on what we *do* want.

This negative orientation has a long and honorable lineage. New England, Pennsylvania, and other colonies were settled by dissenters and nonconformists, protestants who had rebelled against the authority of Rome or against the authority of the Church of England. Later, these colonists fought a revolutionary war to free themselves from the authority of the British Crown. Ever since then, down the generations, Freedom has been the prime American ideal—freedom *from* something. Recently we have begun to speak of freedom from want, freedom from fear.

But, it is fair to ask, after we have

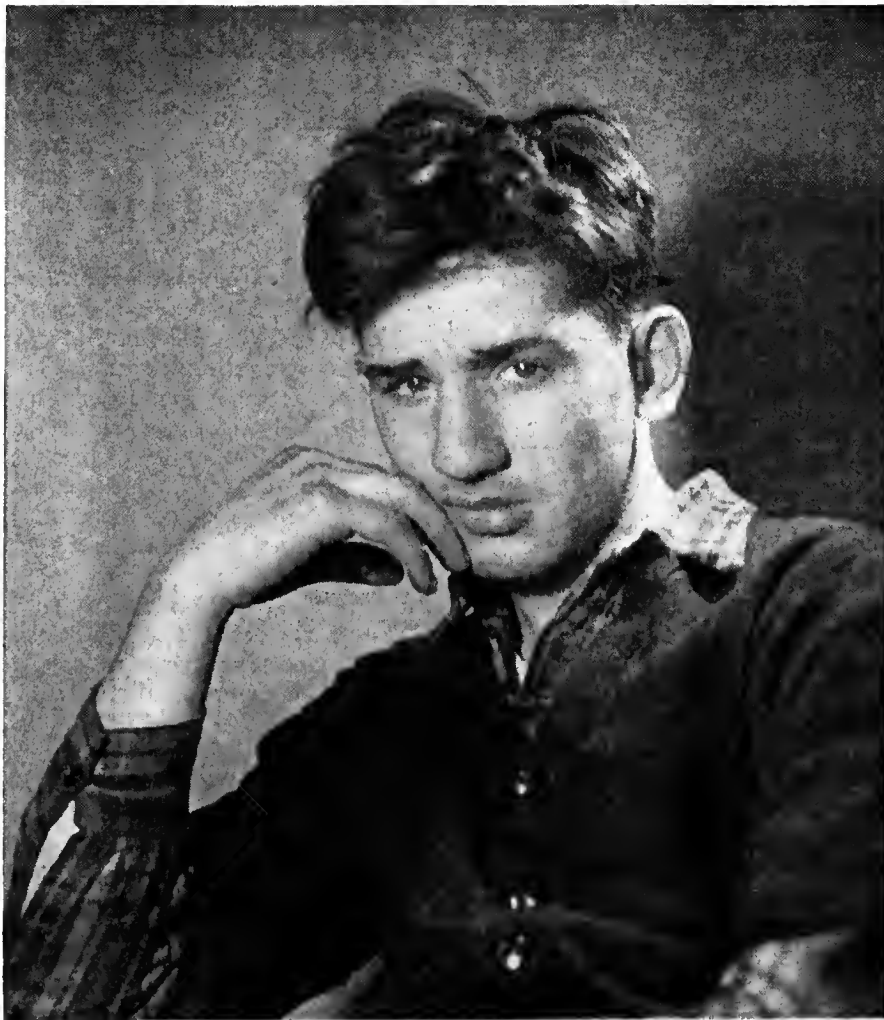


Photo by Edward Schwartz

What positive ideal do we set before today's insecure youth?

won our freedom, what are we going to do with it? That's the question: freedom *for* what? We have demonstrated that as a nation we are capable of mobilizing all our powers to destroy something, but we have not shown that we can mobilize on a comparable scale to create something—good world citizens and a good world order.

In their moral outlook many of the first settlers of America were likewise negatively oriented. Puritans of one sort or another, their chief aim was to become and remain free from sin, free from contamination, unspotted by the world. Their most energetic moral efforts were devoted to the punishment of evil, rather than to the development of virtue. The Victorian code of nineteenth century middle-class America was very similar in this respect. "Don't do that!" was repeated ten times more than "Do this." In general, our grandparents had a definite, vivid idea of vice, but only a vague and unreal ideal of moral excellence.

In its social or humanistic activity

science also has tended to be oriented negatively, to pay attention to what is wrong and disregard the rest. There have been thousands of detailed and systematic studies of physical diseases and mental ailments, but few comparably thorough studies of abundant health. There probably are as many kinds and degrees of unified and effective personalities as there are kinds and degrees of deteriorated personalities, but we know very little about them. For the most part, the studies of normal personalities which have been undertaken have not yielded important information, largely because psychiatrists are not trained today to evaluate the more positive forces of personality.

Social scientists have also made thorough studies of delinquency. Crime has been followed to its roots. But where can we turn to find scientifically acceptable accounts of moral worth? I know of none. Thus we find ourselves in the position of having a good deal of accurate information about what we *don't* want—sickness

and crime—but very little accurate information about what we *do* want—health and character. So much for our negative orientation.

Years of Indifference

The second observation I should like to make is that in the sphere of morals our negative orientation has largely disappeared, to be replaced by an attitude of indifference. Today we have no orientation at all. The change was effected after World War I by a widespread revolt against the prohibitive Puritan-Victorian code. A resurgence of the spirit of "freedom from" occurred and a wave of "debunking" brought down all our idols, every august figure of moral authority—fathers and mothers, teachers, national heroes, God Himself. A large part of our ethical edifice was smashed to rubble. If it had cleared the way for a better structure this would have been an advantage, but none of us was disposed to attempt a better structure. Because the Victorian code was defective, the very idea of morality was discredited.

In one generation some of these words I have been using—"evil," "sin," "vice," "virtue," "goodness"—disappeared from current speech. And now it is distinctly bad taste to talk or write, as I am doing, about morality. A man who mentions morality must be a pompous stuffed-shirt, an old fudduddy with a secret sense of guilt. Here is a concern that has occupied men's minds for generations, and in a few years it drops out of existence. It is seldom discussed.

The truth is that we are living in a moral vacuum. Parents have retreated; schools (though not, as far as I can see, the parochial schools) have retreated; religion has lost ground; the universities are adrift.

Once upon a time, the colleges on the Atlantic seaboard had a definite, if narrow, aim: to train men for the ministry. Later they were intent on building character. But two generations of scientific criticism, skepticism, and finally cynicism destroyed the foundations on which their assumptions rested. Among the many consequences of our indifference to moral principles I should like to mention three.

First, when the very incarnation of evil shrieked his hysterical way onto the stage of history, we Americans did not recognize him for what he was. The terrific initial success of Hitler

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Trade Disarmament

To establish a lasting peace requires more than an effort to control the weapons of war. What we all have at stake in the Geneva Conference in April.

JAMES T. SHOTWELL

BRIDGES TO THE FUTURE

—A series on vital issues before the nations of the world, by the chairman of the Committee on Atomic Energy of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

IT IS TIME TO THINK OF INTERNATIONAL relations in terms of something else than fear and the escape from fear. No one would question that planning for safety under the menace of atomic warfare should have the prior claim upon our thinking, but international policing, essential as that will be in the planning for the future, can never furnish the real foundation for the structure of a lasting peace. That must rest on something more positive than the effort to eliminate war by the control of its instruments.

The control of war either for offense or defence has always been a major part of politics. But the vital forces of history are to be found not in the building of walls around ancient cities nor in the contending armies of our times. They lie inside the city walls and in the workaday world of town and country. War can give direction to these energies or destroy them, but the vital processes are always those of peace.

A Board of Strategy

Happily, the United Nations has given recognition to these positive elements in world affairs by the creation of the Economic and Social Council, with its great galaxy of working commissions. The Security Council still retains the primacy, because of the vastly increased danger to peace in the scientific age, a danger which the scientists are increasing with every new extension of their power to control the forces of nature. But the Economic and Social Council is also a board of strategy designed to transform what otherwise would be merely a truce among nations into a world community. The dual purpose of the United Nations was expressed clearly in the Preamble to the Charter. It was founded:

to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war . . . to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights and . . . to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

In the pursuit of these aims of peacetime betterment for the peoples

of the world, the United Nations has provided nine commissions and six specialized agencies, with three more to be added. These are as follows:

Commissions: Fiscal, Population, Statistical, Human Rights, Social, Economic and Employment, Transport and Communications, Narcotic Drugs, Status of Women.

Specialized Agencies: FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization); International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; International Monetary Fund; UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization); PICAQ (Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization); ILO (International Labor Organization).

The three still to be added are WHO (World Health Organization); IRO (International Refugee Organization); and ITO.

This is an imposing list, covering most of the major social and economic activities which are of international interest. It is also a little confusing at first and perhaps even somewhat misleading, for the commissions, as integral parts of the organization of the United Nations would appear to be more important than the specialized agencies, a term which seems to imply limited activities under supervision.

International Agencies

As a matter of fact, however, the opposite is the case. Each specialized agency bears the highly important title "Organization," a technical term from the days of the League of Nations to imply a quasi-autonomous structure of its own. The one great organization in the set-up of the League of Nations was the International Labor Organization (ILO),

with its own Assembly (General Conference), Council (Governing Body) and Secretariat (the International Labor Office). While this structure was not copied in detail in each of the organizations which are now provided for under the Assembly, each has its own constitution, the product of special treaties between the member states. Indeed, the work of setting up these organizations began before the San Francisco Conference with the creation of the Food and Agriculture Organization and the Bank and Fund.

President Roosevelt's first idea about postwar international planning was that these organizations would not be closely linked with each other or with the central political body, which would be largely restricted to the prevention of war. He even cherished the thought that they should meet in different cities in different countries — for example, the Food and Agriculture Organization might have its center in the Middle West of the United States, the Bank and Fund in a financial center like New York or London, the ILO might return to Geneva, and UNESCO could have its home in Paris. One reason for thus decentralizing the international structure was the fear lest American isolationism would not accept the combination of so many organizations in what would look too much like an approach to world government.

In the light of the trend of public opinion today, it is interesting to recall this hesitancy on President Roosevelt's part for fear the United States would not accept a new and much extended League of Nations. If his judgment on American public opinion turned out to be wrong, the method he used, of proceeding by separate treaty in each case, is the only one which could possibly succeed. No general conference like that at San Francisco could build the structure of these technical bodies. The United Nations itself can and does help in their creation and support, but the only judges qualified to pass upon the constitution are the recognized leaders in each

country in the subject with which the organization deals.

This has been acknowledged in the whole series of conferences which have produced the specialized agencies, and the result is that there has been mobilized in each of them unquestioned world leadership in many fields which are still only partially provided for in the traditional scheme of government.

April 6 in Geneva

All this is by way of preface to what may be the final act in this great drama of international organization. On April 6 next, an international conference has been called to meet in Geneva for the purpose of creating the most far-reaching body still lacking in the list of specialized agencies, the International Trade Organization. Although the ITO, as it is termed for short, appears on some of the charts of the United Nations because preliminary plans for it have already been made, the outlines of its constitution, and indeed of its very existence, have yet to be finally accepted by the nations represented in the Geneva Conference.

The importance of the decisions to be taken at that conference and by the participating governments afterwards cannot be overstated. They rank along with the control of atomic energy and the peace treaties as the three outstanding issues of the day. For the Geneva conference will have before it a draft charter for increased freedom of trade which is in itself a pledge of economic nonaggression. Acceptance of this charter is the essential condition for the creation of the International Trade Organization, the purpose of which is simply to make sure that the charter will be applied and lived up to in the coming years.

The content of the charter is nothing more or less than the worldwide application and extension of the principles of the reciprocal trade agreements of Cordell Hull. Those pioneering efforts to break down the barriers to trade have here been built upon and extended so as to provide a way for putting an end to that kind of disguised economic warfare from which the world has suffered so much in these last years. Each country would pledge itself not to adopt measures which might be harmful to others without consulting them first and giving them a chance to state their case

freely and openly before the world.

For this purpose, the ITO would provide the necessary medium, not waiting for disputes to come to a head but by continuous consultation seeking the solution of common problems. In the words of Clair Wilcox, director of the Office of International Trade Policy of the Department of State, the ITO is designed to "provide the keystone of the arch of international economic cooperation. And that arch must be completed if the structure of international political cooperation is to stand."

The Beginnings

The first steps toward the creation of this charter were taken some three or four years ago under Mr. Hull's direction, by Harry Hawkins, at present representing the State Department in London. The first outline of the plan was published by the State Department in November 1945 in a pamphlet entitled "Proposals for Expansion of World Trade and Employment."

These proposals, which contain the germ of all that has subsequently developed, were considered by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations in February 1946 at its first meeting. The Council adopted a resolution calling for the international conference which is now at last to meet. It also set up a preparatory committee of eighteen countries (nineteen were invited, but Soviet Russia ignored the invitation) to draw up the draft charter for the conference itself. In September 1946, prior to the meeting of this preparatory committee in London, the State Department elaborated its proposals in the form of a "Suggested Charter." This detailed document was circulated to other governments and became the basis of the negotiations in London.

The draft charter of the London Conference follows in the main the American plan. It is, however, a much more complicated and highly technical document, which will call for clarification and translation into simple English. This will undoubtedly happen in connection with the hearings which the State Department has arranged to be held in different cities during the month of March. As Willard L. Thorp, Assistant Secretary of State, has explained, the State Department does not regard the present text as final, and the suggestions of Amer-

ican business will receive careful and sympathetic attention.

There is one chapter in the draft charter which already has been under fire in some of the quarters most favorable to the creation of the International Trade Organization. This is the section on "Restricting Business Practices."

The document has been criticized as not being sufficiently strong to prevent the development of international cartels, but it must be borne in mind the demands of American business, based upon "freedom of enterprise," are to some degree in conflict with practices which are accepted and established in European countries.

From the American standpoint it is not enough to investigate international combinations and rely upon publicity for remedial measures. Chapter Six, in which these problems are brought to a head, probably will have to be somewhat revised before it is acceptable to American business. There are undoubtedly other places in the charter which will not be satisfactory to everybody, but it must be remembered that this is an international agreement and there must be some measure of compromise, therefore, with the points of view honestly held by other nations as far advanced in the ethics of business as ourselves.

Success Is Essential

Whatever difference of opinion there may be upon this or that item in the charter, it is absolutely essential for the Geneva Conference to succeed. The world cannot stand today another disaster like the London Economic Conference of 1934. If the Geneva Conference fails to adopt the charter or if we fail to ratify it in Congress later on, not only would a deadly blow be dealt to the Bank and the Fund, but economic warfare would almost certainly follow. The chaos and disaster would this time be far worse than any the world has ever known.

On the other hand, if at the moment when the conference convenes in Geneva, the Fund and the Bank have already started their operations, it will greatly strengthen the readiness of the nations to accept and to adhere to the charter. It is for that reason that it seems to me no exaggeration to say that success in launching the International Trade Organization is next in importance to atomic disarmament and the treaties of peace.



A member of the American Legion—he was in the US army in World War I—weighs his move in a game of Japanese checkers

Between Moves

Glimpses of a Japanese American Hostel

Photographs by Walter Rosenblum

When the War Relocation Authority began to close its centers in the West, America's displaced persons of Japanese descent had to find new homes. Because of the shortage of housing, the WRA called on private organizations to help provide temporary quarters.

The largest of the hostels set up in response to this desperate need is in East Harlem, where folk and folkways of many nations and races enliven the monotony of New York's crisscross streets. Here Japanese Americans are finding inexpensive shelter and companionship.

The building—it has 48 private rooms, no dormitory or barracks—had come into the possession of the City Missionary Society, which turned it over, rent-free for two years, to the Community Church. The Community Church donated the house; the

Unitarian Service Committee put the building into good condition and has paid the operating expenses—and the two organizations have been running the project together since November 1945.

Here the grown-ups can live for as little as a dollar a day, with breakfast and dinner included. (For children up to ten the rate is fifty cents.) Those who have found regular employment pay two dollars a day, or for a room by the week, without meals, \$5.50.

The house still is filled to capacity—it will not close its doors until the need is over. Meanwhile it has become practically self-sustaining. One of its most valuable features is a placement bureau.

The hostel guests, comments one of the directors, are "polite, quiet, friendly, and confused. They don't say much. The

property owners among them have lost everything—they are starting over again at scratch. Many who are prepared for business and professional life have to do household chores; but they do not complain—they just keep trying.

"They come home after a day of job-hunting. They play games, listen to the radio, help in the kitchen—but you feel that many of them are just waiting. Fearing, too.

"Many members of the famous 442nd Battalion have come to the hostel. They come gratefully, almost silently. A Caucasian American in their position would be bitter."

The temporary shelter gives these Japanese Americans courage to face the future. Surely the nation which uprooted them owes them a good future.



A young couple with their hostel-born daughter. The box on the table is the baby's crib



Everyone pitches in and works, taking care of the rooms, helping with meals and dishes



The pleasant recreation room is a gathering place for the hostel family, and it has become a center to many Japanese Americans living elsewhere in New York. The family in the background in this photograph has dropped in for a visit



Photos from the author

Like all travelers, GI's search for trinkets for the folks back home

Americans in India

Out of army experience come clues for overseas travelers who seek enriched experience through better understanding of other peoples.

ALBERT MAYER

MANY OF US WHO SERVED IN THE American army overseas gained an education in ways we least anticipated—though it rose out of the technical and military duties we had gone in to perform. Sadder and wiser men, we have clung to the hope that we can explain our discoveries vividly enough so that they may help effect changes in what are all but standardized viewpoints at home.

For my part, I do not know of any other three years that were so broadening to me or that exploded so many preconceptions. That is why I shall try to show how things accepted as axioms in our country are many of them merely clichés that fail to stand up; and then to give some clues to the vital realities they obscure.

One of these clichés is that first the automobile and then the airplane have so shortened distance that we perforce get to know other peoples—or at least other countries—better.

Let's see what happens in actual cases. The American army was active all over India and North Burma. We were in Calcutta, in New Delhi, in Karachi, in Madras, in Ceylon, in As-

—By a nationally known city planner and architect, who has served as consultant to local, state, and federal housing authorities and commissions.

Mr. Mayer spent two war years with the U. S. Army Engineers in India and Burma, designing and building roads and airports. He recently returned to India at the personal invitation of Premier Pant and Jawaharlal Nehru, to work with the government of the United Provinces in replanning Indian village life.

He is well known to *Survey Graphic* readers, as guest editor of our special issue, "Homes—Front Line of Defense in American Life" (February 1940) and as the author of occasional articles on housing and community planning.

sam, in Myitkina, in Bhamo, and in many villages we had never heard of before. Some of these places are over two thousand miles apart.

In the old days, going about by slow Indian trains, you traveled in compartments with, say, a Sikh and a Madrasi and a Britisher. You had plenty of opportunity to exchange a lot of talk and to become friendly. You made long stops at stations—and between stations—where you saw the countryside and the people, and your traveling companions eagerly explained things to you. When you arrived, you might share an old taxi, or get into a horse-drawn *gharry* or *tonga*, and drive slowly and observantly to your final destination.

Speed—and Altitude

But what did we actually do in World War II? Mostly, Americans went from place to place by plane. A jeep or staff car took you to the air-

port, where the only Indians you saw were coolies and sweepers. After a few hours' flight you arrived at the New Delhi or the Karachi airport. Meanwhile, you traveled at such a speed and altitude—your view further hampered by the small portholes—you saw nothing but the main or stereotyped features of the landscape.

At your destination, you were again met by a car and whisked to a hotel or a headquarters or a cantonment. Whether the driver was an Indian or a GI, he went at such a rate of speed, roaring past terrified people scurrying out of the way, that the inevitable reaction was irritation at foolish pedestrians and at winding narrow roads never meant for such vehicles or such speed. You had a sense of relief at reaching your American or British haven. There you would give an account of your adventures to your fellows, GI's or officers, concluding with the remark, "I've seen about all of India I want to," (though of course you still wanted to see the Taj Mahal and the Black Hole of Calcutta).

Conclusion: The airplane is a wonderful way to reach a country (Karachi to New York in three days) and an equally wonderful way to keep hermetically sealed from any real contact with it.

Travel Can Narrow You

Perhaps I have by indirection given the impression that if you do your traveling more slowly you will really get to know a country, or to use the old adage: travel broadens one. This cliché is not necessarily true, either. In fact, from observation of thousands of Americans in India, in the overwhelming majority of cases travel there simply fortified our preconceptions, greatly increased our national and Anglo-Saxon feeling of superiority and isolationism—and in the British case, insularity. Too many Americans came back with less sympathy for India, and certainly with less understanding of it, than they had before they went.

The American going to India feels he knows nothing about it. This is not true. He has read or been told that it is crowded with fortune-tellers and beggars, that the chief man, Gandhi, goes around in nothing but a loin cloth, that it is full of ridiculous and inscrutable religions, that most natives are liars and lazy, that it has an incredible amount of jewels and jewelry, that it is hopelessly behind the times. Also that "East is East and West is

West" and there is no point in trying to bridge the gulf. The tendency among us was not to find out whether these things were universally or generally true or not, or to look for signs of change, or even—what is really more rewarding—simply to be at ease, and circulate around, just as you would if you happened to be stationed at a new town or new state in your own country. Actually, it seemed easier to find preconceptions verified. And that is exactly what we did.

Quarantine by Choice

Unfortunately, there are plenty of soothsayers, plenty of beggars, plenty of cripples, plenty of phony holy men

only too happy to be endlessly photographed by our ubiquitous cameras. There was a picturesque blind beggar who stood at the same spot every day on Chowringhee Street in Calcutta, dressed in a flowing black *dhoti*, with a very big crooked stick studded with brass, who must have been more photographed than a film star, and may have had nearly as much income. And it would be rash even to estimate the thousands of rupees spent by Americans for rubies and emeralds purchased on the street, later identified as glass.

More unfortunately still, the squalor, the filth, the lack of sanitation, the poverty of the people are so appalling that they are hard for anyone to take. Particularly hard for Americans who, starting on the sound basis of taking all possible precautions to avoid illness or epidemic, ended in many cases by living in a sort of *cordon sanitaire* and becoming virtual hypochondriacs.

Let me illustrate this point: In Calcutta, there was a sergeant of mine who was having a particularly thin and unhappy time in the isolation of American barracks and American activities. Some of us had had a good deal of natural contact and formed a number of Indian friendships by this time, and I offered to introduce him to families I knew. "But how will I get there?" he asked, "I can't get any army vehicle and I can't afford taxis." I asked him what was the matter with the bus or the tram. "Oh, I might get bedbugs"—and the fact that my roommate and I customarily traveled this way had no effect on his fear or his decision. So he moped despondently, occasionally wandering into the Red Cross canteen with its emphatically home-from-home atmosphere.

Some of the sanitary excitement seemed, at the start, justifiable. I remember the horror with which one of our men recounted the story of an Indian family eating off the floor. (It is not really eating off the floor, because there are plates and dishes.) Many Indians still prefer this. They have found over the centuries that sitting on the floor in the traditional cross-legged posture is the least tiring for eating, reading, and working. But to him, this matter was not arguable as a matter of custom or preference or experience. The scrupulous cleanliness of the dining floor made no difference. It was just something he would never let himself in for.

The facts that Americans took pic-



Calcutta traffic cop, a modern note



Hindu priest, representing old India



Devout Hindus bathing at one of the places of pilgrimage on the holy Ganges

tures endlessly, that they were to be seen buying ivory and brass work in every bazaar, that they had themselves photographed in front of the Taj Mahal or the great Buddhist temple at Gaya, or registered eagerly for army sightseeing tours might appear to indicate real curiosity and interest, but actually the contrary is true. The photographs were overwhelmingly of the bizarre—the beggars, singly or in families, the professional cripples, the snake-charmers, the hovels—or of the religious processions, the world-famous monuments, or the throngs of bathers in the holy Ganges. These were the spectacular weirdnesses we sent home to impress on people that we had seen India.

To put it another way, we selected and emphasized the differences between us and the people among whom we found ourselves. Not only that, but we created for ourselves the mirage of an American Utopia to serve as still further contrast. We were virtuously and vocally indignant at the admitted graft in India, and to hear us you would never dream of our country's recurrent municipal scandals, our war profiteers, our construction rackets. One got the impression that Americans had never seen slums until we reached the Far East; that our streets and parks were immaculately clean.

In addition to all this, we were genuinely alienated by poverty, hunger,

disease, dirt, and general behind-handedness. Hence the determination to dissociate ourselves completely from these Asiatics or natives or "wogs," to wash our hands of them as no concern of ours. In other words, there was a positive isolation resulting from supposed experience, replacing the negative isolation of the untraveled.

Conclusion: Travel of itself does *not* broaden, but generally narrows, unless the traveler is spiritually prepared for the travel. This conclusion is not based only on our experience in India. The same was true in North Africa. It was true, though to a less extent, in England and on the Continent.

Interestingly and disappointingly, this state of mind was prevalent among the army at large, regardless of education. We had to send home a number of engineer officers, among others, because they couldn't take it, couldn't adapt themselves to the conditions, couldn't do a good day's work, and raised hell at night. While these were extreme situations, there were many borderline cases—cases which merely highlighted the general malaise and lack of understanding. And with shortage of transportation and manpower, the last thing we wanted to do was to send anyone home.

The malaise and boredom which grew out of our sanitarianism and spiritual isolation, gave something of a clue as to how we might help make

the enforced foreign sojourn at least more bearable, at best really fruitful. There were three or four positive things one might gain by being abroad as we were. One might make normal contacts with people of the same classes or groups one would expect to encounter and know in the States, and thus lead much the same kind of social life as in a cantonment in the USA. Or one might go further, and get a broader knowledge of India, so as to be better able, on resuming civilian status, to have some acquaintance with its conditions and potentialities, its position in the world and *vis-à-vis* the United States.

The Gains of Getting Acquainted

Or one might penetrate even further, get to know India as it is becoming, for dismal as the over-all picture may be when considered as a static thing, there are currents stirring. There are devoted, resourceful leaders at all levels in politics, industry, the professions; there are social, agricultural, educational, public health efforts and experiments remarkable for their achievements on the basis of unbelievably slim material resources.

The character of political leaders and sub-leaders in the Congress movement is particularly striking. From the top level of leadership down to what would be wardheelers over here, there is a quality of untiring energy and of resourcefulness—in many cases of selflessness. At the top level, highly successful business and professional men have sacrificed their careers to work for the Congress. Men like Chittaranjan Das and Raja Mullick gave up everything they had and carried on their public work in poverty.

At the lower levels, men with promising careers ahead of them chose instead the political-social work of the Congress in impoverished communities, at a coolie wage. In another sphere, Major Ali and his wife are typical of this kind of selfless devotion. A retired army surgeon, he went into an obscure village, and with his own instruments and resources equipped a tiny hut as a surgery. There he works day after day, while his wife runs a dispensary. They also advise local people on family and money matters.

All this is missed if one takes a quick look and then confines oneself to the familiar, self-contained, America-abroad scene of endless basketball games, boxing bouts, movies, concerts so well and continuously arranged

by the Army's Special Service, the Red Cross, or USO.

Finally one might go still further—even to the point of grasping elements in the Indian outlook on life which have a great deal to offer to our own overdynamic, overmaterialized, and overindividualized outlook. They may, in fact, be indispensable to the attainment of that corrective and effective balance essential to the survival of any civilization.

Some Americans, we found, had gone a great way toward acquaintance with India, and had not only reached some inkling of these things, but more pragmatically, were the ones who were having a normal good time, in contrast to the general boredom, disillusion, homesickness.

This is really a very easy thing to do, once you have made a mild first effort—both because the Indians are friendly and want to know Americans, and because once you have come to know Indians in one place they are eager to give you introductions, when you move on to another station. The people we met seemed to have friends everywhere.

How We Did It

A few of us decided to see whether we could spread these pleasant experiences. A few dozen Indian families agreed to have small parties for American guests at their houses. It was decided that groups of six or eight were about right. The boys were not told they were going to learn all about



East or West, there are traffic snarls. One of Calcutta's main thoroughfares

India, or learn anything. They were bored and homesick, and they were simply invited to go along to tea with some nice people we had met named Chatterjee—just as they would have gone to dinner with the Browns in the USA. They got no instructions, but at the start one of us would go along just to make sure that the first possible awkward moments would not be too prolonged. Soon that was not necessary, because once the American has left his shell of sanitation and superiority, he is as friendly and socially resourceful as the cosmopolitan.

Each man, as a rule, had the opportunity to visit three different families. One visit was probably not enough for the insulated American, but if after three visits he did not begin to make his own contacts, he probably would never “click”. (But he did, practically without exception!) Once the idea spread and men got to telling their friends, the demand for invitations began to exceed resources.

Because, remember, this was being arranged by individuals, away from army channels where the red tape and the check-up on possible hosts would have been interminable. We simply acted as catalysts; gave a little push to people who lacked the gumption or the opportunity to do it for themselves. Starting in this natural way, they reached a real feeling for India. That is much more important and has much more meaning than any guidebook preparation or orientation lecture. The approach and frame of mind are important—indeed, they are almost all that counts.

The parties and experiences were of all sorts. One evening at Dr. Ahmend's house, he read some of Tagore's poems, and his daughter sang—for Tagore himself wrote music to many of his verses. After a little urging, an American barbershop quartet emerged and responded, accompanied by a mandolin that one of the men had brought along, just in case.

An Indian wedding is a sort of festival to which all relatives and friends



To see the real India, one must desert the cities for village and country



Women as well as men carry rock for the runway of a new airfield

are invited, near and distant, so it was natural to invite a number of Americans, too. It frequently happens that the "propitious moment" for the actual ceremony comes at a very late hour. There are long interludes of waiting with no set program. One of the Americans filled in by doing tricks, another by doing imitations—not too marvelous actually, but very well received by the Indian guests, some of whom reciprocated by performing traditional dances.

It is in the villages that one really sees India. Thus it was at Lieutenant Mukharjii's house at Burdwan that we first became aware of the gracious custom that the host waits on his guests, and does not eat until they have finished.

In the country, too, you find flourishing the Indian family system which is well on the way to disappearance in the cities. The oldest surviving male member of the family is the unquestioned head of the house, including grown and married sons and nephews. The family finances and earnings are all pooled in his charge. Abstractly, this was hard for Americans to grasp, particularly in view of some of its visible results. For example, a non-worker in the family knows he will be taken care of anyway and often is quite willing to continue idle—the beneficiary of a sort of household unemployment insurance.

When you spend the day with such a family, and see the spontaneous respect paid to a bearded sage such as Amiya Chatterjee in Behala, or Dr. Ajit Kommar Das in Chakulia, and sense the wisdom and gaiety of these

old men, you can see that the system can really work well.

Incidentally, it is only of late years, when with the spread of modern industry the family system started to break down, that life insurance companies began to flourish in India. There was no need before that, for the family system provided for its own.

Isolation vs. Understanding

These casual contacts also led to more specific results. Most of our troops were in the East and Northeast of India, particularly in Bengal. Some of our hosts were members of the faculty at Jadavpur Engineering College and at Bengal Engineering College at Sibpur. Visits to these institutions led to invitations for some of our men to lecture there. We also made arrangements for college students to work on the maintenance and repair of our equipment. This provided a double-barreled advantage as we desperately needed workers to supplement our small force, and they received training on up-to-date equipment—of which India is short.

One of the leading figures at Jadavpur College was an electrical manufacturer, K. C. Roy. He had spent four years in the United States getting his engineering education at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and had adopted many American methods both in his business and at the college. He had introduced the idea of an alumni association, its members making substantial annual contributions. He had enlisted the backing of wealthy industrialists, and

widely extended the college's income through specific research assignments.

All in all he was probably the most westernized man we met, and the last we would have expected to patronize Ayurvedic medicine, which depends largely on herbs and other natural products. This form of medical practice has flourished for many centuries and continues to do so, as it is cheap and the medicaments required are readily available. Mr. Roy assured us that one of these Ayurvedic practitioners had cured him of a series of severe colds when modern doctors had failed. This came as something of a shock to Americans who had seen the signs of practitioners and assumed they were just another kind of quack. After such a statement from Mr. Roy, we began to look with a different eye on other things that hitherto we had brushed aside almost automatically.

No single one of these encounters and experiences was important, perhaps, but in sum they spelled the difference between normal interest and boredom, between isolation and understanding. I have seldom engaged in a project where so little effort produced such fruitful results. What we did affected directly fewer than a thousand men—or possibly a few thousand, if one counts others who had the same simple idea themselves, or who heard about our efforts and duplicated them. Even on this modest scale the experiment had value, and the contacts have not ended. There was a good deal of letterwriting back and forth after our return, and books and newspapers are still being exchanged.

What I want to emphasize is this: It is easy to be a good traveler, and few of us are. All it takes is an open mind and what should be a normal degree of human interest. The army made elaborate efforts through its Special Service branch, its information and orientation branch, through the Red Cross, the USO, to create and preserve an all-American atmosphere. In such large doses this is artificial and self-defeating. Had they done about half as much along those lines, that much would have been useful. Had they used a lot less than the other half of the effort and expense with some common sense and imagination, they could have accomplished largely what a relatively few did in small measure—and our men as well as the countries that were our hosts would have gained immeasurably.

How Would You Like to Be Reorganized?

MICHAEL M. DAVIS

HEALTH—TODAY & TOMORROW

—A series by the chairman, Committee on Research in Medical Economics; associate editor, *Survey Graphic*.

THERE HAD BEEN A MORNING'S DEBATING tilt in a midwest college town and then a half dozen doctors and I had adjourned for lunch. In the relaxing atmosphere of the country club, vigorous conversation proceeded affably.

Doctor A: "Why do you keep trying to push us doctors under government, where we don't want to go? We're trying to take care of sick people. We don't want to have lay bureaucrats telling us how to do our job."

M.M.D.: "Gentlemen, I think you're alarmed unnecessarily. Every one of you works in a hospital. Every one of your hospitals, public or private, is run by laymen. They appoint you to the staff and can dismiss you. They decide how the hospital's money is to be spent and what its policies and standards shall be. But they leave you free to do your professional job."

Doctor B: "But if government pays the piper, won't at least some officials call the tune?"

M.M.D.: "Do you think many laymen are such fools as to believe that they would get better medical care if they bossed their doctors in the practice of medicine? National health insurance is a way of paying medical bills, not of directing medical service."

Doctor C: "I run my office. Each one of us here runs his. We're not complaining. Our patients aren't complaining. Why not leave us alone?"

M.M.D.: "The world is changing too fast to leave any of us alone. Your patients do complain. Millions of people are complaining, but generally you are the last people they complain to. They usually trust you. Sometimes they revere you: As doctors. What they are complaining about is the business side of medicine."

Doctor A: "If we're going to be reorganized, let us do the reorganizing ourselves."

M.M.D.: "When people are sick, they look to you as authorities. But it's something different when people are deciding how they shall spend their money."

Doctor D: "We don't want revolution. We don't want political legislation. We want to proceed by evolution."

M.M.D.: "Does your timetable suit your customers?"

I retailed this colloquy to a member of the Senate. When I got to the part about reorganization, he laughed and said, "Well, Congress just did it. Evolution by legislation."

In Congress

Now the reorganized Congress takes up reorganization of federal health and welfare services. Senator Taft's name is associated with two different proposals. For health, be it recalled, the American Medical Association has long had its plan: Unite all the federal health activities (except those of the Army, Navy, and Veterans Administration) in a federal Department of Health, headed by a physician Secretary appointed by the President as one of the members of his Cabinet.

In the Taft-Smith-Ball-Donnell bill (S.545) this simple formula appears, slightly marred because the "National Health Agency" therein has not Cabinet status. Its head would be an "out-standing" physician, and the law would tell him just how he must initially organize his agency.

The maternity and child-health functions of the Children's Bureau would be taken out of the bureau and placed in a separate office under a head appointed by him, with an advisory council of specialists in obstetrics or pediatrics.

The U. S. Public Health Service would go under him too, pocketed off from medical, hospital, and dental care, and with appropriations cut.

A new and major "Office of Medical and Hospital Care Services" would administer the \$200,000,000 annual federal grants to the states, which are the main feature of this bill and through which persons of no income or low income may be assisted to obtain care, if they pass some means test set by the states or localities.

The head of this Medical-Hospital "Office" would be a physician, with a "National Medical Care Council"

made up mainly of physicians and without provision that the users of medical service be represented.

Then there is the "Office of Dental Care Services," under a dentist, with an advisory council mostly from the same profession.

During recent months Senator Taft and some of his colleagues have conferred at length with representatives of the American Medical Association and the American Dental Association. The results are even more evident than they were in the slightly different Taft-Smith-Ball bill of last year.

They are apparent in the assurance of control over the whole health program by physicians, in this case "organized medicine." They are also apparent in the pocketing of the Public Health Service, which, as it has moved forward of late years, has been increasingly and publicly criticized by the AMA. They are apparent in the separation of dentistry. In fact, under the guise of "coordinating" governmental health functions, the statutory establishment of these "offices" under specialized direction would set up new cleavages between medical care and dental care, and between preventive and curative services, at the very time when the progress of medicine demands their greater interpenetration.

The Fulbright-Taft Bill

We shall hear a lot more about the Taft-Smith-Ball-Donnell bill, as it will come up this spring for hearings before the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, which will have also the revised National Health Insurance bill ("Wagner-Murray-Dingell"). Health Insurance *versus* Medical Charity: what will Congress do on that issue?

More immediately, reorganization in another form is up in the Fulbright-Taft bill (S.140) to establish a federal Department of Health, Education, and Security. Senator George D. Aiken (Rep., Vt.) is chairman of the Committee on Expenditures in Executive Departments, which began hearings on this bill the end of February.

Remember that last July President Truman, acting under general powers given by Congress, brought all the chief health services and the whole

Children's Bureau under the Federal Security Agency. This agency does not have Cabinet status. Now the Fulbright-Taft bill reshuffles the numerous bureaus and units in FSA, adding (with one minor exception) no new units, gives the organization a new name and its head Cabinet rank.

Giving FSA Cabinet status would be a good thing, and the association in one department of health, education, social security, and welfare functions would promote continued and needed cross-fertilization. Because these interrelations are so important, a unified federal department of this kind is greatly preferable to a specialized health department off by itself.

This, by the way, is a point much more applicable to the federal government than to local or state agencies. For as we move to the places where diseases are actually diagnosed or treated, where children are taught, and where people are rendered other personal services, the agency becomes concerned primarily with the actual operation of services, and must be specialized in leadership, and otherwise, so as to perform these services competently. The federal department, on the other hand, is engaged but little in supplying services. It is concerned with policies, standards, correlations, administration of funds.

Defects in the Bill

Unfortunately, the Fulbright-Taft bill defines overmuch how the Secretary of the new department shall organize it. It enumerates just what bureaus and other units must be in each of the prescribed divisions of health, education and security.

Again, the bill requires three under-secretaries to be appointed by the President, with the approval of the Senate, and these under-secretaries must be professionals, specialists respectively in health (a physician), education, and "social security and welfare."

Now, under-secretaries are political officers, like the Cabinet members whom they serve. They represent the policies of an elected administration. To prescribe by statute that secretaries or under-secretaries be specialists mistakes their function. Such officers should represent the interests of the general public for whom certain health, education, and social services are maintained, rather than represent the professional groups that render these services.

In the War and Navy Departments, for example, the Secretaries and their immediate assistants have always been civilians. Under them are the career officers of the regular army and navy.

In the health field, the basic decisions of policy will involve the economic, social, and administrative aspects of medicine much more than the techniques of diagnosis, treatment, and prevention of disease.

The bill prescribes administrative policies which must be "carried out to the fullest possible extent through state and local agencies, public and voluntary," and these agencies must be "preserved and protected" to "the highest possible degree." The composition and functions of advisory committees are prescribed with the same objective.

How far would this take us in the direction of the actual administration of federally supported programs by private agencies? Certainly the present wording of the bill invites great pressures from these sources, in health, education, and welfare fields. If Congress wants to have programs which are supported from 50 percent to 100 percent by federal funds administered by state and local governments, or by private agencies, without national standards, then Congress should make the decision explicitly. The present wording of the bill invites pressure politics by indirect methods, and is likely to arouse tensions if not conflict.

Senator Aiken has introduced a bill (S.712) which simply rechristens the Federal Security Agency as the "Department of Health, Education and Security." It does only that. It does not tell the new Cabinet officer how he must organize his department. If any reorganization in this field is considered seriously by Congress this spring, a bill of this sort seems a more likely bet than the Fulbright-Taft bill. If you have ideas on the subject, I am sure Senator Aiken would like to hear from you.

Rural Health Reorganization

I ran into other kinds of reorganization lately, at the Second National Conference on Rural Health, called by the AMA in Chicago. Here I heard an earnest doctor from Missouri urge his fellows in other states to push their medical society prepayment plans; a state farm bureau head boost the Blue Cross; and a canny doctor from Kansas report that they had got their state plan started, but "we aren't pushing it,

because the farmers are prosperous now and can pay their regular medical bills, and the Republicans have control of Congress so we don't have to worry." Testimony came from physicians in a dozen states, but more important was what the farm people said—and the national offices and many state branches of all the major farm organizations were represented.

Farmers Want Results

"Rural America is rapidly getting up in arms," declared the head of the National Grange, "about the shortage of doctors and hospitals, the high costs of doctoring when you can get it, and the obstructiveness of many medical associations. Farmers don't want government or any other aid on terms that would make them paupers. Farmers would like cooperative medicine; health insurance with their own hands in the management."

Several others reiterated these ideas and voiced more also—for example, training more doctors; scholarships for medical students, given with the understanding that several initial years of practice would be spent in a rural area; state appropriations for such aid (already made in a few states); and private funds — Kentucky reporting that \$65,000 had been raised for this purpose by physicians and others.

At Chicago, it was evident that the AMA was making immense efforts to annex the farm organizations to its program. But as I left, I thought the AMA has a bear by the tail. Farm people would like to work with their doctors, but also they want results, they want them soon, and they want to run any show they put their money into. They will use government, too, for their purposes — local, state or national—provided government action is a tool, not a control.

That rural conference made manifest that farm people, individualists though they be, are reaching the conclusion that in medical service the individual farm family can no longer go it alone. Payment must be organized, which means health insurance, or tax funds, or both. Education must be organized in reference to a vocational end, not merely to a curriculum. Areas must be organized, so that there will be a population large enough to support a doctor, larger still for a specialist or a hospital. Among people and doctors, as in Congress and in government, reorganization becomes necessary, with all its lures and pains.

A Genius in Citizenship

HARRY HANSEN

PERSONAL INTEGRITY AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY complement each other. But in the human pattern they show many variations. This diversity makes biography a fascinating and profitable study. It shows the effect of inner strength on outer relationships and the place of individual decisions in the general welfare.

The personality and career of Albert Einstein provide singularly clear examples of the social usefulness of the reasoning individual, who reaches his conclusions independent of mass influences and yet is not antagonistic to the mass. Einstein has been called a genius because of his achievements in theoretical physics, but, on the evidence, he might also be called a genius in citizenship. The book of his life, "Einstein, His Life and Times" (Knopf, \$4.50), written by a fellow scientist, Philipp Frank, offers much proof of this.

A Great Scientist

Dr. Frank succeeded Einstein as professor of theoretical physics at the University of Prague in 1912, on Einstein's nomination. Einstein had worked there for two years, developing phases of his theory of relativity, and had gained a high reputation among his fellow scientists. Then the Polytechnic School of Zurich, from which Einstein had been graduated, invited him to join its faculty.

In 1938 Dr. Frank came to the United States to lecture at Harvard, where he is now a research associate in physics and philosophy. In spite of the fact that he works in the upper realm of physical theory, he is able to write a lucid explanation for the layman of the steps by which Einstein developed his ideas, and their significance. His understanding of Einstein's point of view makes him an able interpreter.

The scientific theories need no special comment here; they are presented with scholarly precision, step by step, and the layman should have a clear idea of Einstein's work after reading this book. At this hour, Einstein's association with the atom bomb project dwarfs everything else, but Dr.

Frank shows that his service was only incidental. The impetus for experimenting with atomic fission on a large scale came from two scientists at Columbia University, Leo Szilard and Enrico Fermi, who feared that the Nazis might produce A-bombs at any hour. They asked Einstein to make a direct appeal to President Roosevelt, which he did under date of August 2, 1939. The whole vast enterprise followed.

A Great Citizen

It is as a man interested in his fellow men, aware of political issues, and highly conscious of individual freedom and helpful citizenship that Einstein particularly interests us here. Dr. Frank takes up systematically the issues that affected Einstein's political beliefs and explains the principles and characteristics that make him the man he is.

Human beings are subject to constant scrutiny and criticism. Their acts are rarely simple, but the result of complex and often hidden motives and influences. Take, for example, Einstein's attitude toward Zionism. Dr. Frank explains the great scientist's religious principles, which are reverent and respectful, but free of dogma or orthodoxy. Discrimination against the Jews in Germany pained him deeply and as anti-Semitism increased he found the Zionist movement worthy of help as a means to increase the self-respect of the Jews.

"He was well aware," writes Dr. Frank, "that at the same time he was helping occasionally the development of nationalism and religious orthodoxy, both of which he disliked." When he came out in support of Zionism in 1921, he realized that many Jews would resent his stand, but he thought the educational process necessary. "Since Einstein had taken upon himself to say so much that other people did not dare express, self-expression became easier and inhibitions were abated."

Einstein always has had the courage to speak his mind quietly, and thus to invite discussion rather than argument. He has recognized the human element

in all relationships, and hence he has never relied wholly on political formulas. Thus, he was unable to accept socialism as a guarantee of peace; he believed people should be won over to peace first, whatever their economic views.

His attitude toward democracy is similarly defined. He once declared that "my political ideal is democracy However, well do I know that in order to attain any definite goal it is imperative that one person should do the thinking and commanding and carry most of the responsibility. But those who are led should not be driven, and they should be allowed to choose their leader." This outlawed violence and regimentation, and made him opposed to all totalitarian governments, including the Russian.

But Einstein's belief in individual responsibility made him support the leader who worked for the public welfare. Thus he was not opposed to the third term for Franklin D. Roosevelt, declaring that "the spirit in which the president exercised the powers of his office" was important.

The naturalness with which Einstein pursues his way as an American citizen is worth comment. Dr. Frank mentions that colleagues and others have not always understood the contradictions in his character, which are "due to the contrast between his intense social consciousness on the one hand and the aversion to entering into too intimate relationships with his fellow men on the other." Yet he invariably responds to appeals for his help.

His realistic view of life makes him aware that no human acts or aims can be perfect, hence "if the basic cause was good he was occasionally ready to take into the bargain a less worthy, secondary tendency." In this he is at one with the rest of us. No movement or cause is tailored to our personal wishes and we make compromises whenever we join up. What counts is our judgment of what is basic and good in the efforts with which we cooperate.

In the discussion of Einstein's theories, Dr. Frank emphasizes the importance of imagination in his work. The

(All Books ordered through Survey Associates, Inc., will be postpaid)

general laws of science, according to Einstein "are not products of induction or generalization, but rather products of free imagination which have to be tested by physical observations." Dr. Frank explains that "he means that the inventive faculty presents us with various possibilities for the construction of mathematical theories, among which only experience can decide."

Einstein has applied this concept to religion, which for him is at once a mystical feeling toward the laws of the universe and a sense of moral obligation toward his fellow men. In this profound view the ideals of religion and of democracy are at many points the same.

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PEOPLE IN QUANDARIES—*The Semantics of Personal Adjustment*, by Wendell Johnson. Harper. \$3.75

WENDELL JOHNSON HAS BEEN ASKING new, meaningful questions about people in psychological jams, and providing some fruitful answers. He finds that no small part of their troubles is semantic, lying in the words we use, and misuse. Many of us are too inarticulate to state our problems clearly. Others build a mythology of imaginary heroes, devils, prince charmings, and so forth. College students walk the campus with their heads in a cloud of high-order abstractions.

Professor Johnson wrote this book in part as a textbook for his course in General Semantics at the University of Iowa, where he also runs a speech clinic. The Iowa psychologists have a distinguished record of original work, by Seashore, Lewin, and others, to which I suspect this author has made even more of a contribution than he realizes. By his new application of semantics, he has opened a fresh approach to a science that could do with fresh approaches, and has deepened it by his practical success in treating maladjusted students. His clinic cooperates with the University hospitals, the College of Medicine and other departments.

It all began with the problem of stuttering. A stutterer himself, Mr. Johnson went through the usual treatments and many unusual ones. In the end he reached the revolutionary though sensible conclusion that stutterers are *trained to stutter* by over-anxious teachers and parents. This gives him a new question. May not other maladjustments begin in a similar way?

He proceeds to invent techniques of treatment, most of them verbal, and uses these successfully in numerous cases of mild maladjustment. He finds many young people suffering with a disorder which he nicknames IFD: from idealism to frustration to demoralization. The cloudier the ideal, the more probably it is doomed to frustration. He develops a useful concept which he calls semantic environment, in the mysterious borderland where one's personal standards, values, and goals take shape.

He describes the verbal confusion that accompanies some psychoneurotic conditions. Schizophrenics, for instance, characteristically confuse levels of abstraction. Not only is inference mistaken for fact—a common habit even in high intellectual circles—but concrete and abstract terms mingle in the patient's speech and writing in an incoherent way. When, however, Mr. Johnson says or implies that these verbal confusions *cause* the disease, he has not proved it, so far as I am concerned. He would do better, I think, to leave schizophrenia to the schizophrenics and develop his own fresh and original approach.

"What is normal?" he asks, and after rejecting several definitions selects a functional one. As applied to an ailing motorcar, for instance, normal performance

is to be judged by the engineering standards that apply to it. . . . In the prevention and treatment of personality disorders a policy somewhat like that underlying our public health program is called for . . . focusing attention on potential rather than average adjustment. . . .

Any thoroughgoing attack on this widespread problem of personality maladjustment must necessarily involve a considerable transformation of the society in which we, as individuals, live. There is a basic contradiction . . . in speaking of a well-adjusted slum dweller.

The book seems to me most stimulating and valuable for professional people as well as laymen, for so-called normal people as well as those in quandaries. It is head and shoulders over all the "How to Think" pseudo-scientific books, so lavishly advertised and so generally useless. Though longer than it needed to be, it is very readable, and can hardly fail to contribute to mental hygiene, as well as to straight thinking by individuals.

The author keeps his modesty. He marvels that methods so simple and

obvious are not universally taught and applied. If science, at bottom, is a means for solving problems, why not use it to solve personal problems too? Perhaps what stands in the way is not so much that we fail to state our questions in scientific, answerable terms, as that most of us fail to state them at all. Instead, we are always telling answers, with the utmost certainty.

If more of us admitted that we don't know how to save ourselves and save the world, there might be a chance to work together and find out. Meanwhile we are trying to live with a pre-scientific philosophy in a world where guided electrons cook our dinners and sweep our floors. Still worse, we are teaching our children a similar pre-scientific philosophy.

In the schoolbooks of tomorrow there will be questions for which there will be no answers in the back pages. Knowledge will be presented as tentative, as "subject to change without notice," and with it there will be taught a method for revising it and for adjusting easily to its revision.

Then perhaps our children will not know so many wrong answers or stumble into so many quandaries.

Georgetown, Conn. STUART CHASE

FRONTIER ON THE POTOMAC, by Jonathan Daniels. Macmillan. \$2.75.

IF THE MEN WHO RUN THE UNITED States Government were as big as their jobs, they would be fifty feet tall. They aren't. They are quite average size mortals, and one of the appealing qualities of the American democracy is that, unlike some other governments, the men make little attempt to appear bigger than they are.

Jonathan Daniels reports the Washington scene on just this basis. Few men have had a better chance to see Washington as it was and is; he is the son of Woodrow Wilson's Secretary of the Navy; did a brilliant piece of reporting when he wrote "A Southerner Discovers the South"; was later an assistant to President Roosevelt; and became White House press secretary when Steve Early resigned.

If anyone saw the passing show, he did; and he takes things as they come—always realistic, always shrewd, always (and this is Daniels' great merit) with human kindness for the faults and frailties and humanities which, aggregated, must still make up the government of one of the greatest powers in the world.

He has few heroes (Archibald MacLeish and Luther Evans in the Library of Congress are two of them) and no villains, except an impersonal one in the dead hand which red-tape-clad regulations can lay on youth and energy.

"Big government can—indeed sometimes now it seems almost designed to—become a sort of Indian Reservation for the dull and the insecure," perhaps outlines his principal enemy. But behind that, is his realization that ideas, like bureaucrats, become decrepit. Bureaucracy, as such, is not the enemy: rather, the fact that waves of progress and inspiration in Washington, expressed by active and devoted men, pass from zenith, and ebb, and men with them. Washington, as he says, is an expression of a country even more than its director: "It is a great capital which watches, eagerly, fearfully but eternally the country which it rules and by which always it is relentlessly ruled in turn."

Here you will find the entire parade from congressional committee chairmen to career ambassadors; from secret servicemen to navy officers. (Of intelligence services: "They have long memories and little faith"; of the navy: "The danger in the navy is not fascism but dullness."). Daniels is not intrinsically frightened of politicians, or public officials, or of politics. ("The politician works in the highest art and the lowest craft.") He says of Henry Wallace: "I doubt that the genetics of government is as simple a business as the breeding of hybrid corn. Maybe always where spirit and power are put together, after a little they produce not the good but the sterile."

Concealed beneath the kindly, witty, racy narrative are many penetrating observations. The book would be worth reading as reporting; it is even more worth reading for the pleasure of dredging up these frequent pin points of light directed toward a huge curtain.

This reviewer has one amiable dispute with reporter Jonathan, and indeed with his school of thought. Members of that school have been firmly told not to take themselves too seriously—Daniels certainly follows that line about himself—and it is a good, sound, solid rule. But it has limitations. The men who contributed the peaks of progress in Washington were groups of men who did take themselves very seriously indeed, probably on the sound premise that if they

did not, nobody else would.

Leadership does involve violating that fetish of non-seriousness which is well accepted in Washington today. Perhaps if some of the youngsters who arrived to reform the world in Washington had taken themselves a little more seriously, fewer of them would be lobbyists now. Daniels suggests as much in his sketch of Tommy Corcoran, star of the second Brain Trust, whose desire to be big as a lobbyist, he thinks, arises chiefly from a sense of frustration in government. But this is a tilt which I have had with various and sundry over a good many years; and Daniels' adherence to his own principle certainly increases his own power of observation and the book's brilliance.

"Frontier on the Potomac" is not an attempt to answer the riddle of American government. It is a report on Washington as a cross-section of America, and a first rate report at that.

A. A. BERLE, JR.

*Formerly U. S. Ambassador to Brazil
Now Columbia Law School*

POSTWAR TAXATION AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS, by Harold M. Groves. McGraw-Hill. \$4.50.

MOST OF THE POSTWAR PLANS THAT have appeared in such numbers in recent years have emphasized immediate steps rather than ultimate goals. This volume, on the contrary, gives little space to transition measures. It puts forward, rather, a comprehensive program for a relatively permanent and coordinated federal, state, and local tax system. The proposal offers no startling innovations but it should prove a useful guide for those concerned with better taxes.

As the title of the book indicates, the first consideration in planning a sound tax system is stated to be fostering production. Equity is placed second on the list of objectives. It is clear, however, as Mr. Groves develops his subject, that he sees little conflict between these two.

He believes that sales taxes are inequitable and also "constitute a threat to postwar markets." He advocates the shifting of tax levies in some measure from corporate to personal income, largely because the tax on the latter can be adjusted more surely and effectively to ability to pay. He suggests, also, integrating estate and gift taxes, mainly to prevent tax avoidance. This would achieve greater equity—and more revenue—for a tax that he

believes to be both fair and comparatively harmless to business.

And he proposes abolishing many of the inequities in the present tax system, among them double taxation of corporation income, exemptions of interest on government bonds, special rates for capital gains, different treatment of personal incomes in community property and other states, and special depletion allowances for certain minerals. These inequities have long been recognized by the majority of tax students if not by the majority of the Congress. Mr. Groves believes that state and local tax systems are of great importance as they affect production, but he devotes only one short chapter to this subject.

Turning to positive measures for achieving full production, the author questions the value of incentive taxation, both because it brings new inequities into the tax system and because it "introduces grave chances of political domination into the economic system." Also, he is not an enthusiast for deficit spending. "All other reasonable efforts to revitalize business ought to take precedence over deficit spending."

On the other hand, he does not propose paying off the war debt or balancing budgets through prosperity and depression. He would balance budgets during years of good employment and, hopefully, achieve sufficient surpluses in the peak years to cover the inevitable deficits of depression. On the whole, he shows an open mind toward current theories on fiscal policy but is not altogether convinced. He has put his faith, rather, in reducing the total business tax burden, equalizing the tax system as a whole, and depending on non-tax measures for achieving full production.

MABEL NEWCOMER

*Department of Economics, Sociology,
and Anthropology, Vassar College*

FOR THIS WE FOUGHT, by Stuart Chase. Twentieth Century Fund. \$1.

MR. CHASE HAS AN UNCANNY WAY OF keeping his ear close to the ground both in terms of what is bothering people and the way in which they talk about it. In this book, the last of his series of six for the Twentieth Century Fund dealing with the issues confronted by postwar America, he reflects—perhaps more than he realizes—something of the attitude of anticlimax and moral deflation following the fervors of a world war.



NORTH STAR SHINING, by Hildergarde Hoyt Swift, illustrated by Lynd Ward. Morrow. \$2.50.

Two talents were fused to create this moving book. In a few pages,

a poet and an artist together present the history of the Negro in this country, and the contribution of Negro Americans to our common life. The story is told with the economy of deeply felt art.

In verse and pictures, here are despairing captives chained in the hold of a slave ship; bowed and barefoot toilers in cotton, cane and rice fields; turbanned house servants, Red Caps, porters, roustabouts. Here, too, are heroes—Crispus Attucks, Harriet Tubman, "Dorie Miller, mess boy of the *Arizona*," "Clarence Griggs, who died at Okinawa." And here is the host of scientists, professional men and women, educators, artists, writers, who in spite of handicaps and difficulties "have achieved education, fame—and power . . . have followed the North Star . . ."

This is a book of facts, figures, history, argument, translated into a clearer speech, to convey the folly of racial intolerance and segregation, the vision of

" . . . a different world



Where men forget to hate and stand as brothers, Yellow and white and black, together—one."

—B. A.

We miss the author's usual resilience and hearty optimism. He even indulges in one chapter called "Let Down," which asks in discouraging vein: "What now? Americans do not know. They know what they hope for but not how to get it." Another chapter therefore asks, "Can We Get What We Want?" And the answer therein contained as to the likelihood of the acceptance of the program which Mr. Chase favors, is certainly not reassuring.

Just what it is we want and what we fought for, is neither as sharply seen nor as freshly said as we are accustomed to have it from Mr. Chase. His middle of the road program—the phrase is his—is his familiar compensatory, mixed, welfare economy, planfully approached.

But as here outlined, the program is sketchy in the extreme; and as a cause for which we fought, it is as here stated unsubstantial and vague, to say the least. It is true that there are fuller details in earlier books in the series. But as a concluding and summary statement, and as a clarion call to the social battlefields of peace, this volume is less eloquent and less concrete than Mr. Chase knows how to be.

ORDWAY TEAD

Lecturer, Columbia University

THUNDER OUT OF CHINA, by Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby. William Sloane Associates, Inc. \$3.

AT THIS DATE IT IS HARDLY NECESSARY to say that "Thunder Out of China" is one of the most brilliant and illuminating pieces of political and war reporting to appear in recent years. That estimate has been confirmed by reviewers and readers alike, and the book must by now have deeply and constructively influenced American opinion on China.

That in itself is a great achievement. It means, for instance, that real progress has been made in bridging the gap which habitually exists in the United States between the traditional sentimental uncritical attitude of those who regularly yearn to help the suffering Chinese and that highly vocal, but often biased, embittered group of servicemen who saw in China only a cesspool of graft, incompetence, and inhumanity. It is therefore likely that a good part of the American public is today in a far better position than it might have been to appreciate and interpret the historic and courageous statement on China issued by General Marshall on the eve of his appointment as Secretary of State. Rereading the book in the light of the Marshall statement, one is impressed with the prescience

of the authors and with the way in which their vivid analysis of the operating forces in the Chinese economy and society sheds light on the tragic sequence of events leading toward civil war in China since the book went to press.

The pictures of the normal conditions of life for the Chinese peasant and the conscript soldier; the story of the inner workings of the Kuomintang with its factions and its half visionary, half warlord leader Chiang Kai-Shek; the account of the enlightened, if often totalitarian, policies of the Chinese Communists; the unhappy and sometimes devious line followed by American diplomacy in China since the days of General Hurley, when the right wing extremists in the Kuomintang began to calculate that, because of American suspicions of Russia, they could always count on obtaining military and financial aid from the United States—all these passages will remain of permanent value long after the dramatic chapters of war reporting have ceased to be read. As literature those war chapters are outstanding, especially the accounts of the Salween campaign, the heartbreaking evacuation of Chennault's advance bases, so painfully built, in southeast China, the incredible callousness and graft of the

Chinese officials and army officers toward their own people in the Honan famine.

It is worth stressing in these times that the book is no uncritical apologia for the Chinese Communists. On the contrary, their long term revolutionary aims and readiness to use ruthless totalitarian methods are plainly described.

But it is also equally plain that ruthlessness and totalitarian practices are even more habitually adopted by the National Government and usually without the compensating virtues of primitive social justice and grass roots democracy which have characterized much, though not all, of the Communist programs.

For that reason it is difficult to refute the authors' argument that the only way to undermine the Communists is to copy some of their schemes, and that the surest way of driving vast sections of the Chinese people somewhat reluctantly into the arms of the Communists is to continue supporting the National Government without insisting on the major political reforms. That view has been reflected in considerable measure in the Marshall plea that the liberal elements in China be given a chance to exercise power and carry out some long overdue political and economic stable-cleaning.

WILLIAM L. HOLLAND
Secretary-General of Pacific Relations; formerly director OWI in China

THE UNITED NATIONS, A Handbook on the New World Organization, by Louis Dolivet. Farrar, Straus. \$1.75.

IN A PREFACE COMMENDING THIS HANDBOOK, Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations, says that success for the UN depends on the personal support of individuals throughout the world, and for that support "we must have understanding."

Louis Dolivet's concise and well-arranged volume makes a definite contribution to that understanding. Before a language can be useful to learners, its structure and rules must become familiar; as if writing a grammar for a new language, Mr. Dolivet keeps interpretation to a minimum.

The purpose, powers, and limitations of the UN are stated simply. Charts give the structural relationships of the various component bodies, and an important appendix contains the

text of the Charter, the statutes of the International Court of Justice, and a listing of key personnel. This presentation has been needed; school children, and all the rest of us, will find here what may be the ABC's of the future.

K. S.

NATIONAL INTEREST AND INTERNATIONAL CARTELS, by Charles R. Whittlesey. Macmillan. \$2.50.

ENOUGH HAS BEEN WRITTEN WITHIN the last five years to make it possible to speak of cartel studies as a well established branch of economic literature. In "National Interest and International Cartels," Charles Whittlesey, professor of finance and economics at the University of Pennsylvania, has given us a worthwhile and highly interesting addition to the analytical discussion of the subject. Such adjectives as "temperate" and "balanced" are suggested by his treatment of the various phases of the cartel problem.

As the author indicates, his primary purpose is to clarify the issues involved both in cartels and in public policy. In general, this task is admirably executed. The elements which enter into the formation of cartels, the methods by which they pursue their ends, and the alternative policies which have been adopted by governments in dealing with them are ably summarized. The possible alternatives of American policy are explored and evaluated clearly, if not always completely.

The book's style is informal and informative. While the study is thus especially readable and particularly suitable for consumption by the general public, this virtue is not without certain defects. Oversimplification and ambiguity occur at some points, for two apparent reasons. First, while the author's lucid paragraphs outline many cartel characteristics, his tendency to discount or minimize the effects of cartel practices weakens an otherwise keen portrayal of their significance. Second, by making many concessions to unrealistic and rationalized arguments of cartelists, some statements are rendered seriously questionable in fact.

His broad conclusion is this:

Cartels . . . constitute a repudiation of the aims and methods to which the competitive system is dedicated. Every unnecessary departure from competition renders it more difficult to make a

free enterprise economy function. The time has not yet come when we are willing voluntarily to jettison a capitalist system based on free individualism. If we ever do decide to surrender our free enterprise system it is safe to predict that the surrender will be made to the chosen representatives of the state, and not to groups of private monopolists.

Along the road to this judgment, Mr. Whittlesey says much that is enlightening. He also says much that can be interpreted only as putting the best possible gloss upon some very unpleasant implications of cartel practices, both as to the experience of this country with cartels, and in the methods which they employ to preserve and to extend their power. He sometimes speaks of them as though they were simply outgrowths of normal business behavior, minor variations from the economics of free enterprise. It would seem that the whole history of cartels refutes this view on the record.

Despite these exceptions, Mr. Whittlesey must be commended for providing us, not with the last word, but with a capable summary of many cartel issues.

WENDELL BERGE

Former Assistant Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.

THE PLOTTERS, by John Roy Carlson. Dutton. \$3.50.

JOHN ROY CARLSON'S NEW EXPOSÉ, "The Plotters" written in a Superman, Frank Fearless style, carries forward the author's investigation of America's pro-Nazi propaganda groups, many of which were described in his earlier best seller, "Under Cover."

In writing "Under Cover," Mr. Carlson performed a splendid service, something that our newspapers, radio stations, churches, and schools should have provided had they been sufficiently alert and patriotic. In "The Plotters," the author has written an even better book. The volume shows the struggle going on for the minds and support of the American people and particularly the veterans. The hero of "The Plotters" is John Roy Carlson himself. The villains are scores of propagandists peddling the old Nazi line—which is that the main threat to American security is found in the Jews and the Communists.

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For the most part, the author deals with the propagandists of the Coughlin-Gerald L. K. Smith variety whose main appeal is directed at the tens of millions who have an eighth grade education or less. To some extent, Mr. Carlson tells of the "Park Avenue" propagandists and shows the connection between them and the Coughlins and Gerald L. K. Smiths.

He is pretty easy, however, on the respectable university presidents, deans, and professors, newspaper publishers and editors, and the churchmen, Catholic and Protestant, who give respectability to the Jew-Communist "menace." For example, he makes no mention of the year-in-and-year-out campaign of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce against "Communism."

When Mr. Carlson wrote "Under Cover," he joined up with various subversive groups, pretending to share their ideas. Most of his information for "The Plotters" came in the form of letters. Posing as a veteran dissatisfied with postwar conditions and hating Jews, Communists, and labor unions, Mr. Carlson, under differing aliases, wrote to leaders of various subversive propaganda groups. The answers he got contained enough information for a good part of "The Plotters."

This is a better book, as I have said, than "Under Cover," better because Mr. Carlson sees that subver-

sive propaganda directed against Jews, Catholics, Negroes, Labor, Communists (real or fancied), or any other group derives its effectiveness from conditions which make for economic and psychological insecurity. Adequate utilization of our resources to provide decent standards of living, decent housing, and full employment comprises the most effective defense not only against the propaganda which incites fear of Communism but, of course, against social revolution itself. This is a point which the book makes crystal clear.

CLYDE R. MILLER

*Teachers College,
Columbia University*

BEHIND SOVIET POWER, by Jerome Davis. Readers' Press. \$1.

THIS IS THE MOST COMPREHENSIVE AND convincing analysis of the Russian scene I have found. Mr. Davis writes without bias, basing his statements on facts as he observed the situation in repeated and unhurried visits to every part of the USSR.

The author does not ask you to agree with him. He simply cites the facts, chapter and verse, and leaves the reader to his own conclusions—the procedure which, in my opinion, is the essential basis of better understanding between the USSR and the USA.

LOUIS D. NEWTON

*The Southern Baptist Convention
Atlanta, Ga.*

TIME FOR A POSITIVE MORALITY

(Continued from page 196)

was a measure of our terrific insensibility; for if the democracies had been morally alert, six years of slaughter and devastation might have been averted.

A second consequence of our moral apathy was that the American armed forces engaged in the greatest ideological war in history without an ideology. American men fought valiantly and helped win the victory, but they had no common conviction of values worth fighting for.

A third consequence is the present fact that a rather large proportion of our soldiers in Germany—about 30 percent, according to recent figures—prefer the Germans to any of our Allies.

My final observation is that we are more fascinated by immorality and

pathology than we think; that we are more intrigued by the bad child than by the good child; and that we ourselves are tempted to get as close to the bounds of irresponsibility as we can without falling into the hands of the police or becoming ill.

The Attraction of the Bad

The between-wars revolt against traditional sanctions opened the way for a deluge of honest, outspoken literature, plays and movies, on all sorts of previously tabooed themes. At long last we had American novels with flesh-and-blood heroes and heroines. We read a great deal about irresponsible wasters, neurotic failures, psychopathic personalities, gangsters, ruthless profitseekers, but among all these well-drawn characters it was almost impos-

sible to find anyone sincerely trying to find a path to the good life.

Biographers vied with each other in exhibiting the weaknesses and defects of the great men of the past. Writers announced that they were pledged to tell the truth; but to them, this meant to tell the worst and omit the best. More than ever, newspapers and magazines seemed to gloat over revelations of the less creditable actions of human beings. The public's hunger for detective stories and murder mysteries became insatiable. We were realizing the consequence of our previously negative orientation; we were more beguiled by sinners than by saints.

A hero of this child-centered culture of ours is a young delinquent—Huckleberry Finn. Our interest, if not delight, in the bad boy is healthy within limits, but, like all good tendencies, it can go too far; because the bad boy is on his way to becoming the bad man and a few too many bad men can wreck the world.

For several years we have witnessed the most extreme and widespread discharge of evil that history has to record, and we, as a people, have been implicated in it all. Our crime rates are very high and are still rising. Forces compatible with fascism are active in this country. We have engaged in violent conflicts of race, creed, and class. It was our representatives who dropped the first atomic bombs.

Our government has not always acted with enlightened wisdom in its relations with other countries. Our soldiers have antagonized all classes of people in the countries in which they have served. It is in the realm of morals that our prestige has deteriorated most markedly.

I am suggesting that for us to be attracted and infected by these primitive forces let loose in our time is too expensive an indulgence. One result of all these trends and events, and of the psychological and psychiatric literature, the novels, plays, and movies of the last twenty-five years, is that our minds have become crowded, as G. K. Chesterton once pointed out, with images of human imperfection—of malice and deceit, of brutality and crime, of shrewd, sordid ambition, of sickness and affliction. We have come to see more and more clearly what is wrong, but we do not see clearly what is right. There are thousands of good men and women all about us, but we do not hear or read about them. We scarcely believe in them. Our trust in

other human beings, in other groups, in other nations is dangerously subnormal.

What Is the Remedy?

The responsible course to follow, as I see it, is not to maintain an attitude of laissez faire or of escapism; nor is it the re-adoption of a negative attitude. Rather, first of all, as parents and educators, we must make a right about face and set our hearts and minds to the definition of positive ideals.

The American scene, of course, provides a host of models for youthful ambition. At one age, it is the figure of the fireman, the locomotive engineer, or the professional ball player that is most inviting. Later, perhaps, it is the business man working his way up the socio-economic ladder who has the greatest appeal. To scramble upward is without doubt the most popular goal in America today. But individualistic aims of this sort are basically selfish and egocentric. The concept of individualism must be fused with that of social responsibility, of dedication. We are getting into more and more trouble with our competitive dog-eats-dog culture.

What can be said in a small space on the all important, though perhaps distasteful, topic of morality is necessarily very general. But the time calls for generalities. This is the moment for a reexamination of fundamental tenets, for the rediscovery, rediscrimination, and resynthesis of the great verities, garnered from our immense heritage of experience and reflection. What we must all endeavor to build, with even-tempered toleration, is a morality for today, a fresh combination of ancient truths suitable to these troubled times, which will kindle our generation and rally the forces to minister to the needs of a despairing world. What is required is a great collective effort towards "the moralization of society," as the philosopher Ralph Barton Perry puts it. Religion and philosophy have become everybody's business.

Morals are the rules of enduring social well-being, guides to the happiest, most fruitful, and most lasting human relationships. This, of course, is not the whole story, but it is one part of it that needs emphasis. There are all sorts of human relations—interpersonal, intergroup, and international. Although the rules differ somewhat for each type, the basic principles are universal. Politics, business, science, art

—each has its special code; but morality encompasses them all. It is the stuff out of which our social world is built. Without it we fall apart.

No international organization will hold together without a worldwide moral conversion. As the theologian Reinhold Niebuhr says: "The only answer to atomic power is moral power." This calls for the creation and indoctrination of a world conscience, the transformation of narrow men into broad men, of national men into world men.

We must remember that morals have a positive as well as a negative aspect. Fellowship and love are ends in themselves, perhaps the most rewarding final goals. Morals, properly understood, are the means of attaining and enjoying these goals within the framework of a social system. A good man might be defined as one who contributes generously through his work and through his conduct to the creation and maintenance of the deepest, broadest, and most elevated human relations. The prevalent conception of goodness is flabby, sentimental, and somewhat repellent. Virtue has shrunk to a little measure. Actually, goodness is something positive, constructive, and reverberating in its effects.

In developing our ideals we should avoid certain errors that have been made in the past:

1. Instead of setting up a distant lofty image of perfection and leaving it hanging there as a spur and admonition to our futile efforts, we should define the realizable stages of development leading to our ideal.

2. Instead of preaching moral absolutes—integrity, loyalty, charity—let us define the conditions under which these guiding principles should operate.

3. Instead of proclaiming the infallibility of our ideals and imposing them in a dogmatic manner from above, we should devise a democratic means which will allow for necessary modifications and continuous improvement. The authority of science has not been impaired but enhanced by incessant change in its conceptions of reality. The test of a morality will consist partly in its logical consistency, but partly, too, in its inhering vitality and its encouragement of promising experiments in living.

(Continued on page 216)

(In answering advertisements please mention SURVEY GRAPHIC)

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LEFT GOES RIGHT
(Continued from page 194)

currency to an unknown extent throughout the country. There may be more gold hidden away by individuals than ever before."

France is accumulating resources, he observed, but these are waiting mainly on two things—on coal and confidence:

—Coal enough so that the industries can really resume full blast.

—Confidence that the political situation has settled enough to allow people to plan for the future.

He declared further:

Here a word from America could help. Evidence that the United States feels its inevitable deep concern with whatever happens in Europe, that your government and people intend to prevent serious trouble—trouble particularly of the sort that would spring from a powerful Germany—could do more than anything else to set us on our way. That is our hope, and our great doubt. We could guarantee liberty and recovery; we could not ensure security.

You and the Russians have first to reach an understanding about Germany, which means about Europe. If you can do that, there need be no fear about the French future. If it can not be done, there can be little future for France or for Europe.

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A growing hostility between overwhelming powers for which these regions might prove the battleground means ruin for the western world.

Nevertheless, the French are equally concerned about their own internal problems, and especially about some of the principles involved in the last elections. In regard to these, an eminent authority on political science, long a student of American institutions, took up the theme of France and the United States from a different point of view. Sitting in his chilly apartment, he argued passionately against the practice of obliging voters to cast straight party ballots. This had been followed in the choice of the new Parliament, and he was not the only French person whom I heard protest against it. He insisted:

Frenchmen have always been highly individualistic as citizens. At the polls we would generally scratch out some names, and substitute others—often put forward by different parties. This time the ballots were separate party lists. You could choose the one you preferred, but you could not change it. No splitting of tickets! So you really lost your chance of being an independent voter.

A lot of French people did not like this. In my opinion, the voting regulations will have to be modified. Otherwise, we are introducing the political bloc system in western Europe, and where that would take us, no one can say.

That is why we need contacts and exchange of ideas with you in America. In many ways, this is more necessary

and significant than exchange of goods. Regardless of divergencies in political action between the United States and the French Republic, you share with the majority of us certain great and indispensable ideas as to the individual and liberty. Those are essential principles, and a struggle will have to be made for them. If we keep in touch, that struggle can be won; and everything else can be worked out.

There is a bridgehead of common interest between Frenchmen and Americans. Although each people goes about political and economic affairs in its own ways and these vary from each other, the purposes that engage us both are freedom for the individual and a good life for society as a whole.

In America the emphasis is on limitation of government action and on independence for business enterprise. In France another experiment in social welfare is being tried, with a different combination and balance of public and private interests. Fundamentally, however, an imposing majority of the French people want this experiment carried on in the spirit of tolerance and with full safeguards for personal and political rights.

Our common purposes offer a meeting ground between the two nations, in whatever manner the process of recovery may be progressively worked out on either side of the Atlantic—for they are the purposes for which the struggle against subjugation was waged and won.

SHAKESPEARE'S HEAVY RIVALS

(Continued from page 189)

atmosphere of freedom within their walls, and in the community, as well.

But there is no reason why the combined civic organizations of this country plus representatives of labor unions, school, and home cannot sweep down on Hollywood and demand that the nation's children be given the chance to learn all sorts of subjects by films made expressly for the classroom. There is profit in such films, but Hollywood is not interested in ordinary profits. If the layman knew what an incredibly meager, frowsy, low-down state the educational film situation is in, he would stomp in wrath. In the world's richest land the schools must wait for bus lines, the textile industry, or the sil-

ver "interests" to film the American economic scene, or our children won't see any educational movies at all! Films on citizenship are negligible in number and effectiveness—in the world's greatest democracy.

As to radio, after all, it is the people's air! The public does not seem to understand that in a very real way the radio is ours, in a way that the movies are not. Parents' groups could (and should) force local stations to provide sustaining programs for youth during school hours.

Very few of us know what can be done about the new liaison between large-scale advertising and the general tone of the press; about the fact that the newspaper itself is a big business

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before it is the fourth estate. Until the place of the newspaper chain in a democracy is more reasonably settled, the classroom can have but a tenuous hold on the minds of our future citizens. If only enough parents knew the trials of a teacher when irresponsible sheets and economic and political rumors that pass for news make mincemeat of text books and classroom discussion!

All this is to raise the inevitable question: how can any small group, however eager and sincere, procure better radio programs or movies or newspapers without first raising the taste of the general public? So we come back to the usual American response to all social dilemmas, "That's a matter of education." There are some who believe that schools cannot be improved until the society of which they are a part is improved; others who believe that schools always should be in advance of society. Without degenerating into egg and chicken scholasticism, one can point out that there are millions of sincere, educated people at hand to demand a reckoning from these three media of communication. In short, instead of turning our wrath on the schools, as we now do, let us pour it on these powerful outside forces that undermine the school.

Zeal Is Not Enough

Another favorite response is, of course, the demand that our schools themselves "do something." "Let the teachers do what they are already doing, but do it better." This is dear to both parents and teachers because it puts no one to any more trouble than a flurry of zeal. From this viewpoint, the classroom is seen as a sort of pedagogical greenhouse, designed to develop the pupils' critical powers, to make his mind logical and keen, to train him in standards of thought and of taste—in short, to surround pupils with "the best that was ever thought." This purer, protective environment supposedly would wean a youth away from the flabby and the vulgar, and his sharp mind would pierce through propaganda devices and appeals to self-interest, emotion, and muddled thinking. This might be called the method of humanism. It sounds wonderful. Above all, you don't have to change anything.

But let it be noted that "the best" which is to strengthen the pupil against this outside foe is in the form of print. Again and again schoolmen

reveal that not 30 percent of the pupils can get this sort of thing from books. In truth, that is one reason why the foe is so powerful; the "best" does not get written in headlines or on billboards. One must not forget that while this "best" (in the limited precincts of school) is surrounding the pupil, this other school is in operation too, more hours every day, more days every year—pleasantly, insistently, expertly.

Youth can no longer be protected from inconsequential, trivial, cheapening, particularistic assaults, which now have an authority—based on impact—outweighing that of the schools. To the young, the diploma has come to have value chiefly for its usefulness in the job market. The true meaning of an education has been undermined by this ubiquitous, wall-boring, eye-besieging pressure school. To cope with it, more zeal is not enough.

One must make a great deal of this point simply because whenever any teacher suggests the use of these new media—newspapers, films, radio—in the classroom itself, he gets a sheaf of indignant letters from parents and culture lovers urging him to let these new-fangled gadgets alone and get down to a decent job of teaching Browning, Milton, and Shakespeare. But from the reports of educators everywhere the oblique approach of pure humanism is failing us; the foe must be joined in battle on its own ground. The curriculum must be so modified as to allow full scale courses in the study of radio, movies, and the press, in addition to traditional English courses.

Let Humanism Attack

This new sequence of courses would include such an adventure into citizenship as no pupil now gets in any school in America. For example: The rise of the radio, the movies, and the press as inventions and what benefits and what new dangers they have brought with them. The problem of their control in a land of freedom. The rise of these media as industries. Their importance as channels of mass communication. How each medium has separate problems of control because of its peculiar nature. These media as true forums of opinion. Censorship as a means of control. The influence of advertising on news and radio. The cost of radio time. Who pays columnists and radio commentators? A look behind the scenes at the

competition to win access to these channels. Ideas as weapons. How news is made. What is news? The "source" of news. The movies, the book, and the stage. How to judge a movie before you see it. What are public relations counsels? How "fronts" originate by virtue of these media. What is an advertising agency? What is public opinion? How it can be molded. What a pressure group is and how it operates. These three media as art. How they might be improved. Naturally all this presupposes bringing newspapers to class, constant "homework" assignments in movie going and radio listening.

In short, our attack is to bring these media into the classroom and study them for what they are. It is an attempt to overcome what Freud thinks is a great weakness of all schools, "not preparing [the students] for the aggressions of which they are destined to become the objects." Culture lovers need not fear; this is not a replacement of humanism by a "low world"; it is putting humanism to work.

STEEL MAKERS

(Continued from page 186)

general policy of incorporating a non-discrimination clause in its constitution, and the president has appointed a special representative, Boyd L. Wilson, to the national staff to see that its purposes are carried out. But Boyd Wilson is the only Negro on the entire headquarters staff, which is large enough to occupy two floors of a spacious office building in Pittsburgh. Mr. Wilson is also the only Negro staff representative in the whole Pittsburgh area—the capital of the steel industry, which includes eight union districts and 283 locals. A few districts in other parts of the country have Negro staff representatives for organizing purposes. Some locals have a Negro officer or two, but the totals are not impressive.

"Local community attitudes," says Mr. Wilson "are reflected within the union. Unions are no different from any other segment of the public."

Mr. Wilson strongly believes, however, that the United Steelworkers by refusing to countenance Jim Crowism within the union membership, even in the South, has been a progressive influence in breaking down tradi-

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T H E W O M A N ' S P R E S S

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tional attitudes. He blames industry for building up within plants patterns of segregation that are now difficult to overcome, even with management sanction. Early antagonisms between Negro and white workers in the North were engendered in the years when the industry imported southern Negroes as strikebreakers and laid them off without more ado when strikes were broken.

Traditionally, Negroes in steel plants have been confined to the work of common laborers or unskilled maintenance jobs, and a few dangerous or unpleasant skilled jobs, not popular among white men, such as the work in the tremendous heat of the soaking rooms. Where large numbers of Negroes have been employed, they have usually been assigned to segregated departments with their only chance of promotion within those departments. Manpower shortages during the war, and the efforts of the FEPC served to weaken this policy.

Today, since most mills are still working at capacity, layoffs have not occurred to any appreciable degree. If a slack period should come, however, the Negroes, lacking seniority

except in a few departments or job lines, undoubtedly will be the first to suffer layoffs and demotions, and the union, because of its traditional emphasis on seniority, will be powerless to help them. Already a few omens have appeared. One small Pittsburgh company with about 900 employees had sixty to seventy Negroes working on production during the war. Today its only Negro employees are the plant janitors.

Differences in seniority clauses within contracts affect Negroes. For instance, in one large Pittsburgh steel mill, seniority is determined on a job-line basis rather than on a plant or departmental basis. An assistant porter can rise no further than a porter without crossing job lines, and losing all his accumulated seniority in the plant. This, of course, applies to all the plant's hourly personnel, but it tends to work most harshly against the Negro, who is apt to be taken on only in dead end job lines.

In spite of their difficulties in connection with seniority and promotions, Negro workers have undoubtedly gained something from the steel contracts. They have the same wage rates as other workers, and constitu-

tionally the same privileges, including the recourse to appeal for unfair treatment. If there are locals where their grievances do not receive the same attention as those of white workers, the structure and purpose of the international union are no more at fault than is the United States Constitution for the streak of biracial poison that penetrates every phase of American culture.

"They Won't Come to Meetings"

The majority of steelworkers show little interest in union activities except in times of strike or other periods of high tension or excitement. The president of one large Pittsburgh local, with 4,900 members, complains that only fifteen or twenty persons show up at the regular monthly meetings. When the officers have an important announcement to make, the only way they can be sure that the word is spread is by passing out mimeographed leaflets at the plant gates, and then "the office is swamped for the next week with people coming in to ask questions they could have asked at the union meeting."

This local undoubtedly has an exceptionally low attendance rate. Yet

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one district representative gives a discouraging picture of his whole district. His inquiries have revealed that in locals with memberships under 1,000 regular attendance at meetings runs about 10 percent, while the meetings of larger locals bring out only about 5 percent of the membership. The tendency is to blame the customary three shift system in the mills for this poor showing for it leaves no time for scheduling a meeting when more than a third of the members are available. The other two thirds are either working or sleeping.

Interest is more manifest in the biennial elections for international officers, delegates to the CIO conventions, and district directors, with the polling places open 24 hours a day. The members of the large local which draws less than a score of persons to meetings cast over 2,000 votes in last December's elections, while 600 out of the 900 members of a smaller local voted. Of the 45,000 steelworkers eligible to vote in the Youngstown district more than 30,000 cast ballots. Similar interest is shown in the elections for local union officers and delegates to the union's biennial convention.

Unionization has also presented steelworkers in many areas with broader opportunities for participation in community life, notably in politics. In the old days, many a steelworker voted the way his boss hinted to him to vote, either out of fear, or out of ignorance of his own rights. It was not uncommon for payrolls in election season to contain slips of paper extolling the virtues of the company-backed candidate. Stories are still told of truckloads of workers taken to the polls by the company supervisors. In those days most elective offices in the small steel towns were held by company officials. Today the opposite tendency is apparent. Aliquippa, Pa., is a case in point. Until recently this ugly town on the banks of the Ohio was run by the supervisory personnel of the huge steel mill which dominates it. But today four out of the seven members of the borough council, including the president, are officers of the local steelworkers union. (See "Steel: A Retrospect" by Charles R. Walker, *Survey Graphic*, April 1946.)

The advantages brought by the USA-CIO to the steelworkers are fairly obvious, but what values, if

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any, does the steelworkers' unionization have for the employers?

None, some would say, and among them would be some of the modern managers who are doing their best to "live with" the union.

The Employer's Side

From the standpoint of the employing corporations, unionization is seen multiplying grievances a hundredfold and undermining the authority of foremen. A great increase in grievances has probably occurred, for a man with union backing need no longer be afraid to complain of what he considers unfair treatment or bad working conditions. Some representatives of management, however, have openly praised the grievance machinery as an asset in providing a method for tackling incipient trouble at the roots.

Recent attempts to unionize foremen have met with bitter antagonism on the part of management. They have also brought some steel corporations to a realization that if foremen are actually a part of management, as the companies maintain, they should be given the chance to know what is going on within the company. Consequently, a few personnel departments have experimented in educational courses for foremen.

At the Sheet and Tin Works of the Carnegie-Illinois plant in Gary, Ind., a company sponsored course in plant management was offered to foremen some time before a scheduled NLRB election. When the election came, the foremen decisively turned down the union.

The Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation, on the other hand, has focused its newly inaugurated foremen's educational program at Aliquippa on techniques for handling grievances and getting along with organized labor. Here is recognition by management that good industrial relations call for responsible personnel on the levels where the most frequent intercourse between management and labor occurs.

Management's resolve to learn to live with the union has not lessened its resentment at being forced under War Labor Board directives to bear the burden of keeping up union strength through maintenance of union membership and check-off of union dues. Big Steel finds particularly galling the maintenance of membership clause in its contracts as an

invasion of management prerogatives, for under its terms the companies must fire any employee who resigns from the union (unless the resignation occurs during the period specified in the "escape clause" of the contract) and must keep up the present union ratio when new employes are hired.

The management attitude toward maintenance of membership was stated by J. L. Perry, then president of Carnegie-Illinois, when the National War Labor Board, in 1942, issued a directive for the adoption of such contract provisions:

"The acceptance is predicated on one premise only; namely, that the country is at war and that your Board, created by the President of the United States of America, has ordered this Company to do certain things embodied in your directives. . . . For the period of the contract now under negotiation, this Company bows to your decision and accepts that which it considers unnecessary, undesirable, and subversive of the workers' individual freedom."

Union leaders also dislike the maintenance of membership clause, but for a different reason. They hold that it does not go far enough in protecting a portion of the workers from having to assume the full financial support of a union which brings advantages to all employes. They want a guaranteed union shop in which every new employe must become a union member within a specified period of time. This difference of viewpoints over maintenance of membership threatens to be the greatest stumbling block in the way of a peaceful outcome of present contract negotiations.

Cooperation on the Job

Management, for the most part, responds with little enthusiasm to union offers to participate in working out company problems. With few exceptions the labor-management production committees inaugurated at government insistence during the war have petered out. In a Pittsburgh mill where car buggies installed at a worker's suggestion to load small forging furnaces are still in use, the labor-management committee has not been called together since V-J day and suggestion boxes have disappeared from the plant.

In one area, however, management and the union have collaborated with outstanding results. For two years, specially qualified staff members of

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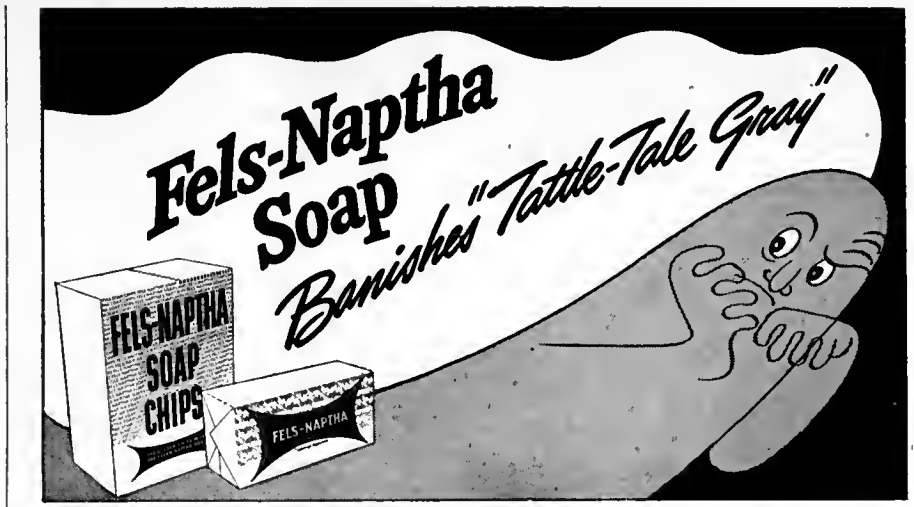
the USA-CIO have worked full time with representatives of the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation to devise a system for wiping out wage inequities within the company's plants. The result is a plan of job evaluation and reclassification which is now being applied by union-management wage equalization committees in steel plants throughout the country. In the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation where the task of describing and evaluating every job has already been completed, the number of job titles, according to the union's research department, has been reduced from 16,000 to 3,000 and the number of pay scales from over 100 to 30.

How They Do It

A few industrialists have sought not only to learn how to live with the union but to use it to their own advantage. The well publicized Adamson Company of East Palestine, Ohio, manufacturers of welded tanks, called upon the USA-CIO for help in devising a plan whereby the company's employes might share in the profits of production. With the aid of Joseph Scanlon, expert in mill practice and cost accountancy on the Steelworkers' staff (now on leave) a system was worked out which returns 50 percent of the profits to the employes in addition to their guaranteed daily wage. In the first year of the system's operation, the 50 percent share which goes to the company's owner was more than double his total profits for the preceding year.

Another corporation has tried union-management cooperation in applying a plantwide system of time studies in setting incentive rates. This is the Oliver Iron and Steel Corporation, makers of nuts, bolts, railroad accessories, and pole line hardware, which employs some 1,500 hourly workers in its Pittsburgh plant. The experiment had its beginnings back in 1940 when employe resistance to time studies prompted the company to request the union to assign a representative to be trained in time study procedures and to help in the development of standards for operation.

Though this policy broke down employe distrust of the purposes of the studies somewhat, enough misunderstanding persisted for the corporation to take its problem to the research department of the international union. As a result, a firm of consulting engineers was called in to devise a time



study program with real union participation. This plan has involved the complete reorganization of the company's industrial engineering department on a union-management partnership arrangement. All time studies are now being made by teams, consisting of one company observer and one union observer, with each man equally responsible for the results.

Before putting the new system into effect, the company gave special training in the purposes and basic techniques of time study procedures to the local union president and the chairman of the grievance committee. The five union time study observers, all former production workers in the plant, have had their daily training in this work supplemented by two years of evening courses at the University of Pittsburgh. Though the newly formed union-management teams are just beginning operations, the management reports a noticeable decline in the resentment and mistrust encountered by previous attempts to set standards of performance in the plant.

A few other scattered experiments—most of them in small, family owned companies—provide examples of what Philip Murray means by the "beginnings of labor-management collaboration" in the fourth phase of industrial relations development. They show that the elimination of mutual mistrust from labor-management attitudes is to the advantage of both parties. The problem of steel industrialists and steelworkers the country over is to find ways to overcome a large residue of bad feeling remaining from long years of ill-considered industrial relations. The progress achieved in the past ten years indicates that solution is not impossible.

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★ ★ ★

FELLOW AMERICANS, something is wrong. We know the heart of America is still warm and kindly. Our poor performance in this winter of agony is the result of confusion. As a nation we have mistaken victory for peace. We have failed to distinguish people from governments.

It is as certain as the stars in their courses that there can be no peace in a world where children are starving. It makes no difference under what government they live. If we keep before our eyes the human faces which look toward America for help and guidance, we will not fail them nor be false to ourselves. For in this crisis we also are being tested. As we now act to help starving men and women and children wherever they can be reached, we affirm our faith in the oneness of mankind which is the foundation of our American way of life.

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TO THIS END the American Friends Service Committee appeals not only for money for its own limited work but also for a new burst of nationwide support for the work of all governmental and private agencies engaged in relief and reconstruction.

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A BILL WHICH WOULD PERMIT THIS COUNTRY to open the doors to 400,000 displaced Europeans in the next four years was introduced in Congress on April 1 by Representative William G. Stratton. The proposal, put forward in the leading article in *Survey Graphic* for February ("Not Sympathy, But Action," by William S. Bernard) was warmly approved by Earl G. Harrison, former Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, in a recent report to the Foreign Policy Association. Mr. Harrison, now dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, held that many of the arguments against amending the immigration laws spring from "prejudice masquerading as logic."

Representative Stratton's bill would permit the entry of displaced persons now in UNRRA camps in Europe "in a number equivalent to a part of the total quota numbers unused during the war years."

AMERICAN EDUCATORS HAVE EXPRESSED THEIR appreciation of the nationwide school study recently made by Benjamin Fine, education editor of *The New York Times*, and the series of articles he wrote for his paper, based on his findings. The executive committee of the National Education Association, representing 750,000 teachers, adopted a resolution commending the survey and the articles as "an outstanding contribution to education."

On page 243, Mr. Fine reports to *Survey Graphic* readers on the shocking teacher shortage he found in big city school systems as well as in small town and rural districts, and the reasons for it.

WARNINGS THAT THIS COUNTRY'S SORELY needed public housing program may suffer another setback in the present Congress are being issued by proponents of more and better housing for Americans.

Last year, a hostile House committee succeeded in keeping the widely commended Tafft-Ellender-Wagner bill from a vote. (See "Homes for All—and How," by Leon Keyserling, *Survey Graphic*, February 1946). A similar bill (S.866) with the same sponsorship was introduced early last month. Hearings were promptly held by the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, under the sympathetic chairmanship of Senator Charles W. Tobey of New Hampshire.

The companion bill in the House (H.2523) was introduced by Representative Jacob Javits of New York. Jesse P. Wolcott of Michigan, chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, is an avowed opponent of public housing. He has stated that the committee will hold hearings on H. 2523 only if and when it decides to hold them, and the measure's advocates fear that last year's disheartening experience may be repeated—unless there is

Survey Graphic for April 1947

Cover: *Strike*, by Berta Margoulies. Courtesy 1947 Exhibition of Sculpture, Whitney Museum of American Art

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sufficient public pressure to force the House committee to act.

THE FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION IS UNDERTAKING a nationwide campaign "to awaken the American people to an awareness and fulfillment of their world responsibility in this time of crisis." The FPA has set up a special committee to carry on the campaign, under the chairmanship of Raymond Gram Swing, editor of the first "Calling America" issue of *Survey Graphic*. The campaign is undertaken in response to the recent appeal of Secretary of State George C. Marshall for public participation in the making of American foreign policy.

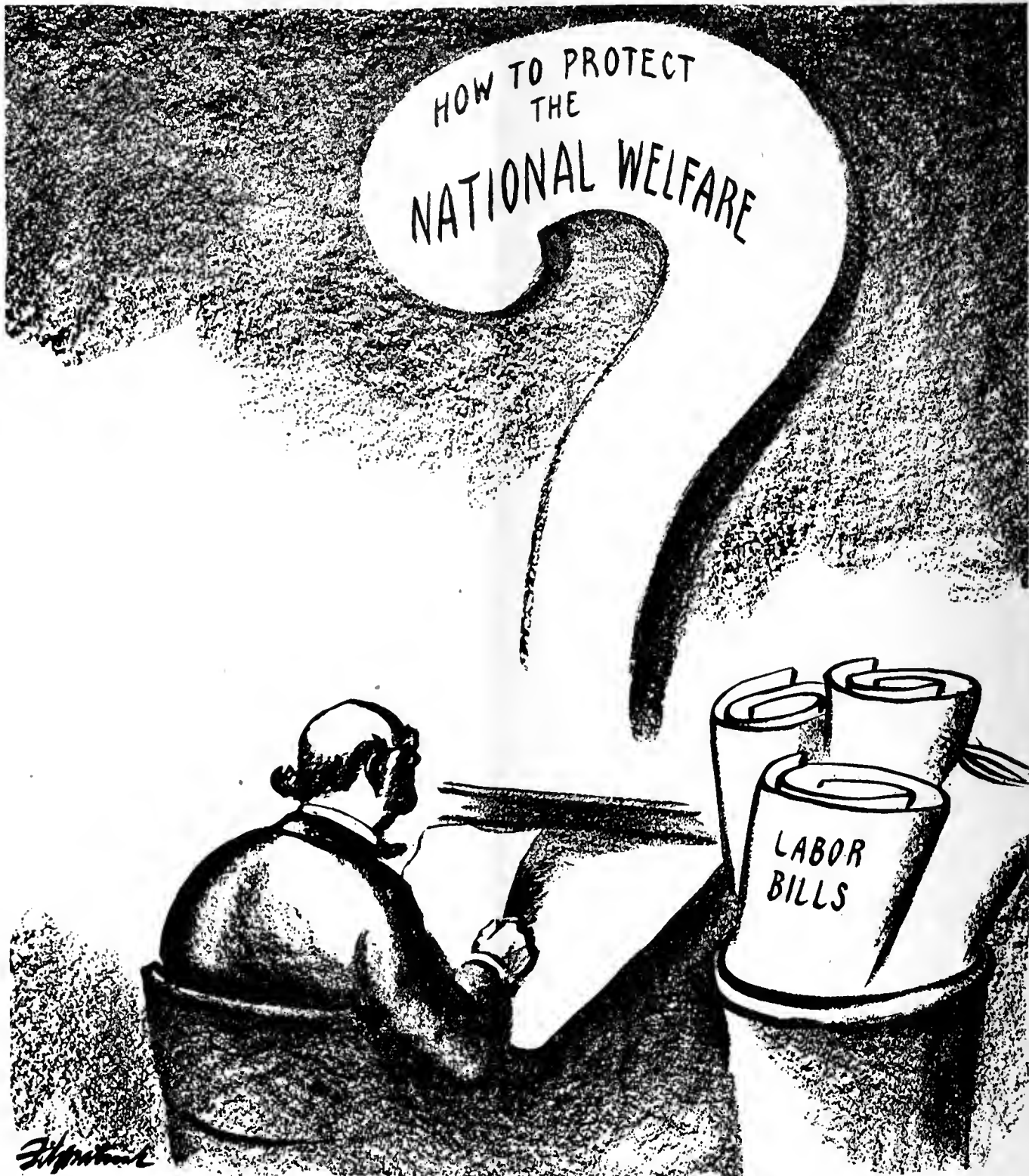
The FPA announced last month the appointment of Brooks Emeny of Cleveland as president, succeeding Major General Frank R. McCoy, now president *emeritus*. Since 1936 Mr. Emeny has headed the Cleveland Council on World Affairs.

THE MANY ENTHUSIASTIC READERS OF THE March *Survey Graphic* article, "Shakes-

peare's Heavy Rivals," by a Delaware school principal, George H. Henry, must have read with special interest the press reports of an address by Mrs. Eugene Meyer of Washington, D. C., before the California Association of Secondary School Administrators.

Mr. Henry reported the plight of the schools, all but overwhelmed in their cultural efforts by those mighty educators, the radio, the movies, and the press.

Mrs. Meyer stated: "The radio and film industries are antidemocratic because these superb techniques are being used for a progressive vulgarization of the public morals at a moment when the salvation of democracy depends upon the strengthening of individual moral integrity." She suggested the establishment of a nationwide organization, The Friends of Public Education, the chief functions of which would be "to protect, improve, and expand our public school system throughout the country and hasten the use of film and radio as media of education."



Fitzpatrick in *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

THE QUESTION TO BE RESOLVED



The New Congress and the Unions

How the legislators propose to prevent and cure strikes;
the arguments for and against the remedies they prescribe.

JOHN A. FITCH

SEVENTEEN BILLS TO AMEND THE WAGNER law or otherwise to deal with unions or collective bargaining were dropped into the hopper of the House of Representatives on January 3, 1947—the first day of the opening session of the 80th Congress. The Senate on that day was occupied with Mr. Bilbo of Mississippi, but in the following week fifteen such bills were introduced by members of the upper house.

By the end of January no less than forty-eight bills dealing with unions and collective bargaining were before the two houses—not counting a flood of bills dealing with portal-to-portal pay. There were sixty-five by the end of February, and as this is written, in mid-March, not even the clerks of the committees to whom the bills are referred can give you an accurate count, since bills are still coming in.

Some Legislative Quickies

That in the midst of this hectic rush there should be evidence of a purpose to promote the public welfare rather than to destroy the unions, is not surprising. To imagine otherwise would be to impugn the integrity as well as the intelligence of a large proportion of the members of Congress. But these evidences do not always lie on the surface. Easier to see are evidences of haste and carelessness in draftsmanship and nonchalance in dealing with matters of the gravest importance, on the part of certain

—By a national authority on labor problems, once a *Survey Graphic* editor, long a member of the faculty of the New York School of Social Work.

Mr. Fitch, who is widely known as a skillful mediator of industrial disputes, is a member of the National Railway Labor Panel, from which the Emergency Boards, provided for in the Railway Labor Act, are selected.

legislators who are eager to obey what they consider the "mandate" of the 1946 election.

For example: Of seven labor bills introduced by Senator O'Daniel of Texas on January 8, five dealt with the National Labor Relations Act. Four of these assumed its continuance and offered amendments. The fifth proposed its repeal *in toto*. Two days later the same Senator—either forgetting his efforts of the day before yesterday, or in the belief that two bills are better than one—introduced another bill, in identical language, again to repeal the National Labor Relations Act.

A bill that has had serious consideration from the House Committee on Education and Labor is entitled "a bill to amend and revise" the Wagner law, introduced by Congressman H. W. Smith of Virginia. It makes no reference to that law, however, and neither amends, revises, nor repeals it. Instead, it is a bill to create a National Labor Relations Board, and to deal with the same subject

matter as that covered in the Wagner law. Section 16 of the bill provides that "this Act may be cited as the National Labor Relations Act." It would seem, therefore, that if the bill were passed as introduced it would leave the Wagner law intact, and that two acts, each known as the National Labor Relations Act, would then be in existence together with two boards, each known as the National Labor Relations Board. The second board would have duties and limitations different from and frequently contradictory to the duties and limitations of the first, and both would exist by equal congressional authority.

Perhaps the height of legislative and constitutional ingenuity is reached by a bill fathered by Congressman Clair Hoffman of Michigan—one of five labor bills bearing his name introduced on the opening day of Congress. This bill provides that an employer may file a sworn complaint with a court alleging that a "slow-down" or a strike in his plant, is "injuriously" affecting "interstate commerce, the public health, safety or welfare." The complaint may be referred to a jury. If the jury agrees with the complainant it becomes the duty of the court before which the complaint is made—which may be a federal court or "any court of record of any state"—to suspend "the National Labor Relations Act and all orders of any government agency and decrees of any court affecting such

activity" until the controversy has been settled or work resumed.

Most of the bills, whether carefully drawn or otherwise, have as their purpose restricting the activities of labor unions. Some of them would wipe out the legal protection to concerted action by employes, built up during the fifteen years that have elapsed since the passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act in 1932; some would make the legal position of organized labor worse than it was before that law or any of the New Deal measures that followed it were conceived of.

The Power of the Unions

To oversimplify an exceedingly complex situation, there appear to be two forces at work behind these bills. One force consists of die-hard reactionaries who want to go back to the 1920's and restore the semifeudal power of employers and courts to oppose the extension and functioning of organized labor. The other consists of those who do not wish to turn the clock back but who are convinced that labor has overstepped its legitimate rights and is threatening the public welfare, and so must be checked. Perhaps mention should be made of a third group, larger than either of the others, consisting of bewildered and fearful men and women who desire peace and justice in industry and believe that somehow it can be brought about if only we have enough law.

An examination of the last dozen or so years of labor history may help to explain the existence and the point of view of these groups.

First, there is the National Labor Relations Act passed in 1935. For the first time in the history of the United States, the employer was effectively denied absolute freedom to hire and fire as he saw fit. Employers were shocked and enraged. Lawyers told them it was unconstitutional and that they need not obey it. They fought it in the courts and up to the U. S. Supreme Court where in 1937 the law was held not to be in violation of constitutional rights. Since that time, despite increasing acceptance of the law, the original sense of outrage has not entirely died away. Some employers are as bitter over what they believe to be an invasion of their rights as they were ten years ago. These are the die-hards who hope Congress will enact legislation to draw the teeth of the Wagner law.

Second, there is the astonishing increase in trade union membership. In 1935, when the Wagner act was passed, there were about 3,500,000 trade union members in the United States. Today there are well over 14,000,000—more than four times as many as there were ten years ago. This growth is not due to the Wagner act alone, but the act helped. Consequently anti-unionists would repeal the act if they could, and failing that, they would weaken it.

But it is not the die-hards alone who are troubled over this development. Many who have favored collective bargaining are concerned lest labor should get too strong. It is all very well to be on labor's side when it is weak, but when it becomes very powerful may it not become a menace? The implications of this question are suggested and emphasized by countless editorials reiterating the claims that labor is now more powerful than the employers.



Justus in *The Minneapolis Star*

"Stupendous and colossal!"

The unions themselves have not always been helpful in allaying these fears. The whole country was shocked and alarmed by the wave of labor stoppages in 1946 and particularly by nationwide strikes involving coal, steel, automobiles, and the railroads. The last so alarmed the President of the United States that he asked Congress for an unprecedented grant of power, including the right to induct railroad men into the armed services—a proposal that ran contrary to cherished American tradition, but the House of Representatives was ready to give it to him. The Senate did not agree, but shortly thereafter both houses passed the Case bill, a measure which included some drastic restrictions of previous rights of unions. This bill the President vetoed, partly on the ground that it was permanent legislation, while his proposal was for an emergency measure to run for six months.

But something more than the strikes of 1946 appears to lie behind the present movement to curb the unions. John Lewis and his associates in the United Mine Workers had already stirred up nationwide resentment by calling strikes in the midst of war. This was the only national union so to disregard the public crisis. Later, when the miners' union was readmitted to the American Federation of Labor on the Mine Workers' own terms, and Lewis himself was made a vice-president of the Federation, the larger labor movement itself came to share to some extent in the disesteem in which the UMW was now held by the public.

Other developments have contributed to loss of standing of organized labor before the public in the last few years. Displays of arrogance by those union leaders who have made their demands on a "take it or leave it" basis, thus making collective bargaining impossible; disorderly mass picketing, including preventing executives of struck plants from entering their own offices; racketeering policies of certain unions—all these have figured heavily in the news columns of the papers, and have had a profound influence on public thought. Out of all this has come a considerable demand that the government should somehow clip the wings of the labor movement.

So the 80th Congress begins its first session in an atmosphere favorable to the adoption of curbs on the activity of the unions, and with possibly one

hundred bills before it to accomplish that purpose.

Detailed analysis of these bills within the scope of this article is impossible. A quick survey might justify a classification roughly as follows:

First, proposals having as their purpose the setting up of various deterrents to strikes, ranging from cooling-off periods to prohibitions. These bills include some major adjustments of the mediation machinery of the government as well as some proposals involving heavy penalties for certain classes of strikes.

Second, curbs and controls with respect to union activities and practices. These include among other things, registration of unions requiring financial and other reports, modifying or eliminating the closed shop and the secondary boycott, and discouraging or forbidding industry-wide bargaining.

Third, amendments to the National Labor Relations Act. These bills tend to cover a broad variety of subjects and sometimes include many of the objectives listed in the two preceding paragraphs. In general, it may be said that the total effect is to lessen somewhat the curbs on employer activity and to establish curbs on the activities of the unions.

Deterrents to Strikes

Congressman Case of South Dakota, whose bill was passed last year by both houses and vetoed by the President, is back with another bill this year covering in part the same ground but with some important additions and modifications. As in last year's bill, a sixty day "cooling-off" period is provided for strikes generally. Persons who engage in jurisdictional or sympathetic strikes lose their status as employees under this proposed law and unions calling such strikes will lose their right to act as representatives of employees for a period up to two years, and will be liable to a suit for damages by the employer.

The President is authorized to determine that the "public welfare, health, or safety" is endangered by any labor dispute, and to appoint an "emergency commission" to investigate and report with recommendations.

Strikes and lockouts are outlawed while the commission is at work and during subsequent proceedings up to a potential maximum of ninety-five days. When the commission has re-



Jim Berryman in *The Washington Star*

Never Rains but It Pours

ported, its recommendations shall be binding if accepted by both parties or—and here is a unique proposal—if a majority of the employees, in a secret ballot conducted by the National Labor Relations Board, vote to accept it.

The prevention of strikes in industries vitally affecting the public welfare is an objective sought in many other bills. Five identical House bills provide that when a strike or lockout in such industries is impending, the President may declare an emergency to exist and then issue an order forbidding the strike or lockout. If mediation and voluntary arbitration fail, the President may require the creation of an arbitration board whose award is to be final and binding.

A very significant feature of these bills is a provision that the arbitrators in determining their award shall "take into consideration" the fact that the employees are engaged in an essential industry and that "by reason of being so employed their right to strike has been limited . . . and that in view of the foregoing such employees ought to have, in relation to others not so situated, at least as favorable a status in the matter of the terms and conditions of their employment."

The most drastic proposals with respect to strikes are found in two bills, one of which is jointly sponsored by Senators Ball, Taft, and Smith of New Jersey, the other by Senator Ball alone.

S.55, the jointly sponsored bill, deals with a variety of subjects, some of which will be discussed later; here we are concerned only with its provisions with respect to strikes. It sets up a mediation board and declares it to be the duty of employees and employers to negotiate and try to reach an agreement with respect to terms of employment and the interpretation of agreements. If they fail to agree, the mediation board may proffer its services. When it does that, the parties must refrain from strikes or lockouts for a period of sixty days. Violation by the employer is an unfair labor practice under the Wagner law. If workers violate this section, they lose their status as employees under the same law.

The bill also forbids strikes in connection with a jurisdictional dispute or in support of a secondary boycott. Five thousand dollars fine or one year in jail or both is the penalty for violation of this section. In addition, the employer may sue and recover triple damages. The courts, furthermore,

may enjoy such strikes, and the Norris-LaGuardia Act is suspended to the extent necessary to make that possible.

S.360, introduced by Senator Ball, amends the National Labor Relations Act in various ways, and contains two sections dealing with strikes. Section 2 withdraws the protection of the Wagner law from a striker who "has been replaced or has refused an offer of reinstatement to substantially equivalent employment."

Section 10 of the bill modifies the present provision of the National Labor Relations Act which declares that nothing in the act is to be so construed as to "diminish in any way the right to strike."

It retains this provision but makes it subject to certain exceptions. Strikes to compel an employer to deal with a union that has not been certified by the National Labor Relations Board as a representative of the employees, or to compel an employer to abandon an unfair labor practice, or to compel him to violate a law of the United States, are declared to be illegal. Such strikes may be enjoined, regardless of anything in the Clayton Act and the Norris-LaGuardia Act.

Union Curbs and Controls

A considerable number of bills require unions to register with the Department of Labor, and to file with it certain data including, as a rule, copies of constitution, names and salaries of officers, initiation fees and membership dues, and an annual financial statement showing income and expenditures. Some of the bills state that all such information shall be open to public inspection; others that the financial report shall be available to members only. Some bills require that registration and filing of reports shall be a condition precedent to the certification of the union as a representative of employees under the National Labor Relations Act.

A dozen or more bills deal with the closed shop. Most of them prohibit the making of a closed shop contract, with heavy penalties for violation, usually \$5,000 fine or one year in jail or both. Others eliminate the closed shop proviso of the National Labor Relations Act, thus making such an arrangement an unfair labor practice. Senator O'Daniel proposes an anti-closed-shop amendment to the Constitution. Congressman Case of South Dakota would affirm the validity of state laws on this subject by providing

that no federal law may impair them.

Senators Wherry of Nebraska and McCarthy of Wisconsin are joint sponsors of a bill dealing more comprehensively with union security. They would approve a maintenance of membership clause in a contract if it contains an escape clause (a reasonable period within which an employe may withdraw from the union), and a union shop or a closed shop if voted for by two thirds of the employes. However, the employer would be prevented from discriminating against any person who has been expelled from the union for any reason except nonpayment of dues.

Just as the hearings before the Senate Labor Committee came to an end, Senator Ives of New York introduced a bill to amend the National Labor Relations Act, in which he inserted a provision dealing with the closed shop. His proposal is that an employer is not to be regarded as engaging in an unfair labor practice if he refuses to bargain over a demand for the closed shop. On the other hand, nothing in the act is to be regarded as forbidding such bargaining.

The most novel and far reaching proposal in the field of curbs on union activity involves industrywide bargaining. Of all the proposed legislation, this is probably the most direct attack on nationwide strikes such as those of 1946. The sponsors of these bills evidently believe that if unions had to conclude agreements employer by employer, or at most by localities, they would not be in a position to tie up a whole industry at one time.

Congressman Smith of Virginia would achieve that end by changing the definition of "employee" in the National Labor Relations Act. That definition, as it stands, reads thus: "The term 'employee' shall include any employe and shall not be limited to the employes of a particular employer. . . ." Congressman Smith would eliminate the word "not," making the clause read, ". . . shall be limited to the employes of a particular employer. . . ." The effect, as stated by Mr. Smith to the House Committee on Labor, would be to prohibit industrywide bargaining "to the extent that any person who violates it is deprived of the special privileges granted under the National Labor Relations Act."

Mr. Case of South Dakota also attacks the matter through the medium of the National Labor Relations Act,

but does so by amending the section devoted to the "appropriate unit" for collective bargaining.

The approach in these bills, it is to be observed, is indirect. It remained for Senator Ball to outlaw industrywide bargaining directly, though he too, begins by amending the Wagner law. Subject to a proviso explained below, his bill (S.133) makes it an unfair labor practice for the employer to bargain with a union that at the same time is representing the employes of another employer in the same industry. Equally, it is an unfair practice for the union to act as bargaining agent for the employes of more than one employer in the same industry, and the National Labor Relations Board may not certify such a union as bargaining agent.

These limitations do not apply if the employers and employes involved are in the same "labor market area." Within such an area, a union may represent the employes of any number of employers in the same industry. A "labor market area" is defined as "a geographical area" not more than a hundred miles across, in which the plants in question are located and "within which a majority of the employes . . . reside."

But S.133 goes considerably beyond the unfair labor practices section of the Wagner law in its attempt to ban industrywide bargaining. It makes it unlawful for a national union to try to dictate to one of its own locals as to what ought to go into a contract with an employer. Both the Clayton Act and the Norris-LaGuardia Act are set aside to enable U. S. District Courts to enjoin violations—which they may do at the instance either of the federal government or of "any party suffering . . . or threatened with loss or damage by reason of any violation" of this part of the act.

Amendments to the NLRA

The amendments to the Wagner law are so numerous and so extensive as to baffle description. A senator who is himself the author of several of them contributed the idea that they might be dealt with under the general title, "improving the National Labor Relations Act." Whether he included under the latter head repealers of the act, was not stated.

Some of the bills amending the act contain some constructive proposals. Most of them also contain provisions that would considerably alter the purpose of the act, or hamper the



"Remember, Papa?—The Apple"



Herblock in *The Washington Post*

Cooling-Off Period

National Labor Relations Board in the exercise of its functions.

One set of amendments deals with the rights of the employer and either affirms some that he seems already to possess, or grants additional rights, or in one way or another strengthens his position in bargaining. Most of the bills grant full freedom of speech to the employer if it is not exercised in a manner to coerce employees.

What constitutes acceptable collective bargaining is not clearly stated in the Wagner law. The board has at different times offered definitions in which the term "good faith" appears and the necessity is emphasized of "listening," "discussing" and, where the terms suggested are unacceptable, of "offering counter proposals." The definitions included in the proposed bills tend considerably to water down the board's definition. One of them seems to make the only touchstone of genuine bargaining conferring and discussing for a "reasonable time." Several of them specifically direct that the employer shall not be required to offer "counter proposals." Other provisions tending to strengthen the positions of the employer involve greater freedom in petitioning for elections and a weakening of the hand of the board in dealing with company dominated unions.

There are numerous proposals to

enlarge the "unfair labor practices" section so as to apply to the unions and to individual employees, as well as to employers. Refusal to bargain collectively heads the list of unfair practices denied to employees. Others include coercion of fellow employees, violence on the picket line, violation of the criminal law, striking in violation of a contract or for ends held to be objectionable. Beyond these there are, in some of the bills, an array of almost every imaginable practice that has been or might be attributed to unions. Most of the bills provide that unions may be sued in the federal courts for violation of contract.

Along with the changes affecting employers and workers are many changes in the procedures and power of the board. A statute of limitations with respect to unfair practices would limit in some cases to one year, in others six months, the period within which complaints of unfair practices could be made, or within which the board could seek evidence. The Case bill, possibly through an error, strikes out of the Wagner law the clause that imposes penalties for interfering with the work of the NLRB. The Smith bill denies to the board the right to employ a statistician. The board would be required by these bills to conduct its proceedings in accordance with the rules of evidence.

The most thoroughgoing revisions of NLRB procedure would separate the prosecuting from the judicial functions. Some of the bills would turn over to the Department of Justice all the functions of investigation and prosecution, others would place these in the hands of an administrator, who would function as an independent agency under the NLRA.

In addition to these bills, almost forgotten in the thunder—both on the right and on the left—that they have engendered, is the still small voice of the resolutions calling for study. President Truman in his message to Congress at the beginning of the session urged that punitive and hasty action be avoided and that investigations precede enactment. Joint resolutions providing for the creation of commissions to study and report have been offered in the House by Congressmen Kelley and Smith; in the Senate by Senator Murray on behalf of himself and a dozen others, and by Senator Ives.

The Task Before Congress

Whether this more sober and thoughtful procedure will be followed, or whether Congress will enact some hasty makeshift legislation in the heat of controversy, remains to be seen.

(Continued on page 262)



Press Association photos

UNRRA provided the invaluable mule for a Greek orphanage which had lost its farm animals in the war

After UNRRA—What?

As solution for the worldwide problems of hunger and desolation, the new relief plans and programs already seem to be too little and too late.

DONALD S. HOWARD

HAD THE QUESTION POSED IN THE TITLE been raised several months ago, one might have given an encouraging reply—a bit uncertainly, to be sure, but hopefully. Today the answer can be given with much greater certitude—but with less optimism. After UNRRA there are bound to come protracted delays in establishing new machinery for meeting world needs; increasing desperation among millions in immediate need of help; grossly inadequate aid even when (and if) it is forthcoming at all; political maneuverings and, even in their absence, suspicion which will becloud many worthy enterprises and magnify every little move that is not unmistakably disinterested.

To some extent at least, these developments are the more or less understandable aftermath of war and of the emergency relief program which followed the ending of hostilities. To a greater extent, however, the nature

—By an American who had unusual opportunities to see UNRRA in action, from the vantage points of Washington, SHAEF, and Shanghai during three war years.

Now back at his civilian post with the Russell Sage Foundation, Mr. Howard, as director of the department of social work administration, is responsible for studies in the field of domestic and international welfare needs and services.

of these gloomy predictions of post-UNRRA events is attributable to the mutual distrust and short-sightedness of some of the nations concerned.

But this is not all that will come after UNRRA. Dark as the future may seem, there are encouraging signs on the horizon as well as much closer to hand.

President Truman already has forwarded to Congress recommendations

for favorable action on 1947 relief needs generally, on the International Refugee Organization (IRO), on easing immigration restrictions to permit a specified quota of displaced persons to enter the United States.

The President has proposed a program of direct relief to Greece.

The War Department and former President Herbert Hoover have formulated recommendations on relief for Germany and Austria, based on surveys and studies.

Official proposals for relief in Japan are vigorously supported by General MacArthur.

America's responsibility for international welfare needs has hit the front page—with headlines.

Over and above all this governmental effort there are impressive programs being undertaken by American voluntary organizations. The National Jewish Appeal is seeking to raise \$170,000,000. Budgets for other

UNRRA supplies and aid covered virtually everything. *Top: American locomotives being shipped to China. Center: UNRRA malarial control unit at work on an Italian farm. Bottom: Flour arriving for Yugoslavia and Austria*

international programs run into additional millions: for Church World Service \$12,000,000 (some of which is intended for religious rather than for strictly social welfare purposes); for American Relief to Poland, another \$12,000,000; American Friends Service Committee and United Service to China, some \$8,000,000 each.

In January 1947, voluntary agencies cooperating with the federal government's Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid sent abroad more than \$14,000,000 in cash and relief supplies, thus spending at the rate of about \$168,000,000 a year.

At the international level, too, the view, while somber, is not without its brighter side. The United Nations Secretariat has already taken over some of UNRRA's functions: some have been entrusted to the World Health Organization (WHO), others to a newly created organization, the International Children's Emergency Fund (ICEF). Plans are afoot to transfer to the proposed IRO responsibility for refugees and displaced persons. Further, various United Nations bodies are gradually launching long range studies and projects which have a definite bearing upon welfare. These, however, cannot be expected to fill many stomachs in 1947. But even those measures specifically intended to feed the hungry this year unfortunately leave many questions unanswered.

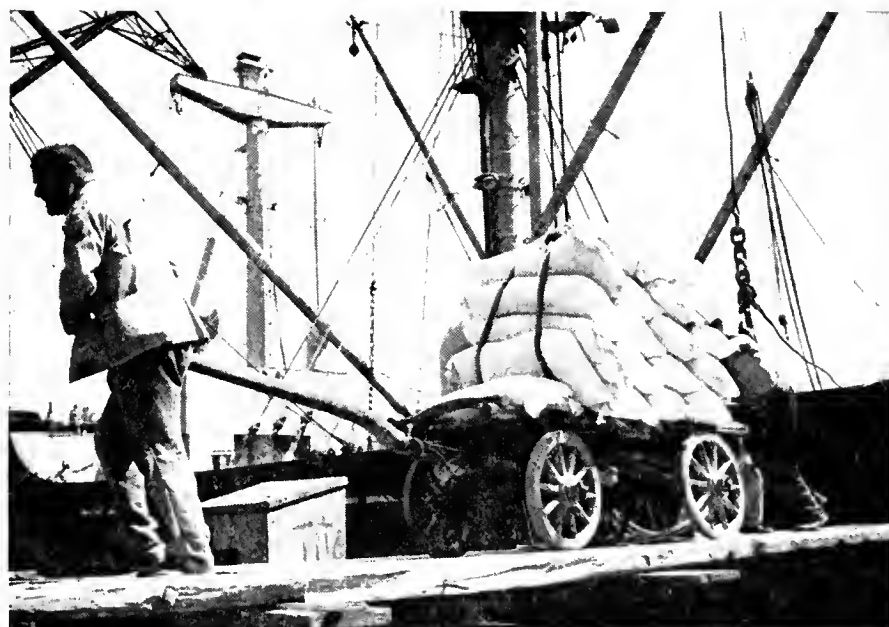
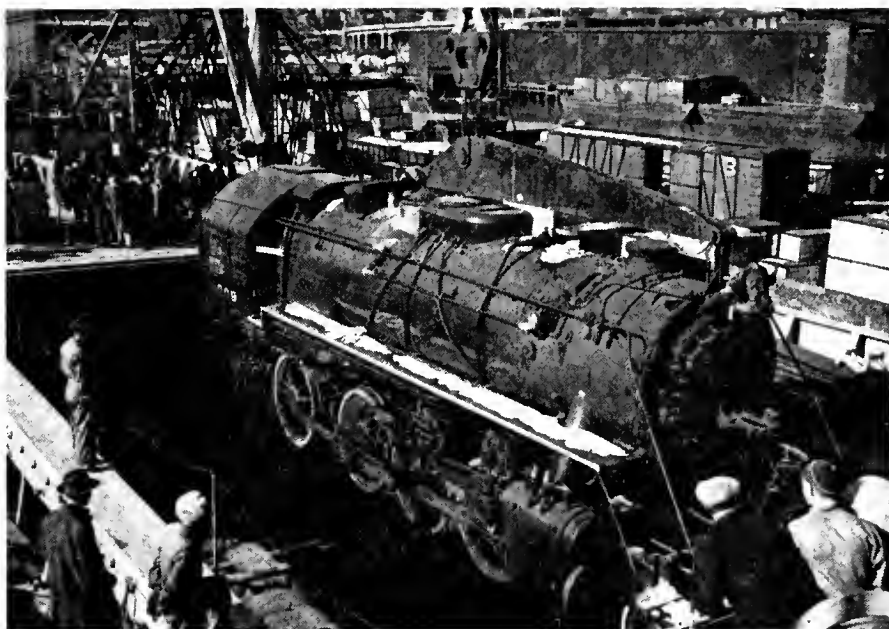
How will these international and national governmental and voluntary plans—so impressive on paper—work out in practice? What will other countries do to meet their responsibilities in these fields? Will the various national efforts be integrated into an effective international program? How close will all this come to meeting the problems of hunger, cold, devastation, homelessness, economic paralysis?

Clearly certain needs will be met more adequately than others. The "others" may be met in part or, perhaps, not at all.

What of General Relief?

Let us begin with what is probably the most acute issue: after UNRRA, what will world relief needs be?

By the time this article is published,



UNRRA's last shipload of relief supplies for Europe presumably will be on the high seas. In another ninety days, if the present time schedule holds, the last ship ever to carry UNRRA supplies will have left its port of debarkation, bound for China. These sailings will raise to some still higher figure the impressive total of 20,000,000 tons reached early in February 1947, the last date for which reports are available.

To move these enormous quantities of goods, UNRRA supply ships completed more than 3,600 voyages. The magnitude of this undertaking is evidenced by the fact that relief supplies for only seven European countries—planned, procured, and shipped—amounted to almost as much as the prewar imports for all the UNRRA countries combined.

UNRRA supplies included virtually everything known to man. They ranged from tiny packets of vegetable seeds and cholera vaccines—rushed into emergency areas by plane—to locomotives especially constructed for the receiving countries and loaded into a newly devised vessel rigged with all the latest gadgets for picking up locomotives off wharves and stowing them in the hold—and vice versa. Supplies ranged, geographically, from Icelandic ponies to Siamese rice, from Mexican fish to Canadian trucks. The USA seems to have furnished a little of almost everything.

Only if you realize that these supplies have meant the difference between life and death, between economic survival and collapse, can you imagine what is likely to happen in countries where these issues still hang in the balance as the UNRRA loading docks are cleared and the pipeline emptied.

From the beginning it was assumed, of course, that UNRRA would be only an emergency organization. The need for it was to be eliminated through the success of its own relief and rehabilitation program and, later, through international cooperation in trade, finance, and economic reconstruction. Even in UNRRA's earliest days, however, there was wide discussion of the likelihood that the services for displaced persons might be continued for some ten or fifteen years, a possibility strongly suggested by the experience after World War I.

With the passage of time it became clear that largely because of pressure

from the United States, UNRRA was to be liquidated. As early as the 1945 meeting of the UNRRA Council in London, the agency's days were seen to be numbered, even though it was recognized that needs would continue and that new instrumentalities would have to be created to meet them. By the time the UNRRA Council assembled in Geneva, a year later, the question of the organization's liquidation was one of the hottest issues discussed.

The End of UNRRA

In this controversy the United States and British delegations stood virtually against the world. Among the governments which wanted UNRRA continued were the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Norway, Greece, and China. As it became evident that the United States view would prevail, steps were taken to hasten the establishment of the IRO and the International Children's Emergency Fund—organizational phoenixes which were expected to rise from the ashes of UNRRA.

Late in 1946, the final meeting of the UNRRA Council was held in Washington. Almost simultaneously, the United Nations General Assembly and its various committees, meeting on Long Island, were seeking some new formula under which international cooperation in handling relief might be continued.

In opposition to the international action clearly favored by a majority of nations, the delegation of the USA declared that this would delay relief because the United States Congress would be unwilling again to appropriate funds for such a program; that it would result in "log-rolling" because representatives of different governments under international organization seek to get as much as possible for themselves or for friendly nations; that international action would result in continuing relief to countries that were not "in real need," as evidenced by the fact that they maintained large military forces and tampered with their economic system.

The American position was bitterly denounced as "bread diplomacy," as a device to control governments to which supplies might be made available.

But the only practical outcome of the General Assembly's discussions was to establish a ten-man Technical Committee (representing ten nations)

to report on 1947 relief needs. Plans were also made for transmitting this report to the various governments and for possible consultation with respect to the problems presented. No provision was made for international action to meet the needs. Nor, at this writing, has there been consultation among the several governments, as suggested by the General Assembly.

The Technical Committee, when it reported in January 1947, indicated that in six countries alone (Austria, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, and Yugoslavia) 1947 relief needs would amount to no less than \$583,000,000. The committee felt it did not have sufficient information to appraise the needs of China, which the Chinese government estimated at \$295,000,000. Although Czechoslovakia and Finland also claimed that they required relief supplies, the Committee felt that these countries could finance their own relief imports in 1947.

Complete corroboration of the urgency of relief needs emphasized by the Technical Committee has come from the International Emergency Food Council which reported in January 1947:

The fact which sets the course and spurs the pace of the International Emergency Food Council's work for the next few months is the continued existence of world food shortages of great severity.

... until the next harvest our work will be carried on continuously in the presence of crisis or threat of crisis. The utmost good will and cooperation among member governments will be necessary if serious breakdowns of food distribution in many countries, human suffering, and political turmoil or even chaos are to be avoided.

Nor is this an emergency of weeks or months. Estimates of need in various areas already contemplate serious deficiencies at least until June 1948.

Inasmuch as the method finally approved by the UN was that insisted upon by the United States, this government has a responsibility to assume voluntarily its full share of the 1947 relief load. Just what proportion of the total this country should supply is, of course, debatable. The share of the operating expenses of the proposed IRO allocated to the United States by the United Nations is about 45 percent of the total operating budget. This government's part in shouldering the total relief burden should certainly be not less than this. For

the UNRRA program, which was financed on the basis of national income, the United States supplied some 70 percent of the total cost. This proved unfortunate in that it seriously clouded the international character of the undertaking, making it appear an American rather than a UN endeavor.

Consequently, it would seem that something between 45 and 70 percent of the total would be our fair share. The \$350,000,000 requested of Congress by President Truman happily falls within this range, amounting to approximately 60 percent of the \$583,000,000 thought by the Technical Committee to be needed in 1947. This, however, does not take into account the needs of China or of other countries not included among the six nations whose basic requirements were appraised by the Committee.

America's share of world relief needs cannot be considered only from a theoretical view of "a fair proportion." Consideration must also be given to what other contributing governments, in their turn, actually make available. After all, this idea of putting relief on a unilateral or bilateral basis was our proposal and it is therefore up to us to see that no real needs are left unmet. Any additional load we might have to assume, should other governments acting unilaterally not shoulder their shares of the total burden, might be regarded as the price this government must pay for its preference for unilateral, as opposed to international, action.

Twofold Responsibility

The urgency of providing food, clothing, and shelter for the people of countries formerly occupied by the Nazis is heightened by the apparent necessity to appropriate large sums for relief in Germany. Those who suffered beneath the Nazi yoke must indeed view with misgiving the proposal that their former oppressors shall be assured the same measure of help recommended for Germany's victims. If, for one reason or another, we make certain that this level is maintained for Germans, but for some reason do not make equally sure that it is realized among our former allies, their misgivings may well turn into bitter resentment.

The argument is not that help should be denied our suffering enemy, but that it should be assured, equitably, to our suffering friends, even

though we may not see eye to eye ideologically with all of these.

But it is not only in the amount of its post-UNRRA contribution to world relief that this nation is confronted by a special challenge. Equally urgent are the questions:

Upon what terms will our help be made available?

What strings will be tied to it?

To what extent will we respect the rights of nations to work out their own salvation, free from outside dictation?

Although Under-Secretary of State Will Clayton, according to press reports, has assured Congress that American relief is to be administered under strict safeguards against misuse, specific information as to how this is to be achieved has not been given out.

The widespread suspicion that our opposition to international collaboration in relief matters might be attributable to an intent to use relief as a political weapon imposes upon this government a special responsibility to prove the validity of the Under-Secretary's statement.

The whole world will be keeping a weather eye on the proposal for direct relief to Greece. Therefore it is for the United States to prove that we plan to administer this aid in accordance with our traditional "no discrimination" policy, and that we stand equally ready to help any other nation similarly in need, whatever its political complexion.

It is worth recalling that relief already has been proved an ineffective means for furthering political ends, however legitimate the ends in themselves may be. Long experience with public assistance, public relief, and "pauper aid" in the United States and Great Britain has demonstrated that any attempt to use these devices politically, or as a means of influencing or controlling the behavior of recipients is likely to prove a boomerang. Nations, no less than individuals, may well heed the testimony of the politician who declared that when he purposely tried to use relief to win votes he defeated his own ends; but when he began to administer relief without political discrimination he discovered that it made friends—and even influenced people.

The world has only contempt for those who seek to control the behavior of others by giving or withholding the basic means of subsis-

tence. Similarly, the world holds in contempt those persons — sometimes termed "rice Christians" — who appear to accept a given philosophy primarily because it seems to be to their immediate advantage to do so. These things, learned through long experience with domestic relief programs, may well be kept in mind by anyone tempted to use bread and shoes as political weapons.

Relief — domestic or foreign — can, but need not, be a road to serfdom. Relief can also be a way of life — and liberty. Whether the United States, after UNRRA's termination, will give its helping hand to other countries in a way that limits their freedom or in a way that encourages real democracy, only the future can prove.

What, for Children?

When it became apparent last year that the United States and the United Kingdom would insist on dissolving UNRRA, steam was put behind the proposal to establish a Children's Fund. This was finally created by the General Assembly in December 1946. The purpose of the fund is to continue child feeding and to help in the rehabilitation of children and young people, particularly in countries that have received UNRRA help. The present plans of the fund are to provide a supplemental ration of approximately 700 calories a day for some 20,000,000 children — probably about a third of all the children requiring additional food in the countries eligible for aid. From Greece alone, comes a request to the fund to help feed some 2,800,000 children and 100,000 mothers.

The proposed feeding program of the fund probably calls for about \$400,000,000, with another \$50,000,000 for essential clothing.

The original plans for financing the fund's operations were to turn over to it UNRRA's unspent balance. To date, this plan has yielded far more disillusionment than funds — or even hope. In the first place, UNRRA assets (if any) are not likely to become available until the end of 1947. Second, as time passes it appears less and less likely that there will be any assets left. In fact, UNRRA's own program has had to be curtailed by some \$41,000,000 to conserve funds, partly because of mounting shipping costs, partly because certain expected funds failed to materialize.

(Continued on page 264)

The Parish Grows Wider

Evidence of the growing concern of the Protestant churches with today's urgent issues was the Pittsburgh Conference, and what happened there.

JOHN L. FORTSON

PROTESTANT CHURCHES ARE EXTENDING their parish boundaries.

They see with growing clarity that beyond the traditional round—the Sunday worship, the pastoral counseling, the baptizing and marrying and burying—the Church today has a definite responsibility for economic and social conditions which may develop or cramp human lives.

"The Christian community must seek continually to create social conditions under which it will be less difficult to express in daily living the spirit of redemptive love. . . ." In this manner was it expressed by the National Study Conference on the Church and Economic Life which was held in February in Pittsburgh—the latest evidence of this concern that the community as well as the individual be "converted."

The depression of the Thirties provided graphic illustration for the discussion over the "social gospel" which had been going on for forty years or more. At once it made apparent the need for more vigorous action to support the talk; and as a result the program of the Protestant churches, which until that time had been largely on the shoulders of a few sturdy pioneers, began to acquire a broader base and more content.

In 1931 an interfaith conference on unemployment held in Washington helped to orient the leaders of all faiths to their depression responsibilities. This conference drew up and presented to President Hoover and to members of Congress, a set of proposals which anticipated some of the remedies—such as unemployment insurance and the use of federal funds for relief—later adopted by the Roosevelt administration.

The approach of war focused religious thinking on international relations as never before, and resulted in careful study throughout the churches of such important issues as the Dumbarton Oaks proposals.

Experience during the war served to create substantial new interest in race relations—for example, during the last five years the number of com-

—By the public relations director of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

Once a reporter on the *Oklahoma City Times*, later a *Washington correspondent of the United Press*, Mr. Fortson has been with the Federal Council since 1940, except for three years in Naval Air Intelligence.

He recently took over NBC's weekly radio summary, "Religion and the News."

munities observing Race Relations Sunday has more than doubled.

And now the baffling problems thrown up out of postwar confusion bring about sharply increased activity in the field of economic relationships.

The Pittsburgh conference was convened by the Federal Council of Churches under the chairmanship of its president, the Cincinnati lawyer Charles P. Taft. Three hundred and forty-three delegates—two thirds of them laymen—attended the meeting by appointment of their twenty-six

A New Concept of Church Membership

From the Pittsburgh Statement

The Church should continually seek to determine the moral climate of the entire economy. It is peculiarly equipped to train and develop, from earliest childhood through adult life, the type of person possessed of those Christian qualities of character so essential in all phases of economic life.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that to discharge obligations implicit in intelligent participation in the solution of the economic problems of our time involves responsibilities of the gravest import. Important among these is a drastic change in the concept of church membership. Church membership as conceived throughout this report involves a deep concern for the economic welfare of mankind and a sacrificial dedication of time, talents, and energies to the daily service of Christ through the extension of social justice in the economic field. We call upon our fellow church members everywhere to join us in commitment to such service.

denominations. They were expected to attend neither as spokesmen for their economic groups, nor as official voices for their denominations, but as Christian individuals; and because of this independent status their deliberations could not be binding upon either the Federal Council or the denominations.

At the outset the conference was described frankly as an experiment to determine whether a group of people from labor, management, agriculture, universities, and consumers groups, could meet with church leaders for three days and come up with any good ideas for applying Christian principles more effectively to everyday problems.

A Conference of Laymen

For the first two days the delegates met in three separate sections to define the economic issues with which the churches ought to be concerned, and to discuss what the churches should be doing about them. The first day of discussion was admittedly slow and cumbersome, but by the second afternoon much of the talk was digging into specific issues.

In one of the section discussions led by Boris Shishkin, research director for the American Federation of Labor, a lengthy debate over the laissez faire philosophy led finally to the adoption of a statement which asserted that the doctrine as defined by Adam Smith—"that the individual in pursuit of his selfish gain will be led by an invisible hand to work the common good"—is inadequate to meet present day problems, and is contrary to the emphasis Jesus placed on service as the basic motivation of life.

The process used in this action is an example of the working technique of the meeting. After sharp differences had emerged in debate, Mr. Shishkin named a committee of three which held an impromptu meeting to thrash out these differences and then presented a wording of the statement that was agreeable to all. This three-man committee consisted of Howard Coonley, former presi-

The Responsibility of Christians

Christians will concern themselves with basic interrelated economic factors . . . under such general principles as the following:

Each person under God has a right and a duty to take his share in the world's work, and to work at jobs which will enable him to fulfill the true purposes of labor; and the responsibility to provide the opportunity to work rests with all segments of our society.

Production exists to serve necessary and desirable consumption

Property represents a trusteeship under God, and should be held subject to the needs of the community

It is desirable to work toward an economy which provides an assured adequate annual income for every family.

. . . Christians must be actuated more largely by a service motive than by a profit motive.

Economic groups should have the right to organize, provided only that their purposes and activities do not contravene the welfare of the entire community
(From the Pittsburgh Statement)

dent of the National Association of Manufacturers; Dr. Harvey Seifert, professor at the School of Religion, University of Southern California; and the Rev. Robert W. Searle, a secretary of the Protestant Council of Greater New York.

The Thorny Issues

Of all the issues discussed—government control, a fair wage, freedom vs. security, concentration of economic power, full employment—the one that was the cause of more debate than any other was the question of the closed shop. During the plenary session on the last day, it came up so frequently that finally one irritated delegate hopped to his feet and demanded, "How many times do we vote on the closed shop?" And in the section presided over by Arthur S. Flemming, member of the U. S. Civil Service Commission, a period of 45 minutes was set aside to allow everyone to have his say on the subject.

Mr. Shishkin began the debate with an assertion that the records show the smoothest operation in industries which have either a closed or union shop. E. M. Graham, delegate of the AME Zion church from Chicago, raised the question of discrimination against Negroes. Dr. J. V. Van Sickle, chairman of the economics department of Wabash College, said that full peacetime employment could be obtained only if the labor market were as fluid as it was during the war.

Mr. Coonley held it to be un-American for a man to be told he

cannot work unless he joins the union. The Rev. Armand Guerrero, a Methodist minister from Chicago and former linotype operator, retorted that it is un-Christian for men to work in an open shop, and called his own church to task for operating nonunion printing plants. Jasper N. Davis of Kansas City, vice-president of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, bluntly accused management of being "dishonest and insincere" in arguing for a return to the open shop.

Noel Sargent, secretary of the NAM, asserted that the job of man-

agement is to see that goods are produced for society, and that this responsibility for managing cannot be executed most effectively when men are retained or promoted on any basis other than quality of work done. He concluded: "Just as an individual is supposed to interpret that Bible for himself, so he should be allowed to decide union membership for himself."

No vote was taken on the debate. Obviously no agreement was possible, nor was there any anticipation that it would be.

In planning the meeting, the Industrial Relations Division of the Federal Council centered on the idea of trying to start at Pittsburgh a process of communitywide discussion which, if continued for a long enough time, might eventually have a softening effect on the differences that now produce social conflict. It was recognized that any effort of so diverse a group to reach basic agreement on such a question as the open shop would split the conference wide open, would sharpen differences rather than lessen them, and might send defeated blocs of delegates home determined never to come again.

The ground rules observed at Pittsburgh might be likened to those of the United Nations, where national delegations are eager to press for their own interests, but are not willing to do so to the point of wrecking the UN.

The substance of the discussions

A Program for Protestant Churches

The recommendations made to the churches by the Pittsburgh conference, in addition to stressing the value of the "interthinking" process, enumerated program suggestions which may be summarized as follows:

Education of the Clergy: Special training in basic economic problems and their impact upon individual and social life; first hand knowledge from the field; training in democratic leadership.

Education of Church Members: Discussion groups; forums; the organization of "Little Pittsburghs"; field trips to visit factories, farms, cooperatives.

Research: Greatly extended facilities for fact-finding.

Application of Christian Principles: Church bodies should: Make pronouncements on moral issues; provide trained Christian leaders for functional groups outside the Church; "avoid the stultification of a class church"; move aggressively into industrial communities which have too often been neglected by Protestant churches; make churchmen available to act as mediators between groups in conflict; keep constituencies informed on legislative developments; take specific action in situations that clearly endanger the common welfare; set a good example in its own economic practices; urge full cooperation by the United States in the economic life of the world.



Press Association

Among the laymen at the Pittsburgh conference, left to right: NAM Secretary Noel G. Sargent; Rep. Howard H. Buffett of Nebraska; Charles P. Taft, president, Federal Council of Churches; Boris Shishkin, AFL research director

which took place during two days of section meetings was incorporated into a statement which was carefully debated, sometimes down to the punctuation, and adopted in plenary session on the final day. This statement, as a pronouncement, offers nothing that is really new; it has all been said before, but always it has been said by groups in which ministers predominated. At Pittsburgh it was the laymen who spoke.

In asking laymen to assume the lead, the Federal Council took a leaf from one of its own pamphlets published back in the Twenties by a study group known as The Inquiry. Concerning the value of social discussion as the laboratory of a better way of life, the study says:

Beware how you isolate thinking from doing. *Thinking* is so largely a ghostly rehearsal of doing on the mind's inner stage that if ideals are to be expressed in action that is sustained and resourceful, then those who *do* the doing must themselves have done the thinking. . . . The ideals that are to control our group life must be winnowed out of our common experience, and since here we all must interact, all should learn to "inter-think."

The Fruits of Discussion

The "doers" who practiced "inter-thinking" at the church and economic conference liked the experience suffi-

ciently well to recommend that the process be made a basic part of the program of the churches.

The statement stresses "the peculiar values of group discussion" especially when persons of different occupational backgrounds are included. And it also urged that the training of ministers should include instructions on how to deal with highly controversial issues and on how to win the participation of people of different points of view in free democratic discussions.

Judging from the comments of delegates to the conference, there will indeed be an increase in the number of discussion groups conducted under the auspices of the Church, and "little Pittsburghs" will be held in a number of states and cities—in fact, some are already in the planning stage.

Persons at work on these conferences will find encouragement in the results already achieved through the use of this technique.

Each year the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference conducts seven or eight two-day meetings in as many dioceses, with men from labor, management, government, and the Church coming together for a public discussion of current problems in the light of Roman Catholic social teaching. More than a hundred such conferences have been held in the last

twenty years, and they are regarded as effective chiefly in terms of arousing popular interest in the social teachings of the Church.

The American Friends Service Committee has brought together representatives of management and labor in weekend retreats, where they do the housekeeping cooperatively and carry on their discussions in a setting which tends to break down barriers and stimulate friendship.

In Connecticut there is the independently organized Stamford-Greenwich industrial council which was established recently, composed of seventeen men—six from management, six from labor, five representing the public. The council meets twice a month to discuss community problems. One meeting is a public discussion; the other is private and off-the-record. Among the five public representatives are a Catholic priest, a Jewish rabbi, and a Protestant minister.

For the last seven years Episcopal laymen have met annually in Washington for the Presiding Bishop's Conference on Capital and Labor, conducted on an off-the-record basis.

This technique of the off-the-record conference has been utilized for some time by the Industrial Relations Division of the Federal Council. The informal sessions are arranged with no publicity, no resolutions are adopted, no committees organized. Representatives of employers, labor, farmers, consumers, and minority racial groups are merely asked to spend an evening together "interthinking."

Here are results of some of these informal conferences:

—In a midwestern city the farm-labor "conflict" emerged in the discussion; a few days later a farm organization leader who had been present called the church council office to ask its recommendation on a labor leader to speak at the next farm meeting.

—In an industrial city two labor leaders spoke bluntly of the social ignorance of church members, and were invited to say it from the pulpit.

—In an eastern city a Negro minister described the difficulty facing Negro men in obtaining other than menial jobs; within the week one businessman who had been present had placed eight Negroes in skilled jobs.

The churches ought to sponsor many more such conferences to bring

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Press Association

These teachers on strike in a Pennsylvania town represent the countrywide dissatisfaction with school salaries

Breakdown in the Schools

A report of our growing educational crisis—by an expert who recently visited leading cities, small towns, and rural districts the country over.

BENJAMIN FINE

AMERICA FACES THE MOST SERIOUS teacher shortage in its history. The nation's public school system faces a major breakdown. I have just completed a six-months nationwide survey of schools and colleges for *The New York Times*, in the course of which I visited a number of cities as well as scores of typical rural communities.

I found appalling war damage to the public school system — plants have deteriorated, classes are overcrowded, supplies are lacking, unrest and lowered morale are general.

In many communities teachers have gone out on strike or are threatening to strike; picket lines have closed a number of schools. Plainly, the teachers are not happy, and that, basically, is a question of money. The *Times* survey shows that the classroom teacher in this country receives an average of \$37 a week. Compare this with the earnings of the garbage collector, the street cleaner, the truck driver, or the office secretary, and you

—By the education editor of *The New York Times*, who is also a member of the faculties of Fairleigh Dickinson Junior College and the New School for Social Research.

This article draws on materials gathered by Mr. Fine for a widely discussed series of articles for *The Times*.

An earlier series he wrote on the teaching of American history in 1943 won for his paper the Pulitzer Award "for the most distinguished and meritorious public service rendered by an American newspaper during the year."

find that all of these get more.

That comparison helps explain why since 1940, more than 350,000 teachers have left the public schools. A total of 125,000, or one out of every seven teachers, holds only a substandard, emergency license. Seventy thousand teaching positions are vacant solely because the systems cannot get teachers to fill them. And to make matters worse, few young people seem to

want to go into teaching any more.

With other campuses overcrowded, many of the teachers colleges today are half empty. Where there is a full enrollment, the students do not intend to go into teaching. In 1920, 22 percent of all college students were in teachers colleges; today the proportion is less than 7 percent.

Every state in the union reports a shortage of qualified teachers. Though the war ended more than a year ago, the public school system is still unable to secure a sufficient staff of teachers to instruct the 26,000,000 boys and girls attending elementary and secondary schools. Before 1950, this country will need 500,000 newly trained teachers. Using the most optimistic estimates, less than half that number will be available.

Everywhere the story is the same: there are not enough teachers; conditions are increasingly serious. In many instances school superintendents, desperate and at their wit's end, had hired as teachers men and women

with little or no professional competence — taxicab drivers, mechanics, telephone operators, retired janitors.

Even though all sorts of inducements are being offered, all sorts of expedients tried, the shortage is growing more acute. As never before, all communities, rural and urban, are scraping the bottom of the barrel.

Meanwhile, Peter is robbing Paul. Cities of more than 100,000 reach down to the communities of 50,000. By paying them more money, they can secure teachers for their systems. Then these cities, in turn, look toward the smaller ones for their own staff.

This pirating continues until many communities, especially the rural or the more impoverished districts, have no one from whom to steal. They must, therefore, be content with what is left. And if anything at all is left, it is frequently poor in quality.

In addition to the major difficulty of low salaries, other factors contribute to the teacher shortage. Teachers object to the community restrictions that they face in many sections of the country, particularly in rural areas. They dislike to lead the lives of Grade B citizens, always at the beck and call of the town fathers, often subjected to humiliating intrusion

upon their personal affairs. They are strongly opposed to the political interference that frequently keeps them at the mercy of the community leaders.

During the depression there were plenty of teachers available. In those grim years, they were laid off by the hundreds, and long waiting lists became the rule in every major city. The teaching profession had seemed a safe harbor in which to weather the storm. It proved to be anything but that. Teachers' salaries dropped and so did their security.

Many well trained and accepted applicants waited patiently year after year, with no place to teach. New York City, for example, had nearly 5,000 on the eligible lists. Gradually these disappointed men and women drifted into other jobs.

The Exodus from the Classroom

Then came the war. Immediately there was a booming demand for help of all kinds, skilled and unskilled. The teachers who were still waiting for appointment found it unnecessary to wait any longer. They took jobs with the government, in business or in industry, at much higher salaries than they could hope to earn in the classroom.

The schools now had a double task

—to find replacements for their regular teachers and to secure a sufficient number of substitutes. Instead of the "no vacancy" signs, the schools put out frantic calls for help.

Teachers soon realized that they could make more in one week in a factory at wartime wages than they could in one month at school. In mounting numbers they left the classrooms and put on overalls. Additional thousands of experienced teachers found good office positions with the government, or got on the state civil service lists. The departure became infectious. In mounting numbers, the public school teachers of the nation gave up their teaching posts.

The growth of the shortage did not end with the war. In these postwar months it has continued to grow. Rural towns and large cities report quite frankly that they do not have enough teachers to run their schools efficiently. Moreover, they have no ideas as to where they can get the much needed instructors. North, South, East or West — I heard the same story: the schools are understaffed. Although someone usually is found to take over the classes, the teacher is often an incompetent makeshift who cannot meet even the minimum requirements of her state.

The cry for more teachers is so universal as to be almost commonplace. I met with school superintendents and other educational leaders in such representative cities as New York, Boston, Providence, Chicago, Detroit, Ann Arbor, Denver, San Francisco, Oakland, Los Angeles, New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Atlanta, and Washington. I also visited scores of small towns and villages where I talked to leading county and district superintendents, principals, and teachers.

Almost without exception the educators and responsible officials said that their chief problem was the inability to secure teachers. While the shortage exists on both the elementary and secondary levels, the greatest need is in the elementary grades. For the little children in the important years when educational foundations are laid, superintendents simply cannot find enough experienced or even partially trained teachers.

"We are now forced to appoint teachers who, under ordinary conditions, would not have been acceptable," John J. Desmond, Massachusetts State Commissioner of Education, observes. "They do not come up



Overcrowding—an improvised classroom in the corridor of a California school

to the standards of quality, personality, ability to render service, or the general educational background of our former teachers. It means that some marginal teachers are now being employed."

The repetition of this complaint from other sections of the country becomes a monotonous chant.

"We need more teachers," M. D. Collins, superintendent of schools, Georgia, comments. "Some of the teachers we now employ just call the roll. They can't teach."

The superintendent of schools in San Francisco told me, "It's simply impossible to get the teachers we need. We've had to go out to neighboring communities and states for our teachers, but even at that we are understaffed. We'll take anyone who wants to teach."

High School Problems

Nor are the high schools out of the woods. A number of subjects are particularly hard hit, among them physics, chemistry, mathematics, biology, and the leading technical courses—vocational, agricultural, and home economics. Many high schools have been forced to discontinue to offer any work in these important areas.

Because of the shortage, a great many high schools are utilizing teachers to give instruction in subjects in which they are not prepared. For example, Colorado, typical of other states, does not have enough qualified secondary school teachers available, particularly in science, mathematics, and commercial courses. Out of the 8,000 high school teachers in the state, 2,000, or 25 percent, are teaching subjects for which they do not hold regular licenses.

"We have many complaints from students, especially veterans, saying that the teachers do not know their subject," John C. Unger, director of the Colorado secondary curriculum, comments. "If you give an English teacher a class in chemistry, you cannot expect too much from her. And that's the sort of thing we are forced to do today."

School systems everywhere report that they have to employ high school teachers for all sorts of odd teaching jobs. All too often, it was brought out, the instructor is just able to keep one jump ahead of the students. The students, particularly the mature veterans, resent this inferior brand of education and are loud in protests.



Antiquated buildings—a stove heats this classroom in a large Minnesota city

A very substantial proportion of the emergency teachers, both on the elementary and the high school level, are incompetent or inadequately trained. Having no experience and lacking the necessary preparation, many are floundering beyond their depth.

Sometimes the schools cannot get any teachers and simply close down. The *Times* survey shows that during the current school year nearly 6,000 schools have been closed because of lack of teachers, which means 75,000 children are getting no schooling at all. For them (and their parents) the democratic concept of free education for all has little meaning.

Some Grim Figures

Some state systems find it necessary to transport children many miles to get them to school. In other instances, the children simply do not go to school at all. Arizona, for example, has 750 unfilled positions and vacancies; North Carolina has 858; Maine has 1,295; Mississippi, in addition to 1,725 teachers on substandard licenses, has 1,292 teacher vacancies. Oklahoma needs 2,190 teachers, Washington could use 1,000 more, Wyoming 400. Kansas and Indiana both list 1,000 vacancies or positions, while Kentucky lists 960. In all, there are nearly 70,000 unfilled positions in the schools of the nation today, and the teacher shortage reaches into every one of the forty-eight states.

Probably Arkansas, with 1,000 vacancies and 2,800 teachers on substandard and emergency licenses, shows the effect of the shortage in the most acute form of any state. Arkansas reports that 14 percent of its children—45,000 in all—will be unable to attend school a single day during 1946-47. Because of the shortage of teachers, 225 schools in that state had to close.

Superintendents everywhere are advertising for teachers. Philadelphia is in need of 700. Chicago cannot find substitutes to replace teachers who are absent, and as a result high school girls sometimes have to take over the classes. Rural communities are ready to give a contract to anyone who looks as though she can sign her name.

"We no longer ask whether an applicant can read or write," a state commissioner said with more than a trace of irony. "If she seems able to breathe, we take her."

New York City, despite its relatively high salary scale, is so in need of more elementary teachers that each week between 300 and 400 classes go without teachers. Thousands of children are either farmed out to other teachers, with resultant confusion and overcrowding, or they waste the day in idleness.

School after school, throughout the country, repeats the same story. Travel as I did over one state after

(Continued on page 259)

From Icy Mountains to Coral Strands

What the coming of the Quakers, in wartime and after, has meant on two continents. The spirit that spurs them on.

FLORENCE LUCAS SANVILLE

IN MIDWINTER, THE AMERICAN FRIENDS Service Committee brought out "Concerning World Hunger — A Message to the American People," carried as a full page advertisement (paid and unpaid) in key newspapers throughout the country. The burden was laid upon (or the privilege offered) people of every religious denomination, of all social and political faiths, no longer to mistake "victory for peace," but to "distinguish people from governments" and to share in a great stroke of help to a starving world.

The occasion for the message was compressed into four sentences:

This is a winter of despair in most of Europe and Asia. Yet in the face of unspeakable suffering, the channels of our traditional generosity are frozen. Government action and private charity lag for want of popular support. UNRRA, the international relief agency, is ceasing to operate; the National War Fund that supported most of the American relief agencies is disbanded.

The call expressed confidence in the "Fellow Americans" to whom it was addressed and listed such points as these where they could take hold:

To This End the American Friends Service Committee appeals for money not only for its own limited work but also for a new burst of nationwide support for the work of all governmental and private agencies engaged in relief and reconstruction.

As Citizens, let us make known in Washington our wholehearted endorsement of governmental plans to carry on the large scale food shipment that heretofore was UNRRA's task.

As Protestants, Catholics, or Jews, let us give largely and quickly to the established church agencies of our faith.

As Members of our Communities, let us work for and support the relief agencies aiding Greece, China and several other nationalities now campaigning for funds.*

This was not the Quakers' first appeal of the kind. They were encouraged to venture it because of the re-

*See *Survey Graphic* for March—back cover.

—By the author of "Quaker Power House" (*Survey Graphic*, June 1940) in which she interpreted Pendle Hill, an enterprise of the Friends for social and religious study not as a retreat but as a center for reinforcing springs of action.

Here she turns her sights overseas as a member for ten years past of the Foreign Service Section of the American Friends Service Committee. "My qualification," she writes, "is that I am a *convinced—not a birthright—*Quaker. Otherwise I should not have felt free to express the qualities I have described."

Especially she makes acknowledgment to refugee scholars brought together by the Committee in 1940. "My days with these brilliant exiles from many different countries and varying religious beliefs etched deeply in my mind what the ministry of the Friends had meant to those they befriended."

sponse to a kindred advertisement in December 1945—"If Thine Enemy Hunger, Feed Him."

Quaker Coinage

At that time fury, not famine, was at high tide. The courtroom in Nuremberg held the spotlight. By all counts, December 1945 was a fantastic moment to launch this first frail bark of good will into the welter of prevailing public opinion. But the faith of those who did the launching was justified. The succeeding months brought in 65,000 favorable replies and over \$144,685. These gestures toward reconciliation express two qualities usually divorced. They catch readers two ways. They are spiritual and they are practical.

The same unexpected combination may account for the extraordinary confidence of people at large in this small working group of a very small religious society which during the twelve months of 1946 was entrusted with \$8,880,000 of which nearly \$8,000,000 was spent in foreign service. Of this sum \$2,569,600 was appropriated by the Indian government for buying, shipping, and distributing

milk; the rest represented cash donations from individuals and groups, and about a million dollars worth of gifts in kind.

Groups of school and college students, regularly rationing themselves one day a week, save five cents on a slim meal, and send as much as \$200 a month to the committee through the school year. Labor groups give quietly and generously. A small country meeting sends \$10 with a note that more will come soon. A national sorority pledges its members to over \$5,000 annually for three years—or more. A young service man, a veteran of the Anzio beachhead, paid so deep a tribute to the Quaker unit in Italy that his father, in gratitude for his son's safe return, gave to the committee a sum in five figures.

These dollars, however, did not mint themselves among our War-Relief-Victory-Bond-conscious public. They had been coined slowly and painfully over the years in a crucible of human fellowship.

The process started in 1870, when British Friends carried relief to the Continent during the Franco-Prussian War. Then in 1917, after working with the British Friends before the USA entered the war, American Friends started on their own to carry friendship and understanding, along with food, coal, cows, clothing, seeds, and medicine to war devastated countries—allied and enemy alike.

Europe: Spain to Lapland

In the period between the two World Wars, the AFSC, with British Friends, made a valiant attempt to create the sort of international friendship which might remove the causes of the want and suffering with which they dealt.

International Centers were opened in Paris and Geneva, Berlin and other German cities; in Vienna, and for a short time in Warsaw and Moscow—oases of understanding in those fear-filled years, later to become way stations of safety in the 1930's for desperate thousands fleeing Nazi persecution. Friends everywhere caught the



Tons of warm clothing and thousands of ski-boots have gone to frozen Finland

idea, and during the last decade such centers also have been opened in Amsterdam, Copenhagen, London, Delhi and Calcutta, in Shanghai, and in Kingston, Jamaica, in the British West Indies.

In the Spanish Civil War, while British and American statesmen were stalemating over policies and procedures, British and American Quakers were on the spot feeding, clothing, and doctoring Spanish children, Republican and Fascist alike; operating three hospitals; aiding Spanish refugees in the French controlled concentration camps across the border; and setting up camps of their own.

Thus when World War II broke out, with Nazi armies invading the Low Countries and swinging south, a group of workers were ready at hand to serve French civilians in their flight. Money — \$200,000 — waiting in neutral Switzerland was translated into food, clothing, and shelter for the distracted thousands who carried little with them but their terror. This ministry to body and spirit went on until the entry of the United States into the war sent all Americans in occupied France into internment in Baden.

This contingency, too, had been foreseen. Again a group was ready — *Secours Quaker*. Their efforts, begun thus early, have not ceased although tasks changed with the times. Since V-E Day, prison visiting has become a major concern of the French Quakers. To it they have given their peculiar contribution, tangible and intangible. Prison populations have changed with the fortunes of war, but the service has been the

same. At every stage the inmates have been thought of as people in distress of mind and body, whatever their affiliations.

Today, service of one sort or another is being performed by the American Friends Service Committee in Finland, India, Poland, Italy, China, France, Austria, Hungary, Spain, Japan, and Germany. No country is too small or too large; no prospect too barren and none too overpowering in extent or in complexity. If the call is there and is genuine, the first step is taken.

This step is usually a survey by representatives sent over from home or, if available, by someone near the

scene. Thus, it was established late in 1945 that the people of Finnish Lapland sorely lacked shoes and warm clothing. The AFSC joined with Finnish American groups, and in eighteen months twenty thousand pairs of new ski-boots were on the feet of Finnish children. With them went 225 tons of warm clothing.

Right along, the AFSC has brought its facilities for transport and distribution into play. So well marked are the Quaker channels, so deeply furrowed by long usage, that loss and waste are at a minimum and the volume of materials is quite out of proportion to the size of the engine that does the pulling. Now the emphasis is on keeping up the clothing and shoe distribution, and on selective child feeding—with special care for the people on the submarginal land, burdened at present with an additional 350,000 evacuees to take care of. Supplies are being bought not only in the United States but in Denmark and Sweden—an incidental lift to Scandinavian economy.

Plucky as always, self-contained in their misery, the Finns have been deeply scarred by the double pincers of war and need to be met more than half way. So the centers of feeding and succor also have become centers of friendship and fun. Last summer, young Americans and young Finns rebuilt homes and schools, working and playing together, as here at home, for many a summer past, American college students have done in Friends



Medical supplies and vitamins sent remote villages throughout tropical India

work camps in our own underprivileged mining and rural areas. Plans are under way to plant seven of these green spots next summer for the further refreshment of young Finns and Lapps.

Asia: Sea Level to "The Hump"

At the opposite pole from tight, frozen Lapland in the north, is great and sprawling tropical India, weak with famine, ravaged with disease and charged with ferment. Early in 1944, the American Friends Service Committee was asked by the President's War Relief Control Board to take over a relief program to be financed at the rate of \$100,000 a month by the National War Fund. Friends—British, American, and Canadian—had been in India on missions for several years, driving their ambulance units, supplying milk, sulfa drugs, vitamins. However their feelings might be tugged by the struggle for independence, they showed no political bias. Nor had they turned up with any commercial axe to grind,

any religious conversions in view, and because of this they threw open new doors and windows to understanding between India and the West.

An enthusiastic young native doctor campaigning with a Service Committee representative against venereal disease, urged the American to join in a lecture tour. "It would make venereal disease popular if people knew a Western woman is interested!" was the enthusiastic way he put it. Then to win her collaboration more completely he complimented her on her own English; and was astonished to learn that this is the speech of the USA.

Even boats turned out to be vehicles of mutual trust. The war had stripped native fishermen of their craft, leaving them without means of livelihood. Also it had cut down the food supply of a vast population in East Bengal dependent upon river transportation on the Ganges. The Indian government had established a boat yard to help fill the need but this was languishing to the point of

extinction. A Quaker worker was asked to revive it, and he did so, with the aid of a Roman Catholic priest. Together they systematized haulage of timber from the forests and the making of dugouts at the boat yard. In cutting a channel to the boat basin, forty cubic yards of earth were moved by primitive methods in two days. Then the boats began to be turned out by the hundreds. The Quaker himself had learned to use unfamiliar tools. More than that, the native carpenters had found "a white man not afraid to get his hands dirty."

The announced plan of the Quakers is to maintain a group of from twelve to fifteen workers in India for several years "to carry out the ministry of reconciliation and good will and to help India to solve her deep rooted economic and agricultural problems."

Now turn from the mouth of the Ganges to the "hump" of the Himalayas. Back and forth across rugged mountain passes, the Quaker fleet of sixty charcoal burning trucks managed to cover 20,000 miles in 1945 and part of 1946. This "China Convoy" transported in that period from 70 to 90 percent of all civilian supplies for relief agencies in free China.

One hears with mixed laughter and tears the stories of the young drivers of the balky, clumsy, contraptions chugging their precarious ways in response to calls of disease and disaster. The limit of accomplishment of the makeshift engines was 2,000 miles. After that, complete overhauling and refitting were in order. Meanwhile, breakdowns were frequent and starting up again was any man's guess. Whatever happened, the very last resort was to stop en route lest the journey end then and there.

With this makeshift system, the Friends Ambulance Unit carried supplies for soldiers and civilians alike in the inveterate fight against typhus and bubonic plague; carried rice and soybeans for anti-hookworm diet; carried materials to build and equip delousing stations and hospitals. These the boys helped to erect—yellow and white working together. The Chinese Ministry of Information issued a statement that the Friends Unit operated with less than one third the manpower called for by any other transport system. A key to this adequacy might be found in an extract from a recent report:

"Underlying the diverse activities of the China Convoy is the deep re-



School lunches, part of the child feeding program, American zone, Germany



Young Viennese TB patients who receive Quaker relief. The Friends were permitted to begin work in Austria early in 1946

religious concern of its members to demonstrate that Christian pacifism is a positive reconciling force."

In the Wake of Liberation

And so in wartime, across the maps of Asia and Europe, the Friends traced their pattern of compassionate love with the quickened imagination that such service calls for. So, also, they were to trace it in southern and western Europe in the wake of invasion and liberation.

Italy: Here Quaker transport of another kind has been rolling ever

since April 1945 when a couple of trucks and their drivers started to move in materials for rebuilding wrecked Italian houses. They did not stop at delivery. Young men, specially trained and qualified, planned interim shelters and sanitation, and joined with villagers in erecting new homes. Stone on stone they laid foundations for understanding. By the summer of 1946, the reconstruction program as a whole was making habitable an average of some 3,000 rooms a month.

Meanwhile UNRRA had supplied 500 trucks supervised by American and British Quakers. Workers from

other religious and pacifist groups and some Italian volunteers helped carry on, the hauling done by local drivers. It would be hard to measure the weight of lassitude and despair that was lifted by such aid and comradeship. Here, as elsewhere, the Quakers made use of any opening or contact that seemed possible, and some that seemed impossible. The U. S. Army, the American Red Cross; the Allied services, and Italian officials, men of every political stripe and social outlook came to respect these conscientious objectors to war—and worked with them.



A farm holiday for Spanish refugee children in France



Cholera injection by the Friends Ambulance Unit in China

AFSC is continuing to work with CASAS (the semigovernmental organization founded by UNRRA and the Italian government) in a large scale program of reconstruction of homes. The Friends Unit itself concentrates on helping Italian refugees to get out of camps and into permanent homes, and will also work in a few of the more remote communes that would not be reached by the over-all organization. This Friends Unit is concentrating also on getting thousands of Italian refugees, who were evacuated from war-devastated regions, out of government camps and into permanent homes.

France: Six months after V-E Day, the first Quaker Transport Unit drove into the liberated Republic—a few trucks and drivers. In time, twenty of them were hauling lumber, bricks, stone, and cement for building; carrying sand for filtering public water supplies; moving families and furniture from makeshift shelters to more permanent homes as those arose from the rubble.

A little sketch called "Moving Day," in the annals of the QTU, told of a beaming French peasant on one of these trucks. She sat atop her treasured possessions which were capped precariously by a crate of thirty rabbits. When warned that they might not survive the trip, she happily shot back—"Enfin, nous les mangerons." ("Then we'll eat them.")

Here are impressions recorded by a member of the seven-truck unit that had been helping to restore normal life to the shattered people in the St. Nazaire region:

We saw what it means for a country to be so impoverished that every object has some value; in a region where no coal or firewood can be bought, every broken-down chair is worth something as firewood. In all the dozens of hauling jobs I did, I never once saw a family leave behind even the most hopeless piece of junk, old broken bicycle wheels, pieces of baby carriages, broken wash-tubs, half-burned chunks of wood.

We learned what it means to a people who have really suffered at the hands of an enemy, to forgive that enemy. For that is what we believe must be done if there is to be peace. People such as we, who have not suffered, must go very slowly in giving advice to people who have suffered. In fact, we cannot give them advice; we can give only understanding, encouragement, love, and the evidence of a strong faith.

Now the transport unit has shifted its center of action from France to Austria, Poland, Hungary, and Germany, following as always the most urgent beckoning.

Yet after six years with Quaker work in southern France, this was the evaluation by a worker of the task yet to be done there:

The moral and physical need in France is still very great—so great does it seem that one asks oneself how it is possible to meet it. To renew the courage and the hope of a people weighed down by physical fatigue, spiritual depression, and malnourishment is a great task.

The situation is no longer a dramatic one. It will just be a long hard pull from now on. To rebuild, to put one's house in order after the demoralization of occupation is over, when physical conditions are almost as bad as they were in 1943-44, requires great vigor and resourcefulness.

Austria: From the time its center in Vienna had been closed in 1941, the American Friends Service Committee had waited for opportunity to sponsor a new program there. Permission from the Allied armies of occupation was granted in January 1946, and by March a Quaker Unit was established in the Austrian capital. In twelve months, more than 1,000 tons of food and clothing were shipped there. And last summer the Quakers shared with other relief agencies in a large scale feeding program for 90,000 Viennese school children.

Working closely with the trade unions, for a year now the Quakers have sent supplies to seven rest homes for apprentices, where boys and girls suffering acute malnutrition have been spending month-long holidays. Some six hundred young people benefit every month. In addition, one precious glass of milk a day is given to 6,000 other apprentices throughout the city.

Since September, 40,000 persons have received extra food, including 23,000 old people and 7,300 tubercular persons under twenty-five years of age. Both groups receive high-calorie food packages. In a city where for over a year most people have had a minimum ration of 1,000 calories a day, this supplementary program has counted. Clothing also has been distributed to Austrians and refugees.

Last November a Neighborhood Center for teen-agers was opened and

during one of the coldest winters on record, at a time when Vienna has been practically without fuel, it has served, too, as a "warming room" for old people in the vicinity. For the younger ones, some warmth has come from dancing, singing, and good talk, as well as refreshments.

In Innsbruck, a Quaker Transport Unit of six men with several trucks and jeeps is working with the city authorities and welfare groups, hauling food and fuel. Recently *Schweitzer Spende*, a Swiss relief agency, offered five tons of leather for Austrian shoemakers who estimated they could make 4,000 pairs of shoes from it, if it could get to them. This called for a 300-mile haul over snow-covered, icy mountain roads by Quaker trucks.

With Austria's inheritance of artistry and gaiety, its industry and its science, there is a special need to restore old skills, and provide outlets for the native love of the arts. Directed by local labor leaders, the Friends have found a glassworks here, a shoe factory there, where with some assistance the wheels could be started again.

Poland: "What you see here is beyond imagination," began a young worker in reporting to the Foreign Service Section of the AFSC last fall. Even after talking with dozens of people day after day, he had found the cross-currents of human life bewildering as they surged through material wreckage.

In the ruins of a building deliberately burned by the Nazis, he met for worship with a little group of Poles, and recalled one prayer: "Bless the German people, bless the Jewish people, bless the Polish people, bless all people everywhere." A letter was read from a German family of six asking to be accepted—as an action of expiation—to help rebuild what their countrymen had devastated. The American himself had been asked by a young German combat soldier what Germans might do to make good some of the evil they had wrought.

To start work in Poland was not easy. Partisan strife made for suspicion. Polish officials were not sure what the Friends were up to. Eventually, their obvious detachment from political issues and their absorption in human needs melted such obstacles. Also, there was remembrance of what the Quakers had done before, in the first World War. So, at length the

team waiting in Paris had the signal to come, and the program, based on agreement with the Ministry of Public Welfare, got under way. Late last summer, thirty workers—American and British Friends in about equal numbers—were well along in the distribution of food and clothing.

At first they had to hold back clothing in some localities where pangs of hunger were so acute that the recipients bartered for food any garments given them. At times it was found necessary to guard food supplies against those whom desperate need drove to violence. Later, after the Quaker purpose was explained in halting Polish, the raiders turned into helpers and the rifled goods were returned. Eventually village communities were organized to carry on their own work and food was distributed weekly to 20,000 children of preschool age.

In addition to delivering clothing and food, trucks of the QTU made long hauls with lime, cement, and stone from the railway centers and logs from the forests. One truck, carrying timber from Upper Silesia, accumulated 42 punctures in a 250-mile run. A realistic participant wrote:

Relief work in Poland is changing flats, getting stuck in the mud, moving boxes in warehouses, writing thousands of names on cards and doing interminable paper work; it is chasing rats, and opening tins, and cutting margarine; it is waiting for motor parts that never come—plenty of just waiting. What are humdrum jobs at home are not glamorous because the nail in your tire was made in Poland.

Such difficulties could only be dissolved in the hope that a "long term work of reconciliation" might be the permanent outcome.

Hungary: It was only last November, after eight long months of negotiation, that a Quaker unit of seven men and women finally reached Budapest, the first voluntary group to be admitted. They were in time to distribute fifteen tons of cereals at Christmastide—a dull gift measured by our carefree standards, but life-giving to many a parent watching over a wasting child.

Want, so long hidden from the outside world, seemed all the more stark. Thousands of people really needed some additional food, but the budget permitted only 5,000 to receive an



Viking Press

ELIZABETH GRAY VINING

Quaker and author, she was selected as tutor to the heir of the Japanese throne

extra 524 calories a day. Especially tragic was the plight of apprentices and young workers.

As rapidly as possible the unit set up clothing centers in rural areas and small cities where the general need was reported utterly appalling. Only if funds permit can feeding programs also be started in those areas.

Germany: Human needs here, like political relations, are so augmented and distorted by zonal controls that this country is in a category by itself.

Nevertheless, since the door was first thrown open a year ago, there has passed through it from the American Friends Service Committee \$1,234,148 worth of food, clothing, and medical supplies, shipped through CRALOG (Council of Relief Agencies Licensed to Operate in Germany). Fifty workers are now in Germany, giving their services as the way is opened for them. The need is always there; the opportunities to respond vary. Funds for equipment and supplies are furnished largely by German relief contributing groups through AFSC.

In the American zone, the occupation authorities have permitted distribution of food and clothing, and a substantial child-feeding program. In the British zone, a wider range is afforded. Seventy British Friends are engaged in child-feeding; setting up clinics, camps, and rest homes; and in distributing food, clothing, and

medicines. Twenty Americans have joined the British teams in their work.

Twenty-one American Friends are working in the French zone—for the most part feeding children and nursing and pregnant women, as well as doing country-to-city hauling with their transport units.

The Prospectus For 1947, as recently given out by the American Friends Service Committee reads in part:

"... The most generous contributions to war-stricken Germans are insufficient to remedy the ravages of war. Looking ahead... the Service Committee hopes to develop a number of realistic and social service units, called neighborhood houses, that will stimulate and strengthen a practical plan for self-help to the German people."

The American authorities have already approved such installations and a start has been made in Darmstadt and Frankfurt. Further plans have been drawn for such centers in Freiburg in the French zone, and in Cologne and the British sector of Berlin as well. Here is the working concept of this innovation as the Friends see it:

Neighborhood centers in a war-devastated community may offer opportunities for helpful relations and become the nucleus for a variety of services, social, educational, and health—the pattern kept flexible and dynamic so that a unit may develop in rural as well as urban communities.

Initial facilities will be arranged for clothing and shoe repair, carpentry, recreation, and day care for mothers, children, and the aged... [and for] extending services to the neighborhood such as hauling food and fuel and cleaning up some buildings or institutions. In its ideal workings, the neighborhood house might offer hospitality for the self-directed activities of youths and adults who need a place for discussion groups and forums;... [with] books and periodicals made available for educators, social workers, ministers, and prisoners-of-war.

The centers will be operated by German personnel and assisted by a limited number of Americans bringing evidence of concern and interest.

Japan: Now that the door to Japan has opened wide enough to permit the hand of voluntary friendship, it reveals the desolation of twenty-one million people as destitute of food and shelter as of clothing.

(Continued on page 260)

It Doesn't All Happen in Washington

MICHAEL M. DAVIS

WHEN I AM IN THE CAPITAL CITY, looking out to where people live, I often think about the story of the Plymouth Rock rooster who had an inquiring mind. One day he flew from his coop in the hinterland of Los Angeles—a region where it is the exotic that happens—and landed in an ostrich farm. The awe with which he viewed the big birds was transformed into envy when he saw what touched his own family feelings—the ostrich eggs! Bursting with desire for self-expression, he hastened home. To his swiftly assembled hens he spoke: “Ladies, I have been around. I have seen things. I do not want to be critical, but I can't help saying to you that it would be a good thing for you all to travel and see what's being done elsewhere.”

People Seeking Action

It is sound evidence of the wide-spreading demand for more and better medical care, that people are turning to organizations close to their life interests—unions, farm bureaus, granges, churches—to provide more and better health tools. Add to this that people are seeking action from their state legislatures as well as from Washington.

Last month I heard a man from Utah tell how the Church of the Latter Day Saints had surveyed its state, how it has earmarked funds to help some communities pay for building needed hospitals, and how, furthermore, help might be given to maintain a hospital during its initial years. Last year's federal Hospital Survey and Construction Act has called upon each state to pass enabling legislation and to survey its needs for hospitals and health centers. But some states have anticipated or gone beyond the minimum requirements. For example, several state commissions have been set up which study all needs for medical care, not merely hospitals. Many farm bureaus and granges are trying to expand hospital prepayment plans—Blue Cross, or their own. The extending health funds of labor unions are a timely story on which John L. Lewis has turned the limelight.

Especially impressive are North

HEALTH—TODAY & TOMORROW

—A series by the chairman, Committee on Research in Medical Economics; associate editor, *Survey Graphic*.

Carolina's recent doings and planings about health. Having driven over this state east and west, north and south, I have long known its beauties. It is indeed a state of contrasts, from the sea-swept islands, the lazy beaches, the sluggish rivers of its coastal plains, to the 6,700-foot peak of Mount Mitchell, five hundred miles west, and the pleasant hills, the bright meadows, and the busy communities of the Piedmont in between. From drab textile towns one may swing to luxurious hotels in resort cities; to a center of industry like Durham, from which billions of cigarettes pour; to a center of intellectual and social leadership like the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Islands of wealth and comfort spot wide sweeps of economic struggle and poverty. Two and a half million whites, a million Negroes make the state.

North Carolina Faces Facts

Three years ago, its leaders were stirred by the report of a fifty-member commission which had been appointed by the governor and which was headed by one of North Carolina's elder statesmen, Clarence Poe, publisher of *The Progressive Farmer*. Among its findings were: North Carolina stood thirty-fourth in the list of states in the number of physicians per thousand population; forty-second among the states in the ratio of hospital beds to population; highest among the states in the proportion of young men rejected by Selective Service because of physical defects. Thirty-four (now thirty-three) of the state's 100 counties had not a single hospital bed. Thirty-nine counties had no hospital beds for Negroes.

“These statements,” says Dr. I. G. Greer, president of the Good Health Association, “have a tendency to wound our pride, but they are facts that must be faced and dealt with courageously.”

They have been. The 1945 legislature made the commission a permanent agency under the name of the North Carolina Medical Care Commission. Its membership includes men and women, doctors and laymen, from all parts of the state. It has amassed additional facts and a program for action.

It isn't only that general hospital beds are few, or absent, in many sections. Staffs of physicians and nurses are short too. “We need 1,300 more doctors,” declares the president of the state medical society. The number of nurses in proportion to population is only one third the U.S. average, says the secretary of the state nurses association. Mental hospital beds are far too few. Three thousand beds for tuberculosis should be available, but there are fewer than 2,000. There are 100,000 cases of syphilis, but treatment facilities are insufficient. Only a quarter of the counties have any organized medical service for indigent persons, in the homes and in hospitals.

It isn't merely that the over-all state average of doctors to population is low. Seventy-three percent of the population is rural, but only 31 percent of the doctors are in rural areas (including all towns with populations under 2,500 people). Half of all the physicians are in cities of over 10,000, although these cities have only 20 percent of the state's population. Many of the rural doctors are elderly and few young men are taking their places. Four counties had more than one doctor per 1,000 people, but 43 counties had less than one doctor for 2,000 people. There are only about 160 Negro doctors for 1,000,000 Negroes.

Economics must be reckoned with, as well as medicine. In 1940 nearly a quarter of all farm homes had no toilet or privy; 93 percent had no running water. The average per capita income was only \$317 in 1940. There were counties where the average family income was less than that. The huge acreage planted to cotton and tobacco is responsible for the inadequate production and consumption of milk. There are nearly 90,000 farms in the state without a cow.

“You start from the facts . . . ,”

declares an editorial in the *Charlotte News* of February 11, 1947, "and you must conclude that something is so badly wrong in the state that we must act immediately."

—And Aims at a Goal

The legislature took some action even two years ago. It set up a loan fund for medical students. It provided some state funds to aid localities to care for indigent sick. It authorized the expansion of the two-year medical school of the state university into a regular four-year school. Private citizens acted also. A Good Health Association was formed, with outstanding doctors and such nationally known laymen as Josephus Daniels among its leaders, to make the facts and needs known and to push the plans recommended by the commission. "Make North Carolina the Number One Health State!" urges the Association. Here is the six-point scheme of the commission, designed to attain that goal:

1. A five-year plan to bring hospitals and health centers to all the people. Every North Carolina family should have a "good hospital" within twenty-five miles. Every county should have "either a hospital or else a health center with some hospital beds."

The plan calls for adding 5,000 general hospital beds, by the end of 1951, to the present total of 9,220. Of these new beds, 45 percent would be for Negro patients. For tuberculosis, 700 more beds would be added within the same period. For mental diseases, the state is to acquire a 3,374-bed army hospital and also construct new hospital space with a capacity of 1,500 beds. For the start on general hospitals, nine low-income counties have been marked, plus twenty-four other poor counties for health centers.


The money? Forty-eight million dollars over the five years. Where is it to come from? A third is expected from federal appropriations under the Hospital Survey and Construction Act. The state is asked to put up another third, and to do this on the principle of helping most where need is greatest. The richest counties might thus get only 10 percent of the hospital costs paid from state funds, while the poorest counties might get as high as 50 percent. These poor counties would thus (with the federal third) have to raise only one

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N.C. HAS ONLY 2300 DOCTORS FOR 3 1/2 MILLION PEOPLE

THE NUMBER OF DOCTORS ABOVE 55 YRS OF AGE HAS INCREASED 32 PER CENT SINCE 1916

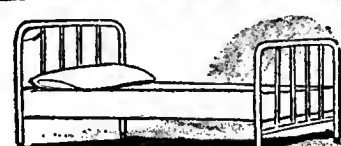


MOON ABOVE NORTH CAROLINA

BETTER HEALTH

NORTH CAROLINA LED THE NATION IN PERCENTAGE OF REJECTIONS FOR MILITARY SERVICE
49.2% WHITE
71.5% NEGRO

25 PERCENT OF OUR RURAL BABIES HAVE NO DOCTOR ATTENDING AT BIRTH!



33 COUNTIES HAVE NO HOSPITAL BEDS
31 COUNTIES HAVE LESS THAN 2 BEDS PER 1000
31 COUNTIES HAVE LESS THAN 2 TO 4 BEDS PER 1000

Courtesy North Carolina Good Health Association

sixth of the construction costs from local public or private sources. For mental and tuberculosis hospitals, the state would meet its full two thirds of the expense.

2. The state should appropriate \$500,000 a year, to pay hospitals one dollar for each day's care rendered to indigent patients. This sum would match the amount which the Duke Endowment has paid hospitals in the Carolinas for over twenty years for the same purpose.

3. Medical-education loans "to encourage young North Carolinians to become doctors and to practice in rural communities." As already noted, beginnings on this and on the preceding policy have already been made by the legislature.

4. Carrying out the plan to put the state's medical school on a standard four-year basis, and to make a 400-bed teaching hospital, built in conjunction with the new school, avail-

able to all citizens of the state having need of its special facilities, like the state university hospitals of Iowa, Michigan, and elsewhere. The \$5,000,000 expense of this hospital is included in the \$48,000,000 of Point 1.

5. "Adequate provision for educating more Negro doctors." It is not yet clear just how, or how justly, this would be done. North Carolina requires race segregation in educational institutions. One suggestion is to develop a medical school as part of the North Carolina College for Negroes at Durham. Whether such a school can be put and kept on a high standard "at reasonable cost" is the question. The alternative is to follow the policy recently adopted by Virginia, and pay for the education of North Carolina Negro medical students at Meharry Medical College in Nashville, Tenn.

6. Expand voluntary hospital insurance plans. There are now three
(Continued on page 269)

The Friends in Finland

HARRY HANSEN

THE QUAKERS ARE AT IT AGAIN — so runs the message of the true underground, the underground of those who crouch in cellars because the great war wiped out the houses over their heads. Everywhere members of the Society of Friends, actually one of the smallest of religious denominations in the United States, are putting thousands of volunteers of many religious persuasions to work in the common cause of helping bind the wounds left by war. The extraordinary efficiency of their methods has won the gratitude of the dispossessed and the hungry, and the admiration of the world. Here is an example of a minority moving a majority because its cause is just and its faith is strong.

The Quaker Conscience

Ever since the eighteenth century the Quakers have made philanthropy a major part of their activities outside the meeting house. It is not philanthropy as most people use the term — the unloading of millions of dollars for purposes that, however worthy, need not occupy the donor's time. Quaker philanthropy is a humanitarian effort in which the giving and assembling of money is closely associated with its use for alleviating mankind's woes. It is also unique in that it is not done to win converts.

The "passion for human sympathy" that turned John G. Whittier from social trifling to fighting against slavery, and that stood behind the Freedman's Bureau, glows again in the hearts of the American Friends Service Committee. Organized in 1917, it proved its mettle during the first world war and after, especially in Poland and the Volga country. Active once more, it is applying itself to Herculean tasks with extraordinary success.

But these superlatives are not used by the Quakers—they came to mind as I read David Hinshaw's circumstantial report, "An Experiment in Friendship," a document of social importance. (With an introduction by Rufus M. Jones. Putnam. \$2.50.) It records how the Quakers are dealing with the great need of one nation,

Finland, and more specifically Lapland, where the Nazis burned the houses and destroyed the stock in their fury. Even Mr. Hinshaw has to watch his words of praise, for the Quaker conscience refuses to accept full credit for results because they are achieved with the help of many non-Quaker workers and contributors.

There are only about 140,000 Quakers in the world, with 118,000 in the United States and 20,000 in England, but through the American committee they are helping many times their number in thirteen countries — Austria, China, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Norway, Poland, and the USA. The Quakers hold themselves responsible for costs of administration (\$309,800 in 1946) and give in addition at least 10 cents to each non-Quaker dollar contributed for direct relief. Thus, non-Quakers give 85 percent of the funds, which in 1947 will reach \$8,365,326, while gifts in kind are estimated worth \$1,500,000. This does not include the work contributed by 20,000 volunteers, or the free services in transportation and packing which even neutral nations are glad to contribute.

But this is not the most remarkable element in this activity. That, clearly, is the "secret power" in the heart of the Quaker, a spiritual strength that makes us aware that faith can move mountains. The committee's field activities, we read, are directed by a staff of 200 trained volunteer workers, of whom about one third are Quakers. They have not only imbued everyone with their spirit, but have made rivals "submerge their dislikes and make no sign of preference." In the ghost city of Rovaniemi, "the banker's wife and the leading Communist were both on the committee," and throughout Finland hate and suspicion have died down where the Quakers are active.

Mr. Hinshaw writes that his book "will establish clearly that Quakers serve mainly as the spiritual leaven in the loaf which expresses the helpful purpose of men and women of good will of every religious group and

every nationality." We must remember, however, that the Quakers come with bread in their hands and that their immediate help is material. They give the Finnish helpers food and shelter and a monthly allowance of \$10 in the barracks of the staff—obviously these men need that and are glad to get it. Similarly the work relief that the Quakers institute fills a need; the Finns are strong and able at manual labor, and here is an agency that can put them to work.

But even here there would be jealousy and bickering if the Quakers were not above such matters. They come from the outside, free from local disputes and above partisanship. They apply themselves to needs and respect neither classes nor political opinions. If they provide material help, they also emphasize "a healing sense of human fellowship," as their committee says. When they distribute food and clothing they study the requirements of the individual and never distribute anything on an impersonal or mass basis. There are no scrambles for supplies, from which a man emerges with two left shoes and one mitten.

The Task of Rebuilding

Mr. Hinshaw devotes space to a detailed description of how work camps are made to advance the cause of democracy in Finland. The Quakers believe that "common work makes friends" and that men from different social strata and conflicting groups are best reconciled when they work together—

that it is hard to dislike a man with whom you have dug a ditch; that when you are nailing shingles to beat the weather or spading a sewer to outwit typhoid there is little difference between a poor man and a rich man; that the distinctions between white, black, and brown men tend to blur if not fade when they toil together to achieve a common good.

There is no doubt of the temporary value of such associations, but the cause of human tolerance and understanding is often wrecked when the

(All Books ordered through Survey Associates, Inc., will be postpaid)

roof has been shingled and the ditch has been dug. The human race has not been without many such enterprises, yet its tendency to backslide is its most distressing characteristic. Mr. Hinshaw says the Quakers expect the hard work, simple food, and sacrifices of the work camp to "drive the rule of the material from the hearts of men," when taken in the right spirit. In view of what they achieve with a few men of high spiritual courage I have not the temerity to doubt them.

It seems plausible that a great part of the success of the Quakers comes because they prove that they are disinterested in the political, economic, and religious disputes of the nation they enter. They convert the cynical by their works. Yet other denominations have given unselfish service. May I hazard the guess that the very absence of a strong church organization and absence of the fundamental object of proselytizing, contribute to the confidence the Quakers inspire?

Mr. Hinshaw has given a magnificent description of the spiritual courage of the Finns. Attacked during the war by both sides, robbed of land and supplies by the Soviet Union in retaliation for making war, and attacked in turn by the Nazis, they take up the work of rebuilding with "deep inner spiritual resources."

Russia's hard terms forced 420,789 Finns to leave Karelia; they have been distributed throughout Finland. Of the Lapps, who left in droves when the Nazis scorched their land, all but 20,000 are back home, struggling to get roofs over their heads, medicines for their sick, and food for all. The woman whose home was burned down in the first Winter War, built another and had that destroyed by Russian partisans; built again and lost it to the Germans. Thus three houses were destroyed in five years; she will build again, on the foundations of the old.

The Finns "never were whipped," writes Mr. Hinshaw. Even the huge reparations demanded by the Russians—\$300,000,000 in six years and one tenth of Finland's territory—are being met. Included were 3,500 freight cars and 100 locomotives that Finland needed so badly.

Here the Quakers are the living outposts of western democracy. They speak for the humane side of the nation that wiped out hundreds of thousands of civilians with its atomic bombs. Mr. Hinshaw makes the

Quakers' mission, clear, their methods comprehensible, their spiritual strength a beacon to mankind. Can their work of binding up the wounds of communities with fellowship be extended to the graver injuries that mankind suffers, the disputes and dissensions that go with national aims? Can they find a common work-camp for labor and capital? For with so much practical good before our eyes, we cannot stifle the eternal hope for a way of getting peace and justice among men.

♦ ♦ ♦

BOY FROM NEBRASKA—The Story of Ben Kuroki, by Ralph G. Martin. Harper. \$2.50.

WHEN THE UNITED STATES ENTERED World War II, Ben Kuroki tried to enlist. He was turned down—because his forbears had come from Japan. This is his story, told in full for the first time from a point of view more penetrating than that of a correspondent making a deadline. It is, also, as far as this reviewer knows, the first extended account of what it felt like to be a Japanese American in our armed forces.

It is not always a pleasant story, for it deals with race prejudice. Yet it is one that most of us would do well to read and ponder.

Ben Kuroki grew up in the commonplace quietness of a Nebraska farm community. Not until December 7, 1941, was he aware of differences in any save physical details between himself and his companions. With the attack on Pearl Harbor, however, he saw suspicion and hatred take the place of friendliness and learned the penalty he must pay for having yellow skin and slanted eyes.

Part of that penalty was this—that after he had succeeded in his second attempt to enlist, he spent the next five years fighting not only his country's battles but also an intimate and peculiarly obscene war of his own against intolerance and race discrimination within the army. He won this latter war, it is true, but not without fearful personal cost in unhappiness and anxiety. The fact that he did win is a measure of the man; the fact that he was able to make a place for himself as tailgunner in heavy bombardment squadrons, and was thus enabled to fly fifty-eight missions in European and Pacific battle areas, is an index of courage that is more than physical.

It was bitter anticlimax that he should return after victory to find the same battle awaiting him at home.

"Boy From Nebraska" is an exciting story, told with warmth and humanity. If it is occasionally sentimental and if some of its pictures of combat and carousal are all too familiar to readers of war tales, these faults are minor and in no way detract from the urgency of the book's message. For mixed with such ingredients will be found sobering details regarding the ease with which many Americans succumb to a mob psychology of hatred and fear, and ample evidence, as well, of the effects of rejection upon a sensitive nature.

The reader will know Ben Kuroki when he has finished this book—know him, like him, and respect him. And it is only through the creation of such attitudes as these that race hatred can be eliminated.

OLIVER T. FULLER

New York City

♦ ♦ ♦

DEMOCRATIC EXPERIENCE AND EDUCATION IN THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS, by Sarah Barbara Brumbaugh, Ph.D. Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University. \$2.10.

MISS BRUMBAUGH'S PURPOSE IN THIS study of the educational ideas and procedures of the League of Women Voters is to sort out those which have general significance for an "education designed for democracy."

Accordingly, the first part of the book traces the historic situation in which the infant organization found itself in 1920, its adoption of the democratic policies of nonpartisanship and non-exclusiveness, its enforced adventure into the preparation and publication of learning materials, its slow and experimental arrival at a program-making procedure, its gradual development of an educational philosophy and technique.

With all this, no one can quarrel. But doubts are raised when the author passes to the second phase of the League experiment in political education. Beginning in 1934 with the administration of Marguerite Wells, Miss Brumbaugh finds the group emphasizing legislative action to a degree which she considers dangerous in that it tends to short-cut the learning processes and frustrate the personal interests of the membership, to increase the necessity for centralized planning and direction, and to initiate



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the membership into pressure group methods. To prove this danger she cites the case of the four-year campaign against the patronage system.

To me as a working member of the League, her concluding warning that the League will "seriously err if it moves too far" from the direction taken by the early leaders sounds a little too solemn.

In the first place the League "campaigns" have always been in the nature of something added to the regular work. The local Leagues were always up to their necks in local projects even when a "campaign" was making the headlines. And the work toward international cooperation has never slackened.

In the second place, Miss Brumbaugh's account neglects completely the latest direction which the League educational experiment has taken. The book was evidently written several years ago and brought very hastily up to date. (Among about a hundred League publications listed in the bibliography, only four are later than 1939.) Consequently, the reader unfamiliar with the League's work would get a wrong impression of what the League has been about recently.

Beginning with the outbreak of the war, the organization has moved into a third phase of activity, in which its emphasis has been upon neither the political education of its members nor legislative action—though both of these have gone on—but upon creating an informed public opinion capable of dealing with the unprecedented problems of the time. A recent book should have taken some account of this development or explained why no account was taken.

St. Louis, Mo. AVIS D. CARLSON

WHERE ARE WE HEADING? by Sumner Welles. Harper. \$3.

MANY AUTHORS TODAY INVOKE THE name of the late President in support of their particular interpretation of the present day situation. Few can do so with the convincing persuasion of Sumner Welles. His recent book is a comprehensive survey of world events during the past five years. It begins with the Atlantic Charter, in the preparation of which he actively participated. It describes the progress toward world understanding during the years of conflict, the halt of that progress since V-J Day, and the con-

fusion and deterioration of confidence which have followed.

Mr. Welles says: "The insane delusion that Democracy and Communism cannot simultaneously exist in the world is rampant. Stupidity, reaction, and timidity dominate the Councils of Nations." Yet he sees in lost opportunities not "a cause for futile regret, but rather an impelling reason for redoubled effort." He tells us what this effort should have been, and what it has not been.

According to him, Roosevelt felt that "a firm agreement with the Soviet Union was the indispensable foundation for peace." The President was aware of the gap existing between the American system and that of the Soviet Union and recognized the problems it presented. What concerned him was the extent of the gap; how it could be narrowed to a span capable of being bridged by "a better understanding."

It is apparent to Mr. Welles, as it must be apparent to many, that the gap has not narrowed. It has widened alarmingly. His book tells how, why, when, and where this gathering menace has grown. It shows how we have failed to act. It points out why, when we did act, we failed to accomplish the desired result because it was too late.

It tells of confidence undermined where it might have been sustained, of high aims unrealized because of incompetency and ignorance. The indictment for these failures, in Germany, in Italy, in the Near East, in China, in Latin America, is impressive. Mr. Welles does not minimize the responsibility of the Soviet Union or of other nations for this somber situation.

He does not guarantee that a wise policy consistently carried out by the United States would have eliminated problems. But he believes that the high prestige of this country, and the power that goes with prestige, need not have been wasted; much that has failed might have been accomplished.

It is not necessary to agree with all of Mr. Welles' conclusions, or all his criticisms of policies and personalities. Some readers will differ with his opinions as to what should or should not have been done in our dealings with Latin America. The sympathetic pen portrait of President Perón of Argentina, and the nostalgic tribute extended to that "benevolent dictator," Getulio Vargas of

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Brazil, are apt to provoke sharp dissent. These are dissonances difficult to resolve in the harmonic structure of liberalism.

Many Italians will question Mr. Welles' opinion that the influence of the Vatican and of the Pope himself is now far stronger in Italy than for many decades. These Italians, Catholics themselves, continue to scrutinize the policies of the Vatican, hoping to find therein a reversal from the past record and a trend toward the progress which they so passionately desire, which their unhappy country so urgently needs.

But such observations concern themselves with details and do not reflect on the massive achievement of the book. To every thoughtful reader Mr. Welles offers an education and a challenge. In or out of office, he continues to be a valued public servant.

ALBERT SPALDING

Formerly with Psychological Warfare Branch, OWI, in Italy

THE LONG WAY HOME, by Sgt. Millard Lampell. Julian Messner. \$2.50.

AS A PROFESSIONAL RADIO WRITER, Millard Lampell meshed his craft with the revolution which the war effected in physical and mental therapy. The radio scripts collected here dramatize the great work of the Army Air Forces Personnel Distribution Command, which was charged with re-orienting and hospitalizing returning airmen who had completed their tours of duty or been invalidated out of combat. These doctors had to demonstrate that returned soldiers are still people and should be treated as such.

William Rose Benét writes in the preface:

The bitterness of the returned soldier is not a simple thing . . . it will go when the returned soldier can feel he is a living part of a society that is rational and full of energy and hope and help for the handicapped, without patronage.

The soldier's trip home isn't a quick jump from battlefield to front door, explains Mr. Lampell. There are many hitches in the process which have to be worked out in the redistribution stations and convalescent hospitals, where, as Colonel Howard A. Rusk says in his foreword, the men are first given an *objective*. And Colonel Rusk, in turn, quotes General Arnold as saying, "properly motivated ambition cannot be disabled." Mod-

ern therapy gives men healing incentives, treating not a single injury but the whole man.

The scripts sketch in swift, economical dialogue and side narrative the case histories of one soldier after another as each goes into, through, and out of combat. Many an operational fatigue is traced to its battle source and then erased with deft touches of medical understanding. An amputee is taught to face himself, his girl.

Teachers of radio writing will keep this book within reference reach for a long time to come. The fourteen scripts were first produced over an official Army Air Force program, "First in the Air," on CBS, and were later rebroadcast and recorded for wide distribution.

To do this work, Mr. Lampell traveled 20,000 miles across country, passed through ports of embarkation, checked in at convalescent hospitals as a patient, went through the processing line, sat in on psychiatric treatments and physical therapy workouts. He has recorded the sights, sounds, and smells of war as they linger in the minds of stricken men. And the fact that the author is contributing his royalties from the book to the Committee for Air Forces Convalescent Welfare is a quiet reminder that "the long way home" is still a crowded thoroughfare.

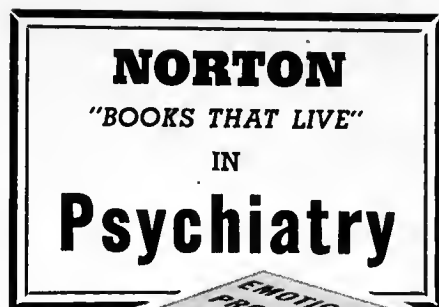
ALAN HARTMAN

Former GI correspondent for Brief Magazine with the Air Forces in the Pacific.

A NEGRO'S FAITH IN AMERICA, by Spencer Logan. Macmillan. \$1.75.

THIS WINNER OF THE FIRST PRIZE FOR nonfiction in the Macmillan Centenary Awards is a heartening book. At a time when the inability of nations to agree upon vital questions is coupled to disunity within our own borders, it is encouraging to find a member of our largest minority who, in spite of injustice he himself has met, believes in the future of democracy. Ex-Sergeant Logan, a veteran of both the European and Pacific theaters, has earned the right to be heard. The listening will be both pleasant and profitable for his fellow citizens.

The book opens with two challenging sentences: "I am a Negro-American. All my life I have wanted to be an American." There follows a brief account of his life, which serves as a



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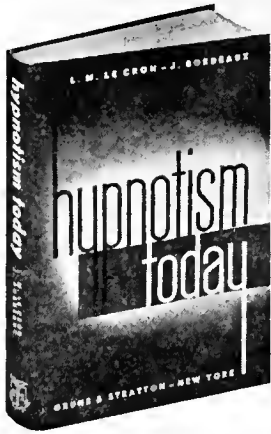
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background for the author's analysis of the current situation. Three chapters discuss the problems of Negro leadership, Negro slums, and misregeneration from the viewpoint of the Negro. Another chapter, based largely on Mr. Logan's own experiences and observations, analyzes the Negro soldier during the war, and discusses the problems he faces on his return. The two most important chapters are "Hopeful Portents," and "The Negro and Democracy." The former is an analysis of many factors, groups, and activities which are working for better understanding and cooperation between black and white America today. The latter surveys the implications of democracy for the Negro, and of the Negro problem, for the future of democracy.

Mr. Logan is bluntly honest and extremely objective. Many of his observations, for instance those upon the quality of much of the present Negro leadership, will arouse controversy among people of both races. But even those who disagree with him will be forced to recognize his sincerity.

Throughout the book, like a silver thread of hope, is the author's great faith in democracy and his understanding of its evolutionary nature. This book is the product of much sound thinking. It deserves to be widely read by thinking people.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

New York City

FOOD OR FAMINE, by Ward Shepard. Macmillan. \$3.

PAY DIRT, by J. I. Rodale. Devin-Adair. \$3.

THERE ARE TWO CONSPICUOUS FACTS about soil of good quality. One is that there is not so much of it as we had thought—many soils have natural deficiencies and many have been made deficient. Second, we are wasting soil, destroying it at an unbelievable speed, in ways that approach the idiotic.

Too few people feel these facts of worldwide soil destruction enough to be motivated by them. But here are books straight from the hearts of two men deeply concerned about its effect on the future of their country and of humanity.

In "Food or Famine" Mr. Shepard cites some of these appalling facts. He turns for hope to the soil conservation districts, of which we now have many.

He points out that an increasing number of our needs must be met by group action, cooperating groups. Take the timber situation. "The re-

building of the depleted forest resources of a given region is no mere technical problem; it is a problem of social, economic, and industrial reorganization."

An even wider grouping of cooperating interests is required to keep a drainage basin productive and intact. Mr. Shepard pays due tribute to the Tennessee Valley Authority as a type of resource planning and an escape from the trend toward centralization.

His is a thoughtful book about how we may save ourselves. It is excellently illustrated.

"Pay Dirt" is by an agricultural heretic, a follower of Sir Albert Howard of England who wrote a revolutionary book, "An Agricultural Testament." Mr. Rodale maintains that present practices in commercial agriculture, especially our commercial fertilizers and sprays, are robbing and sometimes poisoning the soil. He has gathered a surprising collection of examples from orthodox sources—for instance, a Washington State bulletin concerning 15,000 acres of land in that state so toxic from orchard sprays that nothing will grow.

He points out the great importance of bacteria in the life and feeding of the soil, and insists that all the standard fertilizers—"superphosphate, ammonium sulphate, calcium cyanamid, nitrate of soda, and such"—are detrimental to fertility, while ground lime stone and ground raw phosphate rock are not.

His real right bower is the compost pile—a layer of grass, leaves, old hay, or other vegetable matter, a layer of manure, a thin layer of garden soil, and many repeats to build a pile. Let it stand a few months and turn it over a few times and bacteria will have changed it into the ideal plant food.

Mr. Rodale edits a very successful garden magazine. His book contains good medicine for the suburban gardener who now burns his leaves. The points he makes about the vital importance of bacteria and the danger of soil poison are well taken, but there are many generalizations that are not proved. A vast amount of experimentation is necessary to determine how far we can go in maintaining bacteria and earthworms, and at the same time use machinery and add the minerals that plants must have, if they are to feed us and if soils are to be maintained in productive condition.

Swarthmore, Pa. J. RUSSELL SMITH

(In answering advertisements please mention SURVEY GRAPHIC)

SCHOOL BREAKDOWN
(Continued from page 245)

another — Massachusetts, Maine, Illinois, Ohio, Utah, Louisiana, California, North Carolina, Oregon — and you will find an acute teacher shortage. The hoped-for postwar improvement has not taken place.

Sometimes the damage done the schools is intangible; at other times it is visible. The *Times* study shows that the harm is real and lasting: Tens of thousands of classes are overcrowded; educational facilities are lacking; textbooks and school supplies are needed; the enriched curriculum offerings of many systems have been eliminated.

Benjamin W. Frazier, senior specialist in teacher training, United States Office of Education, comments:

Although the children are not walking the street, it would be far better if many schools closed their doors. Then at least the community would know the serious nature of its problem.

The teacher shortage, acute as it is today, will grow worse during the next five years. At present the big cities are living off the flesh and blood of the small rural schools. We will need a ten year supply of teachers in the next four years. It looks as though we will never catch up with the demand.

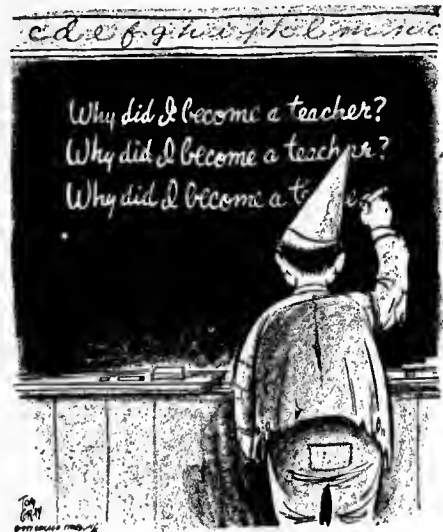
In normal times, the public schools needed about 90,000 new teachers each year — that represented a 10 percent replacement, to fill gaps in the ranks caused by death, resignation, and retirement. Before the war, the teachers colleges graduated about 50,000 teachers annually, and the additional 40,000 came from liberal arts colleges and other educational institutions.

Today, the teachers colleges are not attracting a sufficient number of students to meet their prewar share of the replacement needs. All told, the country can be expected to prepare not more than 35,000 to 40,000 qualified teachers a year for the next four or five years.

Meanwhile, the increased birth rate of the war and postwar years means an imminent jump in the school rolls, and hence a demand for additional teachers. The best estimates indicate that we shall need at least 100,000 new teachers annually. With less than half this number being trained, the teacher shortage, far from lessen-

ing in the years just ahead, seems likely to become more severe.

Alarmed by this outlook, the Office of Education has set up a Citizens Federal Committee on Education to study the problem and recommend remedies.



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"The present crisis affecting the teaching profession throughout the country is of such gravity as to threaten the future of the American way of life," Thomas C. Boushall, chairman of the committee, warns.

His warning is echoed by distinguished educators and laymen throughout the United States. The public, although still unaware of the gravity of the problem, is gradually becoming concerned with the plight of the schools. President Truman has established a commission of educational experts, directed by Francis J. Brown of the American Council on Education, to make an extensive study of the nation's educational problems.

The Advertising Council of New York, in cooperation with leading school groups, is planning a campaign to raise the standing of the teaching profession to past levels. A generation ago a teaching appointment was more than highly respectable—it conferred real prestige. Today the teacher's post is scorned, and until that public attitude is corrected, many experts feel the shortage of new recruits to the profession will continue.

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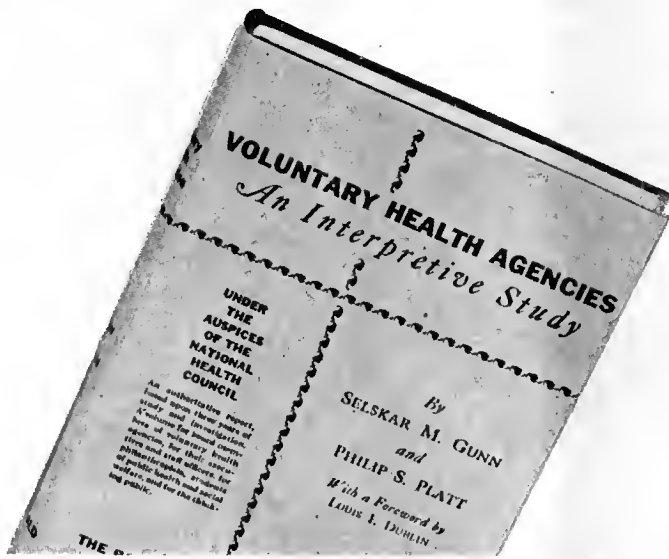
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● George E. Sokolsky, commenting on the Gunn-Platt study, wrote in the *New York Sun*: "One wants to be generous, yet be certain that his dollar is most advantageously spent." Here, in *Voluntary Health Agency*, is the first attempt to evaluate the effectiveness of the voluntary health movement in America today. 364 pp., Price, \$3

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Association's department of higher education, adds:

"To say that American education is facing a crisis is an understatement. The teacher shortage has gripped every state with unprecedented intensity. Our schools, as a result, are rapidly disintegrating."

It is the consensus of informed educators everywhere that the United States cannot neglect its teacher shortage any longer. Poor teachers and undermanned schools today inevitably mean poor citizens tomorrow.

THE QUAKERS

(Continued from page 251)

Of the two official representatives in Japan of LARA (Licensed Agencies for Relief in Asia), one is the appointee of the American Friends Service Committee. The program there is essentially one of distributing food, clothing, and medical supplies. To date, shipments have been made by LARA totaling over 1,000 tons. Of these the Service Committee has contributed over 350 tons, with an approximate value of \$125,000, and in addition \$50,000 worth of food and relief supplies has been purchased in Japan from navy surpluses.

Attention has been concentrated on babies, nursing and pregnant women, patients in tuberculosis sanatoria, children in orphanages, and repatriated Japanese nationals; and also on a child-feeding program that is being carried on in the Japanese schools.

This mere trickle of help reaching into the desert of want which is Japan has been illumined by a thing of moment. Some eight months ago a young Quaker, invited by the Japanese Emperor at the instance of our State Department, left her desk at the Service Committee in Philadelphia, and laid aside her gifts for story writing, to become tutor of the child-heir to the Japanese throne and to other members of the imperial household. The gentle persuasion of Elizabeth Gray Vining will replace the dark and rigid tenets of militarism that otherwise would have been implanted in the mind of a child in whose life may be wrapped up the destiny of a nation. Here is the flower and fruit of Quaker service shown often in dark and obscure places.

Thus across the face of the earth, areas of apathy and despair are

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checked by areas of hope and promise. The search for a symbol may be as desperate as the search for much needed substance. Quakers, by their religious foundations and testimonies, are peculiarly fitted to respond to such a call. Moreover, it is significant that over two thirds of the workers under the American Friends Service Committee are non-Quakers, from seventeen different religious denominations.

Of Faith and Practice

Meanwhile, Friends themselves are aware of the dangers of an ever-expanding organization, with over six hundred regular workers and with more than two thousand applicants for service in twelve months. Many, looking with apprehension at so many and such varied activities, recommend severe pruning lest the branches of their tree of service spread too wide to be supported by the sources of nourishment at its roots; lest tangibles outweigh the intangibles.

This nurture of spiritual roots is a concern not only of older and more conventional Quakers. Among young Friends there is a passionate urgency that ancient testimonies be adhered to; and that action spring wholly from these sources. The fear of "watering-down" is ever being expressed. An excerpt from the minutes of the Committee's executive staff has recognized this concern and defines plans and work anew:

To provide outlets for individual Friends to serve in ways which their monthly meetings could not compass—yet without drawing their loyalty away from their meetings unto itself; to carry outward relief and assistance to those who are in need—without losing the continual, fresh sense of inward communion with the Source of all help. These are the tensions which keep the Service Committee ever trying to walk a knife-edge between the barrens of action without depth and the swamps of concern without action.

"Faith and Practice" is the name of the book of discipline which is to the Religious Society of Friends somewhat equivalent to the Episcopal Book of Common Prayer. And it is the interplay and balance between the two subtly related forces, indicated in its title, that hold steady the proceedings through which the AFSC carries forward its work.

Never does a meeting of the Committee take place without awareness of guidance—consciously invoked in

the silence with which it opens and closes; unconsciously felt as the intricacies of situations and practice make demands on ingenuity, imagination, courage, faith. There are no pullbacks of expediency either for winning popularity or for maintaining "face" and position. Friends expect their acts to be unpopular. Curiously enough, they are not.

Things are important to Quakers, but not too important. In the words of the ancient sage, "Everything matters, nothing matters." A sense of proportion tends to obliterate over-emphasis, as does the sense of humor that lurks just beneath the surface of their proceedings. Meetings are never heavy, though they are, in Quaker parlance, often weighty with concern. But the light touch breaks through in chance phrase or incident. Another happy characteristic is frequent self-criticism—erasing "holier than thou" attitudes that might otherwise mar a group constantly at variance with many of the world's standards.

Frustration is frequent, especially in a course dependent upon government approval or permission. When plans are held up for months, or completely blocked and operations suspended, there seldom is a hint of irritation. Rather there is expression of gratitude when obstacles are removed. The sum of these attributes is a meeting that proceeds with little friction and gets to its point—without parliamentary procedure, according to Quaker custom—at a surprising pace.

Against this warp and woof of deeds in the making, the poignant experiences of freshly returned workers stand out in vivid, unforgettable tapestry. They bring to life pictures of want, suffering, and misery beyond human efforts to alleviate. They also tell of precious rewards in a family reunited, a child's rare smile, the near miracle that sometimes opens wide an apparent dead-end.

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(Continued on page 262)

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"In the face of the staggering immensity of the world's misery our Committee, even with the support of many syncretic individuals and organizations, can do little. But relief alone is not its task. It seeks ever to penetrate beyond the symptoms of the world's ills to their causes, and to find out and explore new paths to understanding and peace."

So runs a paragraph from a recent report of the American Friends Service Committee. And again, "Friends humbly feel an inner necessity to minister to the suffering of their fellows, convinced that there is in every human being something of the Divine."

Here is the essence of Quaker service at its best. Its very imperfections in practice make for better hope. If the Committee were a perfectly based and functioning organization, one might despair of ever applying it to a world at loose ends. But if, from a small Society of Friends, which recognizes its imperfections and limitations such testimony can be produced, might it not be taken to heart by the also imperfect and infinitely larger Society of Nations? If so few can reach so far and so rewardingly, linking human with divine law, what might not the many accomplish! What instruments other than faith and courage and love can strike fire that will stay alive? Kindled by Friends for three generations, fires so kindled have not died out.

Time and again during proceedings of the American Friends Service Committee, I have sensed a freshness of spirit, a breath of which in the councils of the United Nations would blow into life the divine spark too often quenched by indecision and dispute. Is it not for the nations that profess God to express Him in their acts? Take a chance on it? There might be surprising results.

Let the skeptics, who call them-

selves realists, produce one other alternative that has worked. Blind adherence to courses which have failed in a gunpowder past are by every count still less adequate for an atomic future.

Christian civilization for twenty centuries has been trying to carry water on the two shoulders of profession and performance. Now the buckets are spilled and we flounder in the mire. Once again we hear the words Christ addressed 1,900 years ago to Jerusalem—"If thou hadst known at least in this thy day the things which belong unto thy peace. . . ."

CONGRESS AND THE UNIONS

(Continued from page 235)

Whatever the nature of the bills under consideration, it is obvious that Congress is taking the subject of industrial relations very seriously. The Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare terminated on March 9 the hearings that had been going on nearly every day since late January. The House Committee on Education and Labor concluded its sessions on March 15 after six weeks of hearings. Scores of witnesses appeared, representing many shades of opinion, and a record of thousands of pages has been accumulated.

Presumably the committees will now analyze this testimony and the multitude of bills that have been referred to them for consideration. When they do that they will inevitably discover that some of the bills, if enacted, would do incalculable harm to sound industrial relations. But they will find other proposals of which that cannot be said. In order to realize a little more definitely what the task before Congress is, we may take a second, and critical look at the outstanding offerings.

Most of the bills amending the National Labor Relations Act permit the employer to make known to his employes his views on unions, if not accompanied by elements of coercion. There seems to be no doubt that the board in its earlier stages went too far in interfering with the employer's freedom of speech. The limits beyond which the NLRB may not go in such interference were later indicated by the Supreme Court. Whether, in view of the Court's decision, any limi-

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tation in the law is now required may be questioned.

It should be recognized, also, that a decision with respect to the point at which an employer's free speech becomes coercive involves subtleties beyond the reach of legislative determination. But freedom of speech is a right that is precious and should be inalienable. A reaffirmation of this right in a statute can hardly be opposed by upholders of the American tradition.

There seems to be no good reason for objecting to the proposal that employes and unions, as well as employers, should not refuse to engage in collective bargaining. Before the Wagner law was passed employers could legally prevent the workers from making use of their collective strength in bargaining—and many of them did so. It was to correct that situation that the Wagner law was passed, with guarantees of so essential a character that no one could have anticipated that any union would ever hesitate to avail itself of them. The great majority of unions have never done so, but some of the more powerful unions, in recent years, have at times presented their demands to the employers with a strong intimation that they were to be accepted without discussion. This is an unsound and antisocial practice whether engaged in by an employer or by a union. To require the unions to bargain will do no harm to the great majority who wish to do so, and it will exercise a restraint upon the others that is manifestly wholesome.

“Unfair Union Practices”

After the close of the Senate committee hearings two members of that committee, whose wide experience and knowledge of labor relations command wide respect — Senators Ives and Morse — each introduced bills dealing with this subject. Both senators would make it an unfair practice for a union to interfere with the choice of an employer's representative, or to refuse to bargain collectively, or to strike to prevent an employer from recognizing a union that had been certified by the board as representative of the employes.

In addition, Senator Morse would make it an unfair practice for a union to expel a member for trying, at an appropriate time, to change certification from one union to another, or to strike for a closed shop, or to violate

a collective bargaining agreement. Senator Morse's ban on strikes for the closed shop does not prevent the making of a closed shop agreement. When made, however, the union may not strike to enforce it, but it will be an unfair practice for the employer to violate this or any other agreement, and thus the matter is brought under the authority of the NLRB.

In contrast with these proposals, some of the other bills attempt a whole series of police regulations in the guise of unfair practices. Fraud, extortion, violence, destruction of property, and similar offenses are already forbidden under heavy penalties in every state in the Union. To make these acts illegal also under a federal statute would not only subject employes and union representatives to double penalties, imposed neither on employers nor on anyone else, but it would require a federal agency—the National Labor Relations Board—to assume the duties of policeman and police court in the three thousand counties of the United States. It is argued that local authorities are frequently negligent or that local laws are inadequate. Where this is the case, it would appear that the remedy lies elsewhere than in federal control.

The issue of the closed shop is so obviously one for extended study that it seems amazing that anyone should try to outlaw it without very careful consideration. There is a good deal to be said against it. One of the worst aspects of it is the closed union; yet strangely, none of the bills seems designed to do anything about that. There is no room here for full consideration of this question.

Many who believe in the right of unions to exist and to function are skeptical about the closed shop. Yet what is said for it is understandable. It grew up as the strongest protection the unions could devise against those who would destroy them. Many of the skeptics have questioned whether the closed shop was really necessary any longer in view of the protection afforded by the Wagner law. But the Wagner law is now under attack. There are bills to weaken its protection and even to repeal it. There are other bills to weaken the unions. Until the question is settled of how far Congress means to go with such bills, it is nonsense to cite the Wagner law as a reason for asking the unions to give up the closed shop.

The last group of bills to be con-

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sidered here includes the proposals for interfering with the right to strike, and the right to bargain on an industry-wide basis. The reaction against strikes that tie up industries essential to the public welfare is a natural one, and it is not surprising that there are so many bills to forbid them. There is recognition both of public need and of justice to the wage earner in the sheaf of House bills that provide for compulsory arbitration in vital industries and at the same time require the arbitrators to "take into consideration" the right of the employees to at least as good wages and working conditions as are enjoyed by other workers who have not lost the right to strike.

But here again the need for extended study is obvious. Compulsory arbitration is contrary to American custom and thought, and there are sound reasons for that which cannot be developed here. It is significant that the leading employers organizations, as well as the unions, are on record as opposed to compulsory arbitration. Before we embark on so new a course should we not examine experience elsewhere? Has compulsory arbitration stopped strikes in Australia? Did what amounted to compulsory arbitration stop strikes in the USA during the war? Has a ban on strikes ever been effective anywhere but in totalitarian countries? Congressmen—and the country—could profit if competent answers to these questions were obtained before the enactment of legislation.

If the country were ready to adopt the dubious experiment of compulsory arbitration for "vital" industries, would it then wish to go further? If so, how far? There are bills which, if enacted, would carry us much further. Paul M. Herzog, chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, told the Senate Committee, "After careful consideration of S. 55 and S. 360, and portions of S. 404, we are prepared to say that if all their provisions were enacted into law, *no strike could be lawful, once an employer had made a pro forma offer of reinstatement to strikers. . .*"

And with reference to the effect on the mind of labor of some of the enforcement provisions, he said:

The imposition of criminal penalties, the use of the *ex parte* injunction without hearing, revival of treble damages under the Sherman Act, and similar

penalties will call forth charges of discrimination and inequality from unions and workers. They will readily lead to demands that equally strong punitive sanctions be made available against employers, with a consequent sharpening, rather than assuagement, of existing bitterness.

As to the ban on industrywide bargaining, it may be pointed out that if the bills to accomplish that end were enacted, no national union could enter into an arbitration agreement with an association of employers, or assist in reaching equitable agreements on a local level, or discourage outlaw strikes.

It is unfortunate that the hearings ended with no recognition on the part of the unions that any change in the legal *status quo* is worthy of consideration. Both William Green, president of the AFL, and Philip Murray, head of the CIO, agreed that jurisdictional disputes are bad, and should be eliminated—but not with the aid of government. Van Bittner, speaking for the CIO, inquired of the House Committee, "What is the point of the proposed legislation? It cannot be to eliminate an abuse since there is no abuse."

No such flight from reality will be of service to the legislators, to the public, or to the unions.

This article is an effort to analyze the major proposals on labor before the two houses of Congress. It attempts in no way to offer suggestions for a legislative program. It is the writer's belief that all legislation should be postponed until a careful, objective appraisal can be made. What Congress needs is a cooling-off period—and a lot of homework.

AFTER UNRRA—WHAT?

(Continued from page 239)

Of the \$450,000,000 required by the Children's Fund, some \$200,000,000 is expected to come from the countries in which child feeding operations will be undertaken, with an equal amount from other countries. For the remaining \$50,000,000 the fund must depend upon voluntary contributions from individuals and organizations.

In discussing relief plans for 1947, the General Assembly assumed that both the Children's Fund and general relief would be financed in part through voluntary contributions.

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Later, however, it was realized that a double-barreled appeal to voluntary contributors would be poor strategy. Consequently, the plan to get workers in all countries to give the equivalent of a day's pay will be used only to finance the feeding and rehabilitation of children and youths. This "drive" will be deferred until actual feeding operations can be inaugurated. Obviously this means more delay, jeopardizing further the supplementary feeding programs which should be ready to pick up where UNRRA has to leave off.

Fund policies are determined by a board made up of representatives of 25 countries, including the United States, whose spokesman is Katharine Lenroot, chief of the Children's Bureau. The fund proceeds in accordance with principles prescribed by the Economic and Social Council and its Social Commission.

To date, the only substantial contribution to the fund has been the \$550,000 turned over by UNRRA from donations by the American people through the Famine Emergency Committee.

A qualification tied to the fund's first considerable gift prohibits its use for administrative costs. Several governments have expressed the hope that their contributions, too, will be earmarked for direct operations. It is obviously impossible to conduct a worldwide child feeding and rehabilitation program without adequate personnel and administrative arrangements. Hence it is to be hoped that this nation's contribution to the fund will not carry arbitrary limitations, undermining the effectiveness of the whole project.

Because of the rapid disintegration of the UNRRA organization and the deterioration of UNRRA-aided programs, the children now receiving help are likely to have a long wait before they can again count on their 700 supplementary calories a day. Even more serious is the fact that because of the mounting obstacles to establishing post-UNRRA relief schemes, these same youngsters are likely to have a still longer wait for something for their 700 calories to supplement.

Unhappily, much of the sentiment in favor of the Children's Fund is based on the false assumption that somehow children can be aided without helping their parents. Bitter experience — that gained after World War I, for example—proves that chil-

dren cannot really be saved without saving their families also; they cannot be helped effectively unless their parents are helped too. The United Nations, unfortunately, have now put asunder general relief and child relief which, in UNRRA, they had joined together. After UNRRA, therefore, even the children whom this divorce was intended to benefit, are likely to be badly served.

What, for Displaced Persons?

It cannot be pretended that even in UNRRA's heyday, the world's

refugees and displaced persons experienced much sweetness and light. Within the UNRRA Council and committees there were often deep cleavages. Because primary responsibility for the care and repatriation of DP's rested upon the occupying armies and military authorities, UNRRA often was not the source of practices which certain governments violently criticized. Now that new machinery is being discussed, many long-standing grievances are being aired anew. These differences, largely between the "Soviet bloc" on the one



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hand and the United States and the United Kingdom on the other, concern speed and effectiveness in screening quislings and traitors among the displaced; the emphasis on the right to asylum for persons who fear to return to their own countries; and finally, the degree of pressure to be exerted upon political dissidents and others to "go home."

Not even the prolonged discussions preceding the General Assembly's approval of the charter for the proposed IRO can be said to have resolved these issues, though they were more clearly defined. However, even the careful language agreed upon must be applied to individuals and their circumstances—for example, the section declaring that displaced persons are eligible for assistance from the IRO if they have "finally and definitely, in complete freedom, and after receiving full knowledge of the facts . . . expressed valid objections to return to their homes." In these interpretations the whole range of East-West differences inevitably will reappear again and again.

Although the General Assembly finally approved a charter for the IRO, this was passed with only thirty

affirmative votes, as against five negative votes (Russia, the Ukraine, Poland, Yugoslavia, and White Russia) and eighteen abstentions.

Before the IRO can become more than a paper organization, the charter must be ratified by fifteen governments responsible for at least 75 percent of the budget. To date, more than three months after the General Assembly's approval of the Charter, twelve governments whose contributions will make up only about 70 percent of the total, have indicated their intent to sign. Even after signing, one government apparently will not ratify its signature until at least eleven other governments have taken this final step. Several governments, including India, China, and Australia, are understood to have declared they will not join the IRO. Adherence by the Soviet bloc, which has raised so many objections, certainly cannot be expected. This reduces to a perilously small number the governments whose signatures and financial support may be counted upon to bring to being this vital UN agency.

Fortunately, the General Assembly foresaw some of these preparatory

complications and arranged for a Preparatory Commission to be established when at least eight governments had signified their intent to join the IRO. This Commission, temporarily directed by Arthur J. Altmeyer, Commissioner for Social Security and one of America's ablest administrators, is already at work, doing what it can to make the IRO a going concern and to smooth the transfer of responsibilities from older agencies to the new one.

In the meantime, the UNRRA organization, which is supposed to be dissolved by June 30, is rapidly disintegrating. The American and British military authorities, who always have carried the lion's share of responsibility for displaced persons, cannot be blamed now if they question the effectiveness of IRO and therefore plan to increase their own activities and control.

Finally, even if the necessary 75 percent of the IRO budget is subscribed, this still leaves no provision for one quarter of the total. Details of the full budget, unfortunately, have not been announced, but the whole amounts to only \$160,851,000 — a

(Continued on page 268)

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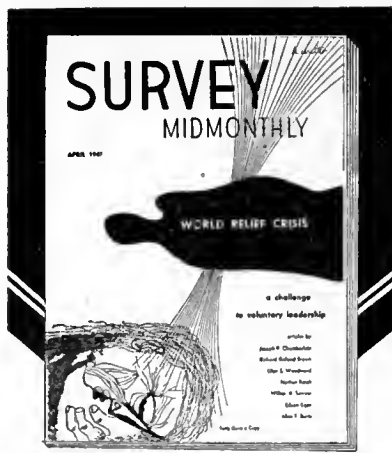
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meager figure in relation to the task at hand. Costs of food and other essentials heretofore charged to the military authorities of the USA and Britain do not seem to be included in this sum, nor is their continued provision by the military assured.

Still another problem of IRO financing is that the budget, to which member governments are obliged to contribute, includes no item for large scale resettlement. Any funds for this purpose, therefore, must be voluntarily contributed. If these are not forthcoming, the work of the IRO will be badly crippled and the hopes of displaced persons for new homes in some haven of refuge cruelly dashed.

On the more positive side, however, IRO offers the opportunity for a fresh start. The new agency will have UNRRA's experience to build upon, and, let us hope, a new resolution on the part of the United Nations that displaced persons are to be assured an opportunity to live, to be free, and at least to pursue happiness.

What of Services?

Among the few UNRRA activities the transfer of which to, and effective continuance by, the UN are assured, are a number that fall in the welfare field.

These include: advisory services to governments requesting consultants to assist them with their welfare programs; assistance to governments in developing programs for the rehabilitation of the physically disabled; aid in developing schemes for training welfare personnel; provision of fellowships to permit personnel from one country to study in another; provision of literature to assist a country both in its training program and in developing its welfare services.

Responsibility for continuing these five functions rests upon the United Nations Secretariat. Already consultants have been designated to serve in Greece and Czechoslovakia. Plans for further consultants, for fellowships, and other types of service are also well under way. A budget provision of about \$670,000, voted for this program by the General Assembly, is limited but it is at least assured. Operations will have to be on a smaller scale than those of UNRRA. However, UNRRA's welfare services were limited to countries which had been invaded by the enemy. The new services are available to more of the

United Nations, and perhaps may be extended further to countries now outside the UN.

What of Other Services?

International health functions are now the responsibility of the World Health Organization (WHO). This organization, however, has utterly inadequate funds. In fact, most of the operating funds in hand are those received from—or through—UNRRA. If, after UNRRA contributions are exhausted, international health is to be more than a slogan, cooperating governments will have to dig down into their jeans for the necessary financial support.

As for that much-neglected second "R" in UNRRA's name, the future seems very uncertain. Fortunately, relief plans projected for 1947 contemplate a little rehabilitation, almost exclusively agricultural. At the point where rehabilitation shades into reconstruction, international cooperation, presumably, comes into play through the International Bank and the Stabilization Fund, and, to a lesser degree, through other instrumentalities. Among these are a variety of UN councils and committees which, like the more formal agencies, are still in the planning rather than the operation stage.

Much of what has been said already about international cooperation in meeting 1947 relief needs and in providing for displaced persons inevitably casts a shadow upon the future. But as already noted, there are also strong reasons for hope—whether one looks ahead or to the past.

When the UNRRA books are finally closed and ready for the archives, what will the balance show? A vast number of living persons who otherwise would have been dead; a still larger number who have been protected against disease; literally millions of men, women, and children who were less underfed, less badly clothed than they otherwise would have been. UNRRA will leave behind millions of acres of food-producing farm land which otherwise would be barren or uncultivated. It will leave revived railways, restored shipping facilities, and reconstructed roads, without which modern nations cannot live. UNRRA's heritage to the world will also include proof aplenty that personnel of good will can transcend the mountainous obstacles confronting every international undertaking; abounding evidence that

there is among the United Nations a reservoir of humanity and mutual trust which, when tapped, can alleviate world suffering, promote world cooperation.

But after UNRRA, there will remain one thing more, evidenced rather by UNRRA's death than by its life: the realization that successful international relief and welfare programs must be built upon confidence and good faith, and that they cannot be expected to survive if they are, or even appear to be, instruments of high (or low) national or international politics.

UNRRA will soon belong to the past. The future—if there is to be any future for civilization—belongs to the United Nations. This future must prove that gains like those achieved by UNRRA can be continued, that difficulties like those heretofore experienced can be surmounted; that the world's high hopes for genuine international cooperation can be fulfilled.

NOT ALL IN WASHINGTON

(Continued from page 253)

nonprofit plans of the Blue Cross type in the state. Long-standing efforts to unite the two larger plans have thus far been unsuccessful. The total Blue Cross membership is nearly 500,000, but it is mostly urban. Can the membership be expanded so as to reach many more city dwellers and also the countryside, where few rural families are yet touched? How? The only answers thus far offered are more vigorous publicity, advertising, and other promotional measures. These measures usually run into diminishing returns as voluntary insurance plans attempt to extend their enrollment from the middle to the lower income groups and among farm families instead of among industrial and white-collar workers.

Values and Limitations

Appraising the North Carolina plan as a whole, the hospital part of it should go far toward supplying the people of the state with material facilities for modern medical service. If the legislature makes the appropriations, even the poorer rural sections should be able to meet the financial conditions of the federal Hospital Survey and Construction Act and thus obtain needed hospitals or health



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centers. Here the North Carolina program points the way to other states.

A basic question remains. How bring the people's paying power for physicians' and hospital service up to a level at which doctors can make a decent living in practice among low-paid city workers and among rural people? How assure the maintenance of new hospitals after they are built? On the last point, the small maintenance grant recommended by the plan would help some, but not enough. Training more doctors in a new medical school, and making loans to medical students, will not furnish support to doctors serving low-income families or areas.

The major deficiency of the program is its failure to include methods of implementing a large extension of health insurance, even of voluntary insurance. People from other states may well travel to see what's being done in North Carolina and elsewhere; but they—and North Carolinians too—must apprehend limitations as well as values. Until the fundamental issue of purchasing power is dealt with adequately, a program of other necessary elements in a scheme of medical care will construct only the approaches to the bridge.

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THE PARISH GROWS WIDER

(Continued from page 242)

the varied segments of society together for interthinking. That point was underscored heavily by the delegates at Pittsburgh, but they also went on to spell out what additional steps should be taken to bring the influence and the facilities of the Protestant churches more skillfully to bear on economic problems. On page 241 may be found a summary of these recommendations which constitute a suggested blueprint for church groups to use in implementing their growing concern for social justice.

What Pittsburgh Proposed

The following paragraphs detail some of the things that may be expected to occur under each of the four major headings of this suggested program:

Education of the Clergy. The curricula of seminaries are both crowded and rigid. Economics, sociology, and psychology are left almost entirely to pre-seminary work. At present, the only way a minister can find adequate training in this respect is through extension classes and short courses, such as the ones offered by the Presbyterian Institute of Industrial Relations in New York City, the only Protestant school of its kind in this country, or at the Institute of Industrial Relations at the University of Wisconsin.

Efforts will be made to establish more such training centers. The Roman Catholic Church is far in the lead in training men especially for work in industrial parishes and at other points of economic tension.

Education of Church Members. The study given to social problems is pitifully small when compared to the time spent on foreign missions, home missions and other subjects. However, Pittsburgh will have a definite tonic effect. One fact alone, the caliber of the delegates who took the time to participate in the conference, will help to make "social action" more respectable. At present it is too much a subject of suspicion and misunderstanding.

In addition to the usual discussion groups, forums, Bible classes, and other teaching methods, there are out-

standing experiments already in operation, such as the following:

Summer Work Camps: High school and college students work on community projects and at the same time study the sociological and economic background of the situation in which they find themselves.

Students in Industry: A similar application to industry in which students work during the summer at regular jobs in factories, and at the same time live together cooperatively and study the relationship of Christian principles to their work.

Labor Schools: Conducted by a number of Protestant "labor churches," and by Roman Catholic groups. There are now sixty Catholic labor schools in operation, all of them organized since the start of the depression, with curricula including public speaking, labor legislation, principles of the Pope's encyclicals, economics.

Research. The necessity for greatly extended research facilities is emphasized. The Pittsburgh conference was itself correlated with a study process begun a year ago by the Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council, the purpose of which is to analyze problems in Christian ethics growing out of the present day situation. The seven special studies that have been published during the last twelve months as supplements to the council's weekly *Information Service*, were used as background study material by the delegates at Pittsburgh, and the series is being continued. The titles of the studies are significant: "Employment and Unemployment"; "Non-Profit Incentives in our Economic Life"; "Freedom and Social Control in the Economic Order"; "The Church and Economic Life."

Application of Christian Principles. Just how this should be accomplished is a matter of great difference of opinion. There are many who feel that specific action in the social field should be left entirely to Christians as individuals. Others are ready to permit groups within the churches to take carefully chosen action up to a certain point. Still others feel that

(Continued on page 272)

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these groups should be given a full blessing and a free hand.

Here is an example of how one church faced this problem. For six months a special committee of The Church of the Highlands in White Plains, N. Y., explored the field and finally brought in a report urging the amendment of the by-laws to establish a Standing Committee on the Church and Public Issues. Its job? To promote the study of social issues on a year-round basis by all departments. The committee emphasized the distinction between "social education" and "social action" as objectives, and pointed out that while action might be sought on occasion, education "usually will be the most suitable course for the church." However, the report goes on to say that groups within the congregation "should be encouraged to engage in action"—such as to support or oppose legislation—without full congregational endorsement, provided it is made clear that the group is not acting for the church as a whole.

From Thinking to Doing

In all of these phases—education, research, application—what will be the total result? Will the impetus created by Pittsburgh really make any difference in the outlook and the work of the Protestant churches? Before attempting an answer to that question it may be well to consider a difficulty which will have to be met—the lack of adequate machinery. The churches are organized much better for conferring and discussing than they are for tangible action; the parish organization is for listening to the minister rather than for acting. The typical church has no committees other than a board, and everything is centered in the minister.

At the national level, the denominational departments of social education and action have been strengthened by increased interest among church members during the last ten years, but still the manpower and budgetpower available is woefully inadequate. In most instances denominational headquarters have one or two all-purpose men handling race relations, international relations, economic relations, alcohol education, legislative information, and assorted other problems.

Specialization is beginning, however, and at present has its foremost expression in the Council of Social Action of the Congregational Chris-

tian Churches with its staff of nine full time and two part time executives. The Council was established in 1934 and was then given status equal to that enjoyed by home missions and foreign missions boards.

The programs of these national departments become implemented in three ways: 1. By infusion in the work of other departments; 2. By channeling through local councils of churches on community projects; 3. By direct contact with the parish.

1. Increased interest in social matters has been reflected more in permeation throughout the general activities of the churches than in the expansion of projects specifically labeled "social action." According to the Reverend James Myers, co-secretary of the Industrial Relations Division of the Federal Council, this has been especially true in the field of Christian education, these programs in some instances differing only slightly from other programs called "social education."

This permeation is also occurring widely in young people's work, in some cases in evangelism, and also as a trend toward greater social emphasis in worship services.

Among congregations of the Jewish faith, development by permeation rather than by separate organization has been generally the case, although congregations are being urged to appoint committees on social justice. Social problems are considered as a matter of course along with other matters. At present the Commission on Jewish Education of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations is preparing two textbooks, one on social justice heroes in the American scene, the other on problems involving social justice. Both are for use in Sunday schools.

2. Protestant church relationship may be diagrammed as a gridwork: vertical denominational lines that are quite strong; horizontal lines, sometimes hardly discernible but growing very rapidly, indicating the marshaling of Protestant forces on a communitywide basis into city councils of churches, state councils, and at the top the Federal Council and the other specialized agencies in home missions, foreign missions, and religious education. During the last five years, the number of local and state councils more than doubled and these units are bound to play an increasingly

important role in the relation of churches to public affairs in general.

3. A start has been made toward changing the pattern of "listening congregations" into that of "participating congregations." The organization of social action committees in local churches is being emphasized in some quarters, notably by the Congregational Christian Council which began such a program five years ago. Today that denomination, with a total of 2,000 urban churches (6,000 altogether) has 309 churches with permanent committees and 212 others with individuals who act as committees-of-one.

This represents a hundred percent increase during the last eighteen months, and the Reverend Ray Gibbons, director of the Council for Social Action, says there has been a corresponding gain in the quality of work done by these committees.

All the channels for carrying through the Pittsburgh recommendations—the denominational departments, the local church councils, the parish social action committees—show an amount of growth that is encouraging, even though that growth in some respects is still on the primary level. This promise, together with the widespread interest among church people in labor-management relations and in other economic problems, justifies the expectation that the Pittsburgh conference actually marks a new point of departure.

There are reports of many follow-up plans which delegates took home with them. As one example: The twelve delegates from the United Council of Church Women—all of them state leaders—began during the conference to map their program of action; and soon the national council expects to have recommendations worked out for its local councils, a program that, among other things, will stress teaching in the home.

At the least, Pittsburgh will stimulate the very process of establishing the machinery necessary for action, and will help to accelerate the already well-established trend among Protestant churches toward "the larger parish."

At the most, it could touch off a whole series of communitywide conferences that might generate enough "interthinking" to make a substantial contribution toward social and industrial peace.



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April 17—2:00 P.M., War Memorial Building, Problems of American Citizenship
April 18—8:30 P.M., California Hall, Joint Meeting on Racial Discrimination and American Citizenship

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Among other reviewers—

whose informed comments will appear next month or later are Roger Baldwin, Jane Clark Carey, Richard B. Scandrett, Jr., P. Alston Waring, Olive Holmes. F. Ernest Johnson, Ruediger Bilden, Ira De A. Reid, Bryn J. Hovde, Catherine Bauer, John J. Corson, Walter F. Sharp, Katherine N. Rhoades, John Paul Jones.

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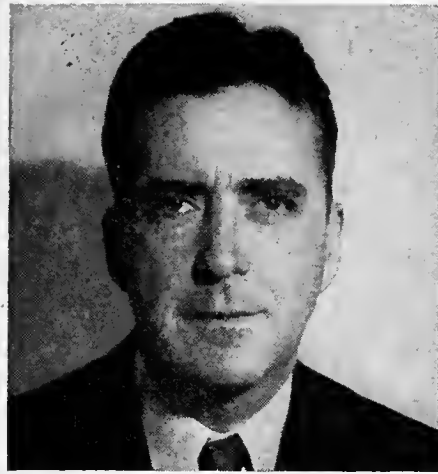
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There was our celebration of a Third-of-a-Century of Survey Associates in early December; its theme, Civil Liberties and Communication; its key speaker, John G. Winant. A committee of the board raised roughly \$20,000 to reinforce us in entering the new year.

SIMULTANEOUSLY WE BROUGHT OUT A SPECIAL number of *Survey Graphic* in the field of civil liberties and communications, Henry Christman, special editor, and made possible by our Louis D. Brandeis Fund.

On its heels, thanks to the Julius Rosenwald and other funds, we brought out "SEGREGATION: Color Pattern from the Past—Our Struggle to Wipe It Out," Thomas Sancton as special editor.

The response to these 11th and 12th specials in our CALLING AMERICA series, brought its cumulative circulation (since Munich) to over 600,000 copies.

WITH THIS ISSUE WE CAN ANNOUNCE TWO major accessions to our *Graphic* staff:

As managing editor, GEORGE BRITT succeeds to the post long held by Victor Weybright. A Kentuckian, graduate of Duke and the Chicago Kent College of Law, he early rolled up newspaper experience with the Richmond (Va.) *Times-Dispatch*, the Kansas City *Post*, the Oklahoma City *Daily Oklahoman*, and the Chicago *American*. NEA Service, Inc. (the Scripps Howard Syndicate) brought him to Washington and then back to New York. For twelve years he was an editorial and feature writer for the New York *World-Telegram* and later the New York *Post*. He combines insight and clarity with a creative bent for getting at sources of fresh information in what we call "swift research."

A corporal in the field artillery in World War I, he spent more than two years in World War II as director of the OWI in Lebanon, Syria, and Turkey.

Mr. BRITT's team mate will be DANIEL S. GILLMOR, who, as associate editor, will center on development. To this he will bring the initiative and imagination manifested in his initial venture as editor and publisher of the prewar weekly magazine, *Friday*.

A southerner, born in 1917, son of a retired admiral of the U. S. Navy, Mr. Gillmor in World War II first served in OSS. Later, as an Army Air Forces pilot, he instructed French student pilots in this country, and then became an Air Transport Command pilot overseas.



DANIEL S. GILLMOR

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Modern Hippocrates

Greek physician, Dr. Panayotis Tentis, examines a sick member of the younger generation. His work is financed by the American campaign for Greek War Relief



THE GREEKS

The task drafted by the FAO mission of the United Nations.

The test faced by Americans—and by the Greeks themselves.

GEORGE BRITT

A NAZI SOLDIER HAULED DOWN THE swastika flag from the Acropolis and hurried off about noon on October 12, 1944, leaving behind to the rejoicing Greeks one of the world's great mocking complexities—a superlative example of war's mischief.

A slight measure of the size of the problem is the fact that eight different Greek governments have labored at it during the thirty months since liberation and not one has had the strength to carry through an effective solution. Time, in fact, has brought aggravation, the problem being not merely internal, now, but one of world politics. It is a question of getting Greece on her feet to start going on her own. And it daily becomes clearer that without such a revival of the Greek nation as a functioning society, no amount of military propping can be more than a short-lived delusion.

As We Shoulder the Load

The British have toiled shoulder to shoulder with the Greeks all this time, doggedly, but gaining little credit for themselves. Now the United States is taking over alone on the ground that it must be done and no one else is prepared to do it. We go in as Hercules rolling up his sleeves, big and strong, exuding self-confidence, with lots of money and good intentions, with full benefit of other people's mistakes and quite a sharply defined notion of what Greece ought to have.

The overhanging presence of Soviet

—By the new managing editor of *Survey Graphic*. See "Among Ourselves" page 275.

Russia is a major factor in all southeastern Europe. That is phrasing it noncontroversially, at least. Russia is variously a hope, a threat, a bogey, a stimulant, and a political battle cry. There's nothing static about it. Among the numerous party divisions of Greece, all these attitudes can be found, each faction using Russia for whatever purpose seems practical.

President Truman spoke of Communists and of terrorists in Greece, but the word which he avoided, Russia, can hardly be excluded from sober consideration. Greece is to become a spotlighted stage where American meets Russian. The implication was that the solution could not be left to the nearby influence of Russia—if Greece were to survive as a free nation. The query arises now, can Greece survive as a free nation with American aid?

The answer is important not only to Greece and America, but to the peace of the world. The hotly debated question of military aid to Greece probably will have been decided before this article is printed. The civilian program remains one of the most vital tasks on which American good will could embark.

A month before President Truman launched his program, American policy toward Greece was made public by the Secretary of State, George

C. Marshall. He expressed concern for the restoration of "economic and political stability" and for maintaining "independence and territorial integrity." That gave notice of the international politics involved. Secretary Marshall appealed for "a competitive program in which the whole Greek people participate and to which all make their appropriate contributions." He hoped for "the broadest political cooperation of all loyal Greek parties and that partisan differences will be submerged in a dynamic program of amnesty coupled with the disarming of illegal bands, just and rigorous tax reforms, modernization of the civil service, realistic financial controls, and the evenhanded dispensation of justice."

A striking number of the Secretary's points can be found also in what may be recognized in time as the basic blueprint for reestablishing Greece, and also the first of such surveys the United Nations may be making in various parts of the world. This was the report of the mission of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization to which Secretary Marshall had had access before he spoke.

The Counsel of the Experts

The FAO mission spent three months in Greece last summer and produced a unanimous report of 188 pages, specifying how to spend \$100,000,000 the first year on a coordinated program of national modernization. Franklin S. Harris, president

of the Utah Agricultural College, was chairman, and the members included British and French, as well as American, experts.

Few of earth's problems have had the advantage of such a variety of eminent counsel. In addition to the FAO mission, the British have had expert advisers on the ground in abundance, available at all times, but with Greek governments exercising the right to overrule or disregard. A Parliamentary Delegation made a comprehensive study last August and reported in unanimous agreement. An American Economic Mission headed by Paul Porter, former OPA director, spent two months in Greece early this year and now also has reported. Another comprehensive study was made by UNRRA.

The various presentations are strikingly of the same mind, especially on the most difficult points. The simple fact is the Greeks themselves

had long been talking along the same lines.

"Everything that we recommended," said Dr. Mordecai Ezekiel of the FAO mission, in conversation, "we found in Greece. The Greeks had seen their own needs, and furthermore they have technicians who could execute the proposals. We simply put them together into a unified program. I talked it all over with various responsible Ministers and never heard an objection."

Money has been poured into Greece since October, 1944, and it started promptly. Approximately \$354,000,000 was spent by UNRRA—something like \$180,000,000 for food, with more coming this year to meet production deficiencies; \$35,000,000 for clothing and shoes; \$8,000,000 for health and for care of the sick; nearly \$90,000,000 for farm and industrial rehabilitation;

American lend-lease since the

liberation, including thousands of trucks, has been \$80,000,000 plus.

Greek War Relief spent \$13,600,000 from 1944 to 1946 and is continuing in 1947.

The British, among other large expenditures, made an outright gift of \$40,000,000.

Total funds from outside Greece have exceeded half a billion dollars. No other war-blasted country has received nearly so much per capita assistance.

But the Greek crisis is unabated. The national treasury is bankrupt. The economy is at a standstill. The currency has gone through inflation and threatens to repeat. The people are undernourished and many despair of their future.

There are few to say a kind word for the governments which have succeeded one after another with their records of oppression and selfishness. Actually more Greeks have died violently in political dissension



War-wrecked bridges and roads throughout Greece still demand labor and materials for restoration

UNRRA



Greek War Relief

Life goes on among the ruins. Only a small beginning has been made in rebuilding devastated Greek villages and towns

since the liberation than were killed at the front fighting against Axis invasion. What's the matter with Greece? An echo comes from William Allen White's formula for Kansas—"They ought to raise more corn and less hell." But advice is not enough, and neither is money. The need is for something else.

That something else is the assignment which the United States has taken upon itself, perhaps a trifle brashly. The opportunities are as frightening as they are inspiring. America has assumed this Herculean task, and we should not overlook the

possibility of failure. This is a job of worldwide and paramount importance. The doing of it could not have been arranged more fatefully not only as a challenge but as a test—one of the greatest tests of national character, vision, and administrative competence that the world ever sat by to observe.

The FAO Program—and the Ifs

President Truman asked Congress for \$400,000,000, of which \$100,000,000 is to strengthen Turkey's military position. The rest, \$300,000,000, is for "the establishment of stable political

conditions and a sound economy in Greece"—half of it military, but \$150,000,000 for a civilian program including restoration of transportation and electrical utilities, agricultural rehabilitation, irrigation, industrial repair and redevelopment, and the importation of necessary consumer goods.

Throughout the discussions in Congress, the FAO report was never long overlooked. It had the advantage of timing, being just off the press. Acting Secretary of State Dean Acheson leaned heavily on it during his plea to the House Foreign Affairs Com-

mittee. He passed around copies, read aloud from it, recommended it and explained that its long range projects complemented the aid which this government proposed. He hoped the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development would grant the \$100,000,000 loan recommended by the mission.

The report first strikes the reader by being "iffy." And all the "ifs" are big, not little ones. Its bright promises are conditional. The "ifs" leap out at the start in the letter of transmittal.

"... the magnitude of the task which will have to be faced by Greece if our recommendations are to be fully implemented," the letter points out, and goes on: (*Italics mine.*)

We hope and believe that if international security and political tranquility can be assured, both internationally and within Greece, and if the Greek people can achieve national unity in attacking their problems, then the adoption of the measures outlined in our report will assist them to rehabilitate their national life and attain a standard of living more consistent with modern ideals.

These "ifs," with the USA taking over the job, will apply quite as much to our administrative mission there as to the Greeks themselves. America has the blueprints. But actual building from them, the report warns, will require not only a setting of international security but political tranquillity and national unity at home in attacking the problems. The persons who know Greece best have been the quickest to place their fingers on those vital "ifs."

The most important provisions of the report may prove to be the authorization of the President to fix terms and conditions of payment, and the promise that funds to the Greek government "must be subject to the control of our mission there." Those are the strings which give us a chance to meet the test.

Greece Today

We must for the moment forget the Greece of Pericles and look at the country as it stands today. For Greece in 1947 is a land of eroded hillsides, on which 60 percent of the population try to live by farming, whereas 40 percent would be a saturation point. Even before the war "the people of Greece were chronically underfed." Here is a land

where, according to a recent observant traveler, "power rests in a smaller number of hands than in any other country among the democratic nations." It is a land today where "farmers sell mostly at 80 to 120 times prewar prices and buy industrial products at 180 to 300 times prewar prices." Farmers in Greece are poor "because they have little land per family compared with most other countries, and because they generally produce relatively little per acre on the land they have." In average size of farms and yield per acre Greece ranks alongside India.

An agriculture consisting of too many peasants living too poorly by too primitive methods suggested the remedy of redistribution of population and sources of livelihood. To give them city jobs meant enlarged industries, which led to dams and waterpower. Water also meant irrigation, coming back to modernize agriculture and lift the scale of living on the farms. And all would hang on a government which would do its part efficiently and fairly, itself depending on the education and stimulation of the people to demand higher standards of public service.

The report visions "the irrigation of about one fifth of all the cropland in Greece and the development of as much hydroelectric power as that produced by the Boulder Dam project in the United States . . . irrigated regions of Greece might in time become as prosperous as California and Florida . . . and ship Greek products as far north through Europe as they do through the United States." Also the report held out the possibility of "a great expansion in trade . . . and the attainment of levels of production and incomes double or triple those of prewar years."

Sections of the report deal not only with wheat and tobacco, the major crops, but with cattle breeding and even with protecting replanted forests by keeping the goats out of them. Perfumes, peaches, currants, and wine came in for consideration.

Transportation remains very slow and difficult in Greece in spite of the railroad reconstruction done through UNRRA. Freight cars are almost as short as when the Germans left. Consequently, the cost of moving things where they are needed remains prohibitive. Freight rates in Greece per ton mile range from as high to

more than twice as high as the cost of air freight in this country.

Dr. Ezekiel of the FAO mission is adviser of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics at Washington. He returned from his survey confident of the possibility of getting results quickly. He said to me:

There is a waterpower site at Edessa, for example. An ever-flowing stream takes an abrupt drop and no dam is required. The entire installation could be made and power generation started by the end of 1948. And that alone could triple the power supply of Saloniki.

Meanwhile, the villages could borrow through their cooperatives to buy farm machinery. They could also buy motors to drill more artesian wells and run pumps. They could obtain more fertilizer and better seed. The Ministry of Agriculture has what we should call county agents, but they have no transportation. We recommend 400 jeeps for them, and getting them out on the farms would improve the crop yield even without the modern refresher courses recommended for them.

The Unequal Tax Load

"Just and rigorous tax reforms," said Secretary Marshall in his early statement on Greece. Paul Porter also reported on the necessity for "fiscal and taxation reforms." The British parliamentary delegation commented pointedly on "a small class of wealthy people" who "live practically tax-free."

That injustice in particular has been recognized by the Greeks themselves, even by cabinet ministers representing the favored class.

In 1945, an able and powerful official, himself a banker, Minister of Coordination Varvaressos, undertook some steps in this direction. By his position he was virtually master of the country's finances. He noticed that merchants were prospering to an unusual degree, for a moratorium protected their rents, while the prices they charged had gone up higher and higher. He proposed a special tax for storekeepers.

Another of his moves was to make an agreement with UNRRA to control prices on certain cotton and wool consigned to the textile mills. It was highly desirable to hold clothing down to a price within reach of the less well-to-do for whom the raw material had been brought in. These and other proposals of his were simply intolerable to the controlling



Farmers are poor—there is little land per family and little is produced per acre on the land they have



Greek War Relief photos

Irrigation of the land reduced to its simplest terms when no farm animal is left to turn the well wheel

class, and a few weeks later he was forced out of office.

The FAO report agrees with other appraisals of Greek economics. It says, "The tax structure is responsible, in part at least, for the present exceedingly unequal distribution of wealth and income." It avers that many aspects of Greek national life "still bear the imprint of the Ottoman Empire," which for centuries gripped Greece within its system of privilege and corruption. But it puts the case in modern terms.

The people, says the report, who "draw their incomes largely from business profits and speculation or from inherited property" get off rather lightly. Their tax payments amount to only 15 percent of the current national ordinary revenues. The balance comes from customs, excise, commodity, public monopoly revenues, and other indirect taxes. As a result, "over four fifths of the total tax revenues thus come from taxes which either reduce incomes to producers (especially farmers) or raise costs to consumers (mostly farmers

and low-income city workers)."

This is bound up inseparably with the general economic problem, because "it will not pay to expand the output of Greek farms and factories unless Greek citizens can buy and pay for the increased supplies. A program of expansion in Greek production backed by foreign loans will not work unless the loans and investments are accompanied by reforms in the Greek system of taxation."

In short, say the experts, America's efforts in Greece will get nowhere without "rigorous tax reform," and that can be brought about only by effectively overriding the tenacious few who hitherto have blocked all such attempts.

More Barriers to Progress

Difficulties in Greek economy and public administration, however, consist of more than tax inequalities. The FAO report mentions civil service deficiencies. Here is one example: in a country in crisis, government offices are open mornings only, thirty hours a week. And between pen-

sioners and payrollers, from 20 to 25 percent of the people live off the government.

Among the Greeks, you hear stories such as this one about fertilizer. A monopoly manufactures acid phosphate and sells it over a territory where the soil for the most part needs not phosphate but nitrates and potash. Meanwhile, the latter are kept out of competition by the protective tariff.

The FAO report comments on the coals-to-Newcastle anomaly of Greek merchants trying to import apples from California. Similarly, a Greek just arrived in America told of a friend who had a large *Caïque* or fishing schooner. He wished to install a motor and refrigeration and make fast deliveries from the fishing grounds to Athens and Saloniki. He applied for a one-year exemption from the salt and gasoline tax while he got started. But there was a delay. Eventually he learned that a favored company had won a concession to import preserved fish from Norway and Iceland.

Requisitions during the war throw another sidelight. The individual owner-driver saw his taxicab requisitioned, and the peasants' mules and oxen were driven off by the army. Many drivers and peasants still wait for compensation or replacement. But ships were not requisitioned, and for months they earned profits for the large shipowners. The FAO report notes also that Greek ships in foreign trade, one of the main industries, "have often largely escaped taxation."

The foregoing are symptoms, merely a handful of them, with no attempt at completeness. They indicate how special interests have thrown barricades across the road to economic rehabilitation, which will have to be cleared if progress is to be made.

The FAO report conditions its program upon unity and cooperation on the part of all the Greek people. While it champions the oppressed small farmer and wage earner, it shows sympathetic understanding of what business has confronted. It is blind neither to internal political instability nor to the hazards of foreign war. It says:

With their country invaded, pillaged, and ravaged three times in the past thirty years, most Greek businessmen fear to invest their savings in new or expanded enterprises but prefer to hold

(Continued on page 314)



Greek War Relief

Within her lifetime this mother has seen her country ravaged three times

The President's Loyalty Purge

What does the March 21 Order provide? What are its aims? What dangers are inherent in it? Here are clarifying answers to some disturbing questions.

ROBERT E. CUSHMAN

OFFICIAL WASHINGTON IS HAVING THE jitters. It has convinced itself that we have in this country many disloyal and dangerous persons bent upon overthrowing our system of government by unlawful means, and that some of these are now officers or employees in the service of the government.

It will be generally agreed that any such disloyal federal employes should be discovered and dismissed, and that disloyal persons should not be taken into the service in the future. To accomplish this, however, is an extremely difficult task; difficult not merely because of the mammoth size of the job, but because there is no sure way of defining accurately and precisely the word "disloyal" and because the really dangerous fellows naturally will be the slinky ones who will be hard to identify.

The President's Executive Order of March 21 is a direct and conscientious effort to grapple with this problem of the loyalty of federal employes. It reflects a desire to create and set in motion a sort of giant tabulating machine into which federal employes and applicants for federal jobs may be fed, and from which they will emerge like so many punched cards sorted into groups marked "loyal" and "disloyal."

How will this loyalty program work and what will it cost, not alone in money, but in actual or threatened invasion of the civil liberties of loyal public servants? These are questions of grave importance.

This article will examine the Order itself, discuss the purposes and the dangers inherent in the program, and suggest some safeguards which would protect individuals and the federal service from its misuse in inept or venal hands.

Background of the Order

Loyalty investigations of federal employes date from 1939. Before this they had not been thought necessary. Furthermore, a Civil Service rule of

—By an outstanding authority on civil liberties, about which he has written widely in general magazines and in the law journals.

Mr. Cushman, who formerly taught at the Universities of Minnesota and Illinois, has been Goldwin Smith Professor of Government at Cornell since 1929.

Survey Graphic readers will recall his notable article, "The Laws of the Land," in our January special issue, "Segregation: Color Pattern from the Past—Our Struggle to Wipe It Out."

1884 forbade any inquiry into the "political or religious opinions or affiliations" of any applicant for a job in the federal service.

The Hatch Act, in 1939, forbade the federal employment of any person who advocated the overthrow of the constitutional form of government by force or violence, or who belonged to an organization that did. In 1941 Congress added to all appropriation bills a mandate, which is still in effect, that no money shall be paid for the salary of any one who advocates, or belongs to an organization that advocates, the overthrow of the government of the United States by force and violence.

These laws made "loyalty investigations" a part of the regular routine of the federal Civil Service Commission in scrutinizing applicants for appointment; and the Dies Committee, which had been set up in 1938, brought mounting pressure to bear upon the government agencies to examine more closely the loyalty of those already in the federal service. The FBI was set at the job of examining complaints against employes alleged to be disloyal.

In 1942 and 1943, two Interdepartmental Committees on Investigations were created by the Attorney General and the President respectively, to act in an advisory capacity with respect to loyalty investigations. These committees suggested procedures to be followed and reviewed some loyalty cases on appeal, but put on record the

opinion that widespread and continuing loyalty investigations were a needless waste of money. The facts seemed to bear out this opinion.

Between 1942 and 1945 the FBI investigated 6,193 cases of allegedly disloyal employes. As a result, 101 federal employes were discharged, 21 resigned, 75 were subjected to other administrative discipline (roughly 200 in all) with 122 remaining on file for further investigation.

When Mr. Dies sent to the FBI the names of 1,121 employes in 1942, charging them with being disloyal, three were found deserving of dismissal.

From 1941 through 1946 the Civil Service Commission conducted 392,889 loyalty investigations which resulted in the disqualification of 1,307 on grounds of disloyalty; of these, 694 were either Communists or followers of the "party line." During this period, however, 9,604,935 placements had been made in the federal service.

In 1945 the House Civil Service Committee was authorized by the House to study employment policies and practices in the federal government, and a subcommittee was set up to look into the matter of employe loyalty. This subcommittee recommended the creation of an interdepartmental commission to go more fully into the entire loyalty problem and to propose a program designed to protect the government against disloyal employes. On November 25, 1946, President Truman created by executive order the President's Temporary Commission on Employee Loyalty composed of six officers drawn from the departments of Justice, State, War, Navy, Treasury, and the Civil Service Commission. It began work promptly, and reported to the President in late February of this year. On March 21, the President released its report together with Executive Order No. 9835, which had been drafted by the Department of Justice to implement it, and followed closely the proposals made by the commission.

The President's Loyalty Order was timed to fit into the context provided by other developments: First, widespread public discussion of a number of very drastic proposals of the House Committee on Un-American Activities directed against the Communist Party and "fellow travelers"; second, the refusal of the U. S. Supreme Court four days before (March 17) to review a lower federal court decision declining to set aside or even to examine the dismissal of Morton Friedman from the War Manpower Commission.

Mr. Friedman's dismissal was based on a finding of the Civil Service Commission that there was "reasonable doubt as to his loyalty to the Government of the United States." He had been a member of American Peace Mobilization but he was not charged with being a Communist. While he had opposed American entrance into the war before Germany invaded Russia, he changed his mind after that event and urged that this country should vigorously prosecute the war. The lower court held that the commission had power to remove Mr. Friedman on the basis of reasonable doubt as to his loyalty, and that its decision to do so was not subject to judicial review.

The Order as a Safeguard

It is neither accurate nor fair to describe the President's Loyalty Order as an intentional assault upon the civil liberties of federal employes, present and future. There is good reason to believe that the President and his advisers regard it as an insurance policy for the protection of federal employes against the witch-hunting in which Martin Dies used to revel, and upon which some members of Congress still look with approval.

The President's Order may forestall congressional action far more drastic and objectionable.

One cannot read the text of the Order without feeling that the men who planned and drafted it believe that federal employes "are also God's creatures," and honestly tried to protect them against arbitrary and unjust treatment. While, as will later appear, the rights of employes are not as fully safeguarded as they should be, it is worth noting that this is the first time in the history of the federal service that an open, orderly, and reasonably fair procedure, with suitable

appeals, has been made mandatory throughout the entire service before an employe may be dismissed on grounds of disloyalty.

It is true that in some respects the procedure proposed by the President's Interdepartmental Committee on Employee Investigations, in September 1943, for the handling of disloyalty cases was better than that here established. However, it must be borne in mind that the proposal was merely advisory and no department or agency in the government was required to follow it.

Nor can one quarrel with the basic standard which must be met before a person is barred or removed from the federal service on grounds relating to loyalty. This standard is that "on all the evidence, reasonable grounds exist for the belief that the person involved is disloyal to the Government of the United States." This is the test which must be applied in all cases.

Human Factors

It is unfortunate that the President's Order prints in a separate and co-equal paragraph the six categories (see page 285) of "activities and associations" of an applicant or employe which may be considered in determining his loyalty. This separation tends to create the impression that these "activities and associations" are intended to be independent and self-contained standards of loyalty in themselves. This is not correct.

In the report of the President's Temporary Commission on Employee Loyalty the list of activities and associations forms a set of sub-points clearly subordinated to, but interwoven with, the basic standard that there must be reasonable grounds for believing the employe to be disloyal to the government. In other words, sympathetic association with a group designated by the Attorney General as "subversive" is not, by itself, a ground for removing an employe as disloyal.

However, such "sympathetic association" is, or may be, part of the evidence which may or may not lead to the conclusion that "reasonable grounds exist for the belief" that the person involved is disloyal to the government. This is not mere hairsplitting. The difference is one which will be readily apparent to any fair-minded person accustomed to examining and weighing evidence, and

executive officers and the Civil Service Commission declare that the basic standard will be rigidly adhered to.

This suggests the very important point that if the administration of the President's Order is confided to competent, just, and conscientious public officers, they can prevent the invasion of the civil rights of federal employes and can help to ward off or minimize dangers which are inherent in the program.

The reverse is equally true. In the hands of narrow, bigoted, or stupid administrators this Order would be a dangerous instrument, capable of doing incalculable injury to individuals and to the public service.

There is evidence of a present determination throughout the executive branch of the government to maintain a high standard of fairness and efficiency in the administration of the loyalty screening. At the time of writing, every effort is being made, with the aid and encouragement of the President, to recruit for the Civil Service Commission's Loyalty Review Board genuinely distinguished persons whose fairness and good judgment cannot be questioned.

But while it is reassuring to be told that the President and his advisers meant well in setting up the new loyalty program, and that their aim is to see it wisely, temperately, and justly administered, we must face the fact that there is no guarantee whatever that it will be so administered, or that its administration may not seriously deteriorate as time goes on. We must face the further fact that, even with the best possible administration, the program has some ugly features. These should be clearly understood and appraised, since a sound public opinion can help minimize vicious by-products of the scheme.

Threat to the Public Service

In the first place, there is grave danger that the new program, even under the most favorable circumstances, will have a shattering effect upon the morale of the federal service. It will create an atmosphere of constant surveillance and suspicion. Every vigorous, liberal-minded employe, especially among those who associated themselves with the social philosophy of the New Deal, will have real cause to worry whether suspicion is going to fall upon him.

(Continued on page 286)

Highlights of Executive Order No. 9835

March 21, 1947

Part I. This deals with the investigation of applicants for federal civilian employment and makes mandatory a loyalty investigation of every such applicant. The Civil Service Commission is to conduct these investigations where the positions involved are competitive; and where they are not, the employing agency will do the investigation but may use the machinery of the commission if it has none of its own.

The loyalty of an applicant may be investigated after he has begun work for the government, but the investigation must be completed within eighteen months. In making these investigations all existing files are to be consulted, including those of the FBI, the Civil Service Commission, Army and Navy Intelligence, and the House Committee on Un-American Activities. School and college background, and former employment are to be looked into. If derogatory information comes to light a full field investigation is required.

Part II. This deals with the loyalty of employes already in the government service and places responsibility with respect to it squarely on the heads of the executive departments and agencies. Agencies without investigative machinery are directed to use that of the Civil Service Commission. Each department and agency must appoint one or more three-man loyalty boards to hear loyalty cases and to make recommendations with respect to the removal or retention of any employe charged with disloyalty. These loyalty boards are to operate under the following minimum requirements as to procedure designed to protect the rights of an accused employe:

The employe must be given a hearing on demand before the loyalty board.

He may be "accompanied by counsel or representative of his own choosing, and present evidence on his own behalf, through witnesses or by affidavit."

He must be given timely written notice of the hearing, and must be told the nature of the charges against him in sufficient detail to permit him to prepare his defense. These charges shall be as detailed as security considerations permit.

He must be informed of his right to all these procedural protections.

If the loyalty board recommends his removal, the employe has a right to appeal to the head of the department or agency under procedural rules prescribed by that officer. From there he may appeal to the Loyalty Review Board in the Civil Service Commission, whose decision, however, is merely advisory. An accused employe may be suspended pending final action on his case. The loyalty boards in the departments must give the Loyalty Review Board such reports and information as may be requested.

Part III. This places important responsibilities on the Civil Service Commission. It must set up a Loyalty Review Board of not less than three impartial persons. As just stated, this board has power to review the cases of employes whose dismissal has been recommended by the loyalty board of any department or agency, but its findings in these cases are advisory only. It has broad powers to advise departments, disseminate information regarding loyalty programs, coordinate loyalty policies and procedures, and formulate and submit recommendations. It is to make its own rules not inconsistent with the provisions of the Order.

The Loyalty Review Board is to be given the names of all the organizations which the Attorney General designates as totalitarian, fascist, communist, or subversive. The commission must also establish and maintain a central master index listing all persons whose loyalty has been investigated by any department or agency since September 1, 1939.

Part IV. This section sets up rules with respect to the disclosure of investigative material and information about persons whose loyalty has been scrutinized.

Department or agency heads may request this information from any investigative agency, but such agency may refuse to disclose the names of confidential informants when necessary for the protection of such informants or the investigation of other cases. "Investigative agencies shall not use this discretion to decline to reveal sources of information where such action is not essential," and when they do decline, they must give the requesting agency enough information about such anonymous informants to permit "an adequate evaluation of the information furnished."

Part V. This section establishes standards for determining whether an applicant shall be barred from the federal service, or an employe dismissed, on grounds relating to loyalty. The basic standard is declared to be that "on all the evidence, reasonable grounds exist for belief that the person involved is disloyal to the Government of the United States." There follows an enumeration of the activities and associations of an applicant or employe which may be considered in determining the question of his loyalty. These are extremely important and are stated in these words:

1. Sabotage, espionage, or attempts or preparations therefore, or knowingly associating with spies or saboteurs;
2. Treason or sedition or advocacy thereof;
3. Advocacy of revolution or force or violence to alter the constitutional form of government of the United States.
4. Intentional, unauthorized disclosure to any person, under circumstances which may indicate disloyalty to the United States, or documents or information of a confidential or non-public character obtained by the person making the disclosure as a result of his employment by the Government of the United States;
5. Performing, or attempting to perform, his duties, or otherwise acting, so as to serve the interests of another government in preference to the interests of the United States;
6. Membership in, affiliation with, or sympathetic association with, any foreign or domestic organization, association, movement, group, or combination of persons, designated by the Attorney General as totalitarian, fascist, communist, or subversive, or as having adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force or violence to deny other persons their rights under the Constitution of the United States, or as seeking to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means.

Part VI. This contains miscellaneous items. Each department and agency which has not done so shall give the FBI the names of all of its employes. The FBI shall check these names against its files and report back the results to the agency. After this, the department or agency is to make (or cause the Civil Service Commission to make) such investigation of those employes as is deemed advisable.

The Security Advisory Board of the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee shall draft rules covering confidential documents.

The President's Order is not applicable to persons subject to summary removal under the statutes of 1942 and 1946 extending this power to the so-called "sensitive agencies" (War, Navy, and State). The War, Navy, and Treasury Departments (with respect to the Coast Guard) are directed to enforce the highest standards of loyalty within the armed services, pursuant to the applicable statutes.

The Order is made effective immediately.

Does he belong, say, to the American Civil Liberties Union, with its record of public service running back a quarter century? Or did he openly sympathize with the Spanish Loyalists? If so, has he thus unwittingly been in "sympathetic association" with a group blacklisted by the Attorney General as "subversive"? He does not know. He is going to feel an inescapable pressure to watch not only his step but his words and his thoughts, lest they run counter to the bans imposed by what will seem to him a vaguely defined system of thought control. The columnist, Jerry Kluttz, in the *Washington Post*, reports that investigators are already at work in the Department of Commerce, and are asking employes, "What do you think of Henry Wallace?" "Do you read the *New Republic*?"

This deadening atmosphere of repression will be increased by the creation inside the government of a large force of investigators whose duty it will be to ask endless questions, sift accusations, trace rumors, sort out gossip, hunt down suspicions, and—since this is what they are paid to do—produce something to show for their efforts. No one knows just how many investigators will be needed to "process" those now on the payroll, except that the number will have to be large.

Some idea of the task confronting the Civil Service Commission may be gained by recalling that in six years the Commission has been able to conduct loyalty investigations on some 400,000 out of 9,604,935 placements in federal jobs. The Commission now has about 100 investigators. During the war it had 600 or 700. It will handle during the year 1948, according to its own estimates, between 750,000 and 900,000 new placements.

One can do his own arithmetic on the question of how large a staff will be needed to investigate these applicants. The very existence of this huge force of loyalty investigators is both depressing and ominous. An economy-minded Congress is going to demand some return for the enormous sums (responsible estimates run as high as \$50,000,000) these investigations will cost, and those who do the investigating are going to be under heavy pressure to turn up some victims.

A further blow to the morale of

the government service is going to be the encouragement and the opportunity lent by the loyalty program to those who wish to "get even" with a fellow worker or with the "boss." There are already reliable reports of the growth of this sort of malicious "informing." Threats that they will be reported as dangerous or subversive already have been directed against administrators who have refused requests from, or have administered discipline to, subordinates. One may say that such threats should leave the innocent and patriotic unmoved. But the fact remains that the filing of a wholly false charge will set in motion the whole machinery of investigation, and will build up suspicion and stimulate hurtful rumors. Final vindication may never wipe out the damage done.

Threat to the Individual

A second danger lies in the procedure by which the federal employe's loyalty is to be determined. There has been an obvious effort to make this procedure fair. But when "degradatory information" is turned up regarding him, the employe inescapably assumes from that point on the full burden of proof of showing that he is not disloyal.

In doing so, he is not allowed to know and confront those who may have accused him or questioned his loyalty. He must work in the dark in preparing much of his defense, and is likely to find himself helplessly combating the impalpable stuff of which malicious and anonymous

rumors are made. Furthermore, it is not necessary in order to justify his removal to show by a preponderance of evidence that he is disloyal. There is grave danger that in many cases the dice will be loaded against him, no matter how innocent he may be.

The most serious indictment against the loyalty program is based on the vagueness of the standards set up for measuring disloyalty. It is true that some of these standards are sharp and clear, and it is reassuring that the Order requires that an employe may be removed only when, upon all the evidence, there is reasonable ground for the belief that he is disloyal. But the very word "disloyal" has no sharply defined meaning upon which all would agree, even though it unquestionably includes such things as espionage, incitement to revolution, and the like.

The House Committee on Appropriations recently defied the Supreme Court by deleting from an appropriation bill an item to pay the money which the Court had decided was constitutionally due Messrs. Lovett, Watson, and Dodd, the victims of the congressional bill of attainder of three years ago by which the three men were deprived of their salaries on the allegation that they were "subversive." It is hard offhand to think of conduct more clearly designed to undermine constitutional government than this House committee's action. By every accepted standard that was "un-American and subversive," so much so, in fact, that the committee was soundly spanked by the full House which put the deleted item back. But the congressmen guilty of this action certainly would not accept a definition of "disloyalty" which included what they did.

Clearly there is room for wide differences of opinion as to what disloyalty means.

In setting its standards, the loyalty program officially endorses and puts into operation the rule of "guilt by association." It is now recognized that one may be punished, not for his deeds, but for the company he keeps. "Sympathetic association" with the wrong kind of organization may be evidence of disloyalty. It is not stated that the sympathetic association must be with that part of the organization's program and activities which make it "subversive." So far as we know, any and all sympathetic



Tom Gray in *The Chicago Times*

"Be Sure You Pull the Right Ones"

association with it, even for the most worthy objects, may be equally bad.

Now, the Supreme Court flatly rejected this doctrine of guilt by association in the Harry Bridges deportation case two years ago, but here it is made a proper ground for adverse action against a federal employe. The Order takes no account of the fact that a loyal and patriotic federal employe may have joined an organization which at a later time became "infiltrated" with Communists or other subversive elements, or that the same loyal public servant may have associated with an organization bearing an impressive name with no knowledge whatever that it was a "front" organization, and with no way of finding out. The Order issues a plain invitation to judge this man, not by his own conduct, but by that of the organization or group in question.

It has been well said that we are a nation of joiners. We like to belong to clubs and societies. Countless people of good will are glad to sign any petition presented to them which states an object of which they approve.

Thus, many men of unquestioned loyalty may suddenly find themselves branded as "fellow travelers" by the grotesque standards set up and applied by the Dies Committee and similar bodies. The danger that loyal public servants will be dismissed for wholly innocent "sympathetic association" with the wrong kind of organization is very great indeed.

Threat to Organizations

A final danger lies in the vast discretion placed in the Attorney General to determine with finality just which organizations, associations, movements, or groups are "totalitarian, fascist, communist, or subversive." There are no standards by which he is required to be guided in making these decisions; the organizations thus branded have no right to defend themselves in a public hearing, no right to a statement of the reasons upon which the Attorney General acts, and no right of appeal. The entire proceeding is *ex parte*.

Nor is the Attorney General required to make public the list of organizations and groups which he thus brands as disloyal. This means that the innocent and guileless citizen is still in danger of teaming up with some group which has successfully



Herblock in *The Washington Post*

"You Looking for a Communist Organizer, Mister?"

concealed the fact that it has been infiltrated with fascists or communists, or even that it was established by these elements, operating in their devious fashion behind the screen of a printed set of lofty aims, and some influential names on a board, or an "advisory committee."

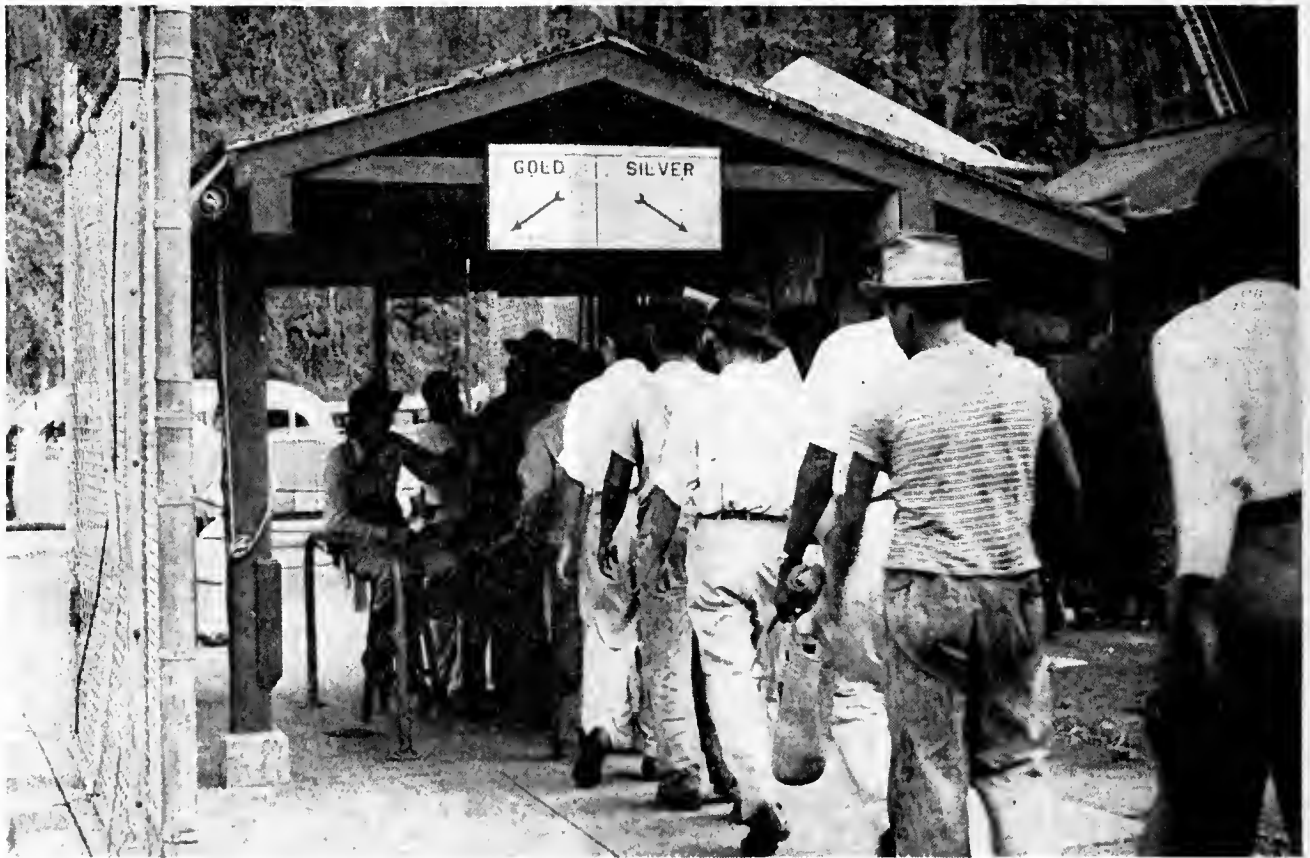
It is no reflection upon Attorney General Tom C. Clark, or any other man who may hold his office, to suggest that this is a very dangerous grant of power. One of the best tests of whether a grant of uncontrolled discretion to a public officer is wise and safe is to reflect upon what might occur if it were to be exercised by the wrong kind of man. It must be remembered that the Attorney General is, after all, a political officer, and he is bound to be under heavy pressure to be hard-boiled in outlawing organizations upon very meager grounds.

Certain changes could be made in

the Loyalty Order which, without impairing its effectiveness in identifying genuinely disloyal federal employes, if any, would more fully protect the civil liberties of the millions of loyal employes and at the same time reassure the public that a giant witch-hunt is not being set in motion. A statement adopted on April 7 by the Board of Directors of the American Civil Liberties Union includes a number of constructive suggestions. I believe that three major changes would serve the purpose:

1. The power of the Attorney General to blacklist an organization, movement, or group should be exercised under a procedure which would give a fair hearing to the organization and an opportunity to defend itself against the accusations made. Also, the blacklisted organizations should be publicly named so

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Photos from European

Jim Crow at the Canal

"Gold" and "silver" mark the sharply drawn line between white and Negro in the Canal Zone, where a U. S. Army officer as governor enforces 1904 vintage racialism.

PAUL BLANSHARD

WE HAVE LEARNED TO THINK OF THE Panama Canal as our chief military outpost but few Americans know that it is also our chief racial outpost. It is the battlefield where American racial policy scores a continuing Pyrrhic victory over Caribbean Negro pride.

The legend goes that "we" dug the Panama Canal. Actually, the great ditch was dug chiefly by Caribbean Negroes who left their island homes to the east to risk the perils of heat and malaria on the unknown isthmus. Altogether there are probably 50,000 men, women, and children of Negro Caribbean stock in the Panama Canal area today who either came themselves to work on the Canal or whose fathers came before them. At one time, the area contained the largest colony of Jamaicans anywhere in the world outside the home island.

These black Caribbean workers

—A State Department official during the war years, Paul Blanshard was assigned to the Caribbean and served as consultant to the United States Section of the Caribbean Commission. He left federal service in 1946 to work on a new book, "Democracy and Empire in the Caribbean," soon to be published by Macmillan.

"Jim Crow At the Canal" is taken in part from his book and is published this month by *Survey Graphic* as a noteworthy postscript to our January number on the pattern of racial segregation within the borders of the United States.

came to the canal in three waves of migratory labor—first for the French in the 1880's; then for the first American excavations in 1904 and after; and since 1940 for the great new project of the third locks. Many of them have stayed in the Panama area

so long that their children know no other country, but today they are not secure in citizenship rights and they are living under a scheme of racial discrimination which could not exist in the British or French islands of the Caribbean.

When the land for the Panama Canal was first bought from the Republic of Panama in 1904, after Theodore Roosevelt had accorded swift recognition to the revolutionary Panamanian Government, Congress gave little thought to any democratic institutions for the people who might live and work at the canal. A Canal Zone was created as a kind of military reservation and to this day it is administered by a governor who is an army officer appointed by the President, acting under the derived authority of the Secretary of War.

The Zone has never been a territory like Puerto Rico or Alaska, and

the people who live in it have never had the right to vote on any aspect of their lives. The land of the Zone, in fact, still belongs nominally to the Republic of Panama and is leased to the United States in perpetuity for \$250,000 a year, on condition that it be used for a canal. The Canal Zone itself is a relatively small segment of land only about ten miles wide, and it has a resident civilian population in normal times of only about sixty thousand. Within its confines homes, hotels, stores, railroads, and amusement places are all owned by the federal government.

Gold and Silver Men

The "Big Ditch" was built when movements against racial discrimination had gained little headway in the United States and when American Negro organizations were too weak to influence congressional policy. Because the Panama Canal was south of the Mason and Dixon line, it was assumed that the racial practices of the southern states would prevail.

The American military authorities hired black Caribbean labor to build the canal, paid the Negro workers good wages according to Caribbean standards, and then developed an entirely distinct system of treatment for white American employes. White workers from the United States were given all the supervisory positions, all the good houses, and were paid in gold, while the black workers were paid much lower wages in silver and were compelled to live in barracks or in accommodations which they found for themselves in the Republic of Panama. All the Zone employes were thus divided into gold and silver classifications on different payrolls.

In the beginning the classification of gold and silver had some relationship to skill and citizenship. It was natural that the American government should pay its citizens from the mainland wages which approximated or surpassed the continental levels, and it was also natural that the workers of the region should be paid in the region's prevailing currency.

But as the years went on and all workers were paid in American money without currency distinctions, the gold and silver classifications lost their original meaning and were continued as social and racial distinctions. Virtually all the public institutions of the Canal Zone, operating under government control, became Jim

Crow institutions using silver and gold labels to distinguish between colored and white workers.

Contractors bringing workers from the United States - were quietly warned not to bring Negro American citizens, since these men would technically have the rights of gold white men. One Negro American was retained in a fairly high post and nine others in minor gold posts, making a total of one seventh of one percent Negro workers in the gold (skilled) category. But even a gold Negro could not get a room in a hotel, cross the racial line in eating places, or send his child to a white school.

A group of about sixty Panamanians were also included in the gold bloc. Few of these were dark enough in complexion to be classified as colored by American standards, and many of them—especially those married to lighter mates—are not bound by color lines today. Children of such unions attend the gold schools, but they are so few in number that they are not noticeable in the classrooms or on the playgrounds.

These Negro and Panamanian exceptions have been used as proof that the gold-silver classification is not essentially racial. In fact, however, the pattern of life in the Canal Zone has become a pattern of complete racial segregation and discrimination.

The system of discrimination con-

tinues after World War II without fundamental change. The following racial distinctions are still in existence in the Canal Zone:

1. The United States postoffice in the Zone, operated not by the Postoffice Department but by an agency under the Secretary of War, retains gold and silver windows, and a colored customer cannot buy postage stamps at the same window with a white customer.

2. All schools are divided into colored and white schools—in this case even the labels are frank—and the white schools are distinctly superior in accommodations, teacher-training and teacher-pay. White children have a senior high school and junior college; the colored children stop at the ninth grade.

3. Government-owned hotels refuse to accept Negro guests.

4. There is racial segregation in housing, and virtually all of the gold employes are given quarters in the best districts of the Zone while two-thirds of the silver employes must live outside the Zone in crowded districts in the Republic of Panama where rents are exorbitant compared with those in the Zone. The argument that the gold employes are permanent and the silver employes temporary will not hold water because the canal has had more silver than gold employes continuously for many years.

5. All government commissaries, the only stores in the Zone, are divided



Public facilities in the Canal Zone are "gold" and "silver"—and so used

into silver and gold, and clerks in the gold commissaries are told that they are "not supposed" to wait on colored customers.

6. The public baseball parks are divided into silver and gold seating accommodations, with the main grandstand for gold customers and a lesser stand at lower prices for silver customers, who are exclusively colored.

7. The organized workers of the American Federation of Labor, associated with the Panama Metal Trades Council which has control of the skilled trades in the Zone, exclude colored workers from their "lily-white" unions and maintain a constant agitation to employ more American white men in place of Negroes. The CIO, however, is challenging this policy, and has recently organized a Public Workers Union which claimed 17,000 members in January, and which staged a monster parade of West Indians and Panamanians demanding better working conditions and the end of discrimination.

8. Drinking fountains are labeled silver and gold, and used accordingly.

Perhaps the most fundamental discrimination of all is the one which cannot be proved statistically, namely, the fact that many colored silver employes working side by side with white gold employes perform approximately the same services and receive half the pay, or less. This is known to be true, but it cannot be proved by documents because the job descriptions of gold employes can so easily be "written up" to give the appearance of supervisory responsibility.

The Practices and the Protests

How the 50,000 Negro West Indians in the canal area feel about this racial discrimination can easily be imagined. The editor of the leading West Indian newspaper of the community the *Panama Tribune*, said in an editorial:

The situation is like a river that has been frozen over. Those who listen keenly may hear a murmuring—the deep sighs of longing, the anguished groans of discontent and resentment. Pressure on the top may prevent this rumbling from breaking or even becoming audible but the silence and apparent calm does not necessarily indicate that all is satisfactory nor secure.

More poignantly bitter was the protest of Sydney Roberts who satirized American policy in a poem in *La*

Opinion which was gleefully reprinted by Jamaica's *Spotlight* and given wide circulation in the colonial Caribbean:

"Silver" and "Gold" divide the human race.

Here where a fountain's polluted by a stare,

A "silver" man must keep his silver place;

He waits in silver lines, eats silver fare.

Each licks a postage stamp within the pale,

Each has his ghetto, according to his hue.

Only at midnight when all colors fail,

What law has done Freud's children will undo.

And in "gold" churches what do preachers tell

The congregations in the pews of gold;

Of gentler burnings in the golden hell?

Of dimmer heavens for the silver fold?

But heaven is here: gold homes, gold jobs, gold schools—

And in the heaven of gold latrines, gold stools.

In the face of these protests the policy of the governor of Panama has been to sit tight and to destroy ruthlessly any militant labor organizations of Negroes. Each year the military authorities issue an annual report which treats the problem of color discrimination with bland sophistry. The words of explanation have been formalized and are repeated over and over again in every official volume.

"Although all employes are now paid in United States currency," the report says, "the original terms used to designate the two classes of employes are retained for convenience. . . . The division of labor between the two classes of employes is a matter of long custom in tropical countries, and Panama Canal practice conforms to this general custom."

Actually, the racial practices of the War Department in the Panama Canal area do not conform to the general customs or to the practices of other United States departments operating in the Caribbean territories. Neither the Department of the Interior nor the army would venture to practice such discrimination in government establishments in Puerto Rico or the Virgin Islands. The Virgin Islands, in fact, have just acquired a new Negro governor, and the

Caribbean Commission has lately added several Negro commissioners.

At American bases on British Caribbean islands, native colored employes perform many of the same types of services which are performed in the Canal Zone only by white Americans—and they work side by side with white employes. When a military subordinate at the American base in Jamaica advertised during the war for "white employes" for the base, he was promptly squelched by indignant local protests, and an embarrassed commanding officer publicly apologized for his subordinate's mistake.

The social segregation existing in the Canal Zone's baseball parks, theaters, hotels, and stores could not exist in Jamaica or Trinidad, or in any of the French islands. The only places in the Caribbean where it could exist today are Dutch Aruba, dominated by the Standard Oil Company, and the Bahamas, where southern planter traditions are still strong.

Alibis and Agitations

One reason why racial discrimination in the Panama Canal Zone has been allowed to continue is that the military authorities have a convenient alibi. An anti-Negro movement has gained some strength in recent years in the little Republic of Panama, and advocates of the racial *status quo* in the Zone argue that the extension of any more favors to Negro workers by American authorities would disturb "delicate relations" between the U. S. and the Republic of Panama.

It is true that there is a substantial anti-Negro movement in the Republic of Panama. It began in economic jealousy, because the canal authorities found English-speaking Caribbean Negroes more acceptable as workers than the Spanish-speaking Panamanians. The local political and economic movement against black immigrants developed a Nazi-like racial philosophy in spite of the fact that perhaps 80 percent of the people of Panama have at least traces of African blood.

Panama must not become a Negro republic, the argument ran. "The West Indians who infest our terminal cities," said an editorial in a Panama weekly, "lower our standard of living and with their strange customs give to Panama, Colon, and Boca the appearance of African outposts. They

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A discussion group at Elfin Lake—girls and boys from many lands and backgrounds, and a leader from Madras, India

The Widening Campfire Circle

In the happy camaraderie of a summer camp, teen-agers of varied races and beliefs learn the meaning of world citizenship today.

DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER

FOR YEARS I HAVE BEEN OBSERVING, OFF and on, from a distance, an ideal turned into reality by hard work. It is an experiment in interracial and international human relations, its aim to stretch the horizons of the young people who take part in it.

I see that realized ideal now from near at hand, since the project has been moved to our Green Mountains; and especially now that I have a dear and close personal reason for interest in it—my beloved only son, an army doctor who was killed in the Philippines in an attempt to rescue imprisoned men, is one of those to whose memory the effort is now dedicated.

It is called The Shawnee Leadership Institute on World Problems. One of the modern summer-camp schools or institutes, its purpose is to help prepare young people of high school age for citizenship in the

—By a writer and educator whose books and articles are read in many lands and many languages.

Mrs. Fisher, who has an earned doctorate, also holds honorary degrees from eight colleges and universities. Her long list of novels deal with many aspects of American, French, and Spanish life.

This article tells the story of a project that is close to her heart, as a citizen, an educator, and a mother.

world community. Its method is to provide an experience in living.

How It Started

It began twelve years ago in Pennsylvania, at Shawnee Lake Camp, in memory of Ralph French of the Army Medical Corps, killed in France in the first World War. French's closest friend had been Carl Voss, a graduate of Union College, who in

1935 was a New Jersey high school teacher.

Most high school teachers think their job a full time one, and would not dream that they could add a summer undertaking involving a vast amount of hard administrative and organizing work. This high school teacher did, and kept right on teaching for a living until 1944. In that year he returned to the ministry as pastor of the Rutland and Woodstock, Vermont, Universalist Churches. Two years later he was named executive secretary of the Vermont and Quebec Universalist Unitarian Convention.

All his professional work has kept him in close touch with young people of high school and early college age. This is the exasperating, spiritual-tadpole age when boys and girls are neither manageable children nor responsible adults; the age which has led many a distracted grown-up to



The Green Mountain setting of the Institute encourages "the long range view"

exclaim that the only way to treat them is to shut them up in a barrel (so to speak) and feed them through the bung-hole till they are twenty-one.

Carl Voss, a big, slow-spoken, quiet boulder of a man, loves them at that age. And they love him, action and reaction being equal in the world of the spirit, as in the field of physics. Because he loves them, he sees their potential value.

Some fourteen years ago it occurred to him that it would be a good thing for young Americans in their middle and late teens to spend part of their summer vacation under conditions which would draw their attention (I quote his own words) "to the problems of today's and tomorrow's world in order that they may be better prepared to meet their responsibilities as citizens of the world."

There are summer training camps, he reflected, for youngsters who want to play in the high school band, or on the high school football team; there are summer coaching schools for intensive study of mathematics, of foreign languages, of dancing, and dramatics. Why not a summer training camp in democratic living? Why not organize an opportunity for young Americans not only to read about people of other races, creeds, and nations, in their textbooks, but actually to live with them for a while? As raw material for the formation of broadly democratic personalities, nothing can take the place of

sharing everyday experiences with people of your own age (hence with the same general tempo and tastes) coming from different backgrounds.

If you and I had had that idea, we probably would have seen its value, its beauty. A summer training camp in living peaceably and enjoyably with people of other races and religions—why yes, it would be wonderful. Any good American would have had happy daydreams about the value of such a chance at living, studying, thinking, playing with people from other civilizations. Such daydreams have been turned into reality by the long, hard work of Carl Voss and the various associates and sponsoring organizations which have stood back of this institute for world citizenship.

Here are some of the daydreams we would have had. They have been lived out, by hundreds of real boys and girls in these summer Leadership Institutes:

—Going in swimming, taking turns on the diving-board, yelling and splashing and racing with a Hindu boy, and some South American girls and boys, and a Negro from a New York City high school, and maybe a pair of Czech twin sisters and a sprinkling of Vermont young people, together with four or five classmates from your own high school in Pennsylvania or Scarsdale or Chicago.

—Playing baseball on the same team with Chinese and Jews and Ar-

gentinians and Brazilians mixed in with young Catholic and Protestant Yankees.

—Sitting cross-legged on the grass under the maple trees, listening to a Mennonite girl of your age telling about her young uncle doing relief work with the stricken Greek farmers; or to a lively young professor from China, in shorts, describing how he was brought up in his home town near Canton; or to a French girl, bright-eyed, sharp-minded, intelligent, telling you honestly how the United States looks to her.

—Joining a smaller group to listen, and to dispute with your group-leader and the other students, such questions as "racial tensions and techniques for helping to solve them," "economic factors essential to a lasting peace," "religious foundations for world living," "problems of colonial administration"—think of discussing that with a Hindu!

—Gathering around the piano in the evening, singing childhood songs from every corner of the globe, folk songs, Negro spirituals, count-out singing games from Brazil, dance tunes from many lands.

—And then bedtime, the friendship circle around the campfire, the few moments of silence, and then the final hymn, "Now the day is over—"

Such were the ideas which would have gone through our heads, if we had, in an idealistic moment, thought of this project for opening the doors of living opportunity to our youth. Such were the ideas which went through the imaginations of Carl Voss and the colleagues who together have created the Leadership Institute on World Problems.

How It Grows

It has meant a lot of hard work. The plain matter of making the camp self-supporting—a practical detail of the utmost moral importance—has been achieved along with other efforts more obviously (but not more actually) idealistic. The young people pay their own expenses for the time spent at the institute. They earn the money if they can in the intervals of their studies; if they can't and their parents can, the parents pay the bill; if their parents can't, scholarships are forthcoming. Local community leaders have organized spon-

soring committees to assist in raising scholarship aid.

Expenses are kept down (a familiar expedient in summer camps) by work done by the boys and girls themselves, and this counts towards their expenses.

The mistakes, disagreeable surprises, and set-backs, inevitable in every human enterprise, have been kept to manageable proportions by moderation in the numbers accepted at the institute. The first summer (1935) there were seventeen boys and girls. In 1946 there were 213.

Between those two dates, a vast amount of experience has been acquired by the devoted trustees who run the camp. Now they are able to take as good care of the two hundred as of the seventeen—better, perhaps, for there is, of course, a very special technique involved, ranging from know-how about medical care, to a subtler and equally essential know-how in selecting the faculty, giving scholarships to potentially valuable students, side-stepping potential malcontents and trouble-makers.

Several members of the board of trustees and the advisory council have been actively associated with the institute since its beginning. This is especially true of local committee leaders whose help in selecting students and providing scholarship aid has accounted for the fine quality of



Some of the delegates from other countries who took part in the 1946 Institute. Back row, left to right: Russia, Dutch West Indies, Norway, Haiti, Brazil, Panama, Peru; front row, Philippine Islands, Hawaii, Italy, Argentina, France, Austria

students over the past twelve years. Altogether, thirty-two of the forty-eight states have been represented at the Shawnee institutes and students from every continent have attended as delegates from their respective schools and colleges.

From 1940 to 1945 the American Friends Service Committee was the active sponsor of the original insti-

tute, which then met at Shawnee, Pa. The American Friends Service Committee has since started institutes for high school students in eight areas of the United States.

The original "Shawnee" is now an autonomous organization, governed by an elected board of trustees and incorporated under the laws of the State of Vermont, as a nonprofit educational organization. The education program aims to represent all points of view on world problems, and on its present board are representatives of the American Association for the United Nations, the Institute of International Education, the Religious Society of Friends, the national boards of the YMCA and the YWCA, and other groups.

The choosing of staff and faculty is in the hands of the program committee. For of course there has to be a group of cosmopolitan, international-minded scholars and thinkers to lead the discussion of these quick-witted youngsters, to give substance to their aspirations, to provide some of the background of accurate first-hand information as to what the problems actually are.

At the first gathering in 1935 at Lake Shawnee (under the auspices of the Foreign Policy Association and the New Jersey Joint Council on International Relations), the adults who

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A 1946 camper from Peru and his guitar lead a group in Latin American songs

The Veteran's Own Doctor

How Home Town Medical Care works in three states and why the new VA program is a proving ground for organized medicine.

WILLIAM G. REIDY

THE NATION HAS DECIDED THAT THE veteran is entitled to complete medical and hospital care for any ailment caused or aggravated by his military service. It is the job of the Veterans' Administration to see that he gets it promptly and effectively. This was quite a task even in 1945 when the number of veterans was just beginning to climb towards the twenty million mark, and General Omar N. Bradley, VA's distinguished new administrator, and General Paul Hawley, his medical director, took over. (See "A Better Break for Veterans," by Hillier Kreighbaum, *Survey Graphic*, January 1946.)

They quickly infused new life and vigor into the VA's twenty-five-year-old hospital and clinic system. Planning seventy-four new hospitals with 136,000 beds, they determined to add quality to quantity. The new hospitals were scheduled, not for isolated areas like most of the old ones, but in or near centers of population where educational facilities and skilled consultants would be available to the hospitals' salaried doctors. The country's leading medical schools were brought in to raise and maintain standards of care. Consultants were secured. Thousands of young doctors were employed. And in order that these VA physicians might be welcomed to the ranks of organized medicine—as had not been the case—the cooperation of the American Medical Association and of state and county medical societies was enlisted.

The Home Town Medical Care Program was one by-product of that cooperation. No more disarming and bucolic title ever cloaked a revolutionary development.

Complicated Simplicity

The exserviceman can now go for treatment to Dr. Smith or Dr. Jones down the street, instead of traveling to a VA hospital or clinic. These physicians continue to function as private practitioners, paid by the VA on the same fee basis as they would be by you and me. The

—This month Michael M. Davis, chairman of the Committee on Research in Medical Economics, yields his usual department, 'Health Today and Tomorrow, to one of the consultants to the committee.

Mr. Reidy was formerly chief of health services for the Farm Security Administration in four western states, California, Arizona, Utah and Nevada. Later, he held the same position with the Federal Public Housing Authority in that region.

Home Town program is as simple as that. Deceptively so, as we shall see.

The VA wanted the program because it would mean prompt care for exservicemen—and for strategic reasons, too. The doctors wanted it because it meant that many veterans would be cared for by private physicians instead of by the VA's salaried doctors. The veteran liked it for obvious reasons.

But the new program would have proved impossible if the VA had had to work out individual agreements with 100,000 or more practicing physicians. State medical societies, acting as agents for their members, seemed the obvious answer. To date, thirty-nine such societies have entered into contracts with the VA, each attempting to solve four basic problems in ways most satisfactory to its members and to the Veterans' Administration: The active cooperation of doctors must be obtained; federal funds must be protected; high standards of care ought to be assured; red tape ought to be minimized.

This is where it begins to be less than simple. When doctors are not paid by the patient but by someone in his behalf, the relationship can no longer go unregulated. There is a vast amount of experience about how to regulate it; but this experience is known to few administrators, very few doctors, and hardly at all to the general public. Public welfare departments cultivate this experience when—as in some states and many cities and counties—they pay doctors

and hospitals for furnishing care for their clients. So do some voluntary health insurance plans. So has the federal government, notably in its plans for low-income rural families and its wartime program of maternity care for soldiers' wives. Many basic administrative problems are the same whether the money comes from insurance contributions or from tax funds, and whether the administering body is voluntary or public.

The VA program is bigger than any of these. It touches 2,000,000 veterans today. It may touch 20,000,000 within a few years. Whether its inevitable expansion follows the Home Town pattern or another perhaps less acceptable to the doctors depends on how well the medical societies succeed in shaping it to satisfy the three chief parties at interest—the veterans, the doctors, and the people who pay the bills. How well it will satisfy them depends in turn largely on the effectiveness and the economy of the administrative patterns devised.

Fortunately those patterns are not yet set in concrete. Different programs are being tried in different states. The time has not yet come for appraisals. It is ripe for exhibits—New Jersey, Michigan, and New York—which will reveal problems and issues on which the future of health insurance and of tax-supported medical service may hang.

New Jersey

When Joe Veteran in Pinewood, N. J., began to shake with chills and fever last spring, he recognized the enemy he first met in the South Pacific. "It's that malaria again!" Luckily, Joe's roommate had read something in a newspaper about the Medical Service Administration of New Jersey—"the doctors' prepaid medical care outfit"—having signed a contract with the VA. Slightly disbelieving, Joe hauled himself over to old Dr. Vane who had been his family doctor for years.

Doctor Vane examined Joe, gave him a treatment and then together

they filled out a not-too-long report, Joe furnishing details of his service record, the doctor stating his findings and telling how many treatments he thought Joe would need. This "Request for Authority for Out-Patient Treatment" was mailed to the VA's local regional office.

Joe ought to come back next week, Doctor Vane said, but he should wait until the Medical Service Administration approved and returned the authorization form. An examination and one treatment, said Dr. Vane, was all the VA could agree to pay for, sight unseen. Joe went home happy. He waited one week, two weeks, three weeks. The authorization did arrive in the fourth week but it was already invalid. Authorizations were good for one month only! Dr. Vane drew up another request. This time, the authorization came through within a fortnight.

The VA had not wasted time. It had to check Joe's eligibility for service just as a medical society would for any member of its own prepayment plan. It had to make sure that Joe's disease was service-connected and that the treatments Dr. Vane proposed to give seemed appropriate in kind and number. The VA did not even wait the three to eight weeks it might have taken to get Joe's service record from the army. It took a chance on that, since the malaria reported by the doctor seemed clearly service-connected. The VA set up its necessary record and then issued the authorization.

Not to Joe, however. It went to the Medical Service Administration because under the contract between the New Jersey doctors and the VA, the MSA was to act as a go-between. It was to keep the list of doctors and to pay their bills. Obviously the MSA, too, would have to record the services authorized and to whom, if it was to send checks to doctors and then seek reimbursement from the government. So the MSA proceeded to set up much the same records as the VA already had. Only after that was the authorization mailed to Joe.

Dr. Vane's bill also got lost in red tape for a time. It had to clear through both agencies, and the Medical Service Administration would not send the doctor a check until it got the money from the VA.

All this seems a cumbersome, wasteful duplication of effort. It was. The MSA recognized the fact, and,

at the end of two months, told New Jersey's doctors that it was serving only as "a fifth wheel and a bottle neck." The doctors promptly decided to turn all the strictly "administrative work" back to the VA, leaving to the medical profession and its agency "its true function of providing medical care."

• New Jersey Tries Again

Dr. Vane gets paid now in thirty to forty-five days. In some parts of New Jersey where the VA's newly decentralized fiscal system is functioning, doctors are being paid in from two to three weeks. He has not minded the wait too much. Compared to the bills his private patients owe him, he knows that every bill for a veteran's care will be paid in full—and at nice fees. The fee schedule is the same throughout the state and if the leading doctors in Newark think it is a good one, it certainly is all right for Pinewood.

But paying bills and checking eligibility are not medical care. In reflective moments, doctors realize that the VA is obligated to pay only for services which are of acceptable quality and which are actually needed by the veterans. Who should supervise the quality of care? Who should prevent the possible padding of bills? Both initially and under the current program, the VA and the New Jersey State Medical Society had agreed to delegate these thorny jobs to the doctors themselves. "Controls" by government would be "regimentation."

The medical society assumed the job. It agreed to:

- certify a list of competent physicians;
- review their work;
- make investigations regarding the adequacy of their reports;
- serve as a liaison between the VA and the doctors.

It has assigned one doctor to do all of these things!

New Jersey's physicians know that only a very few of their number are venal. Hence they evidently find it difficult to face the fact that reviews and sanctions have to be set up for all the doctors in order to control the 4 or 5 percent who might ask authorization for six treatments when four would do, or recommend an unnecessary but lucrative operation, or call in the services of fee-splitting specialists in cases which general practitioners

could properly handle. Under any plan, the necessity for treatments given is checked against the initial examination of the patient. In New Jersey, the same physician furnishes both. Controls are decidedly necessary.

Established methods of review and control are available to the society should it choose to face the facts inherent in its free choice, fee system plan. They require only a little money but not a little courage. Dr. Vane does not believe the rumor about one doctor having requested authorization for eighteen treatments for every one of his VA patients. Nor that this doctor's county medical society told a VA representative that it would take action only after the doctor had been proved guilty in a court of law. Dr. Vane may or may not know that last August, 19,758 New Jersey veterans received 31,360 treatments under the Home Town program whereas, this January—five months later—19,200 veterans somehow "needed" over 82,000 treatments. Dr. Vane's society should know these things, however. And that in January the sums paid to New Jersey doctors were running at a rate of about \$185,000 a month.

Without a medical review of the cases involved, these figures do not prove abuse. But they and the nature of the system itself may instill some nervousness into the leaders of a professional association which has accepted the responsibility for self-discipline. The figures should disturb administrators and taxpayers.

Michigan

In Michigan, the Home Town Program is almost identical in form of contract and in method of operation with the original New Jersey plan. It involves the same duplication of efforts and evinces the same lack of effective controls. There is, however, one big difference in substance. The Medical Service Administration in New Jersey has been a small struggling plan of health insurance under medical society control, whereas the Michigan Medical Service is the largest such plan in the country. It has a highly efficient administrative staff, partly its own, partly in the affiliated Michigan Blue Cross plan. With this staff it could, and did, see to it that the doctors got paid for veterans' care within three weeks after their bills came in. The MMS had ample funds to draw upon while

it waited for VA reimbursement.

By the same token, the Michigan Medical Service probably would have been the best qualified agent of any state medical society to undertake complete responsibility for operating a Home Town Program. Actually the VA has not delegated nor has the MMS sought such authority and responsibility. The VA merely delegates a part of the job, pays the MMS a 7 percent fee to get it done, and then, in effect, does the same job all over again by itself.

The Michigan Medical Service employs no checks against exploitation save to compare individual bills with their individual authorizations. Nor does it set any standards or enforce controls. It disclaims any responsibility or authority along such lines under its present contract. Interestingly, the MMS has just the International Business Machine set-up needed for statistical control work but has no responsibility for controls. The VA has the responsibility but lacks the machinery.

The one positive function which the Michigan Medical Service seems to render in the Michigan plan is that of paying its own doctors promptly. It charges the government 7 percent for the privilege.

Dollars and Sense?

Michigan and New Jersey contrast sharply in one important respect—the fee levels. In each state, the VA has negotiated rates with the medical society. Michigan doctors with whom I talked seemed generally satisfied with what they were getting. All that is, but one Detroit physician who had been unhappy ever since he had seen New Jersey's fee schedule. And it does seem curious that if the veteran has a hernia repaired, the government will pay \$100 if the surgeon lives in Detroit or Grand Rapids, but \$175 if he is from Newark or Cape May. Rates in these states seem usually the same for the services of general practitioners or for work done mainly by laboratory technicians. But of 200 comparable items for the services of surgeons and other specialists, the New Jersey rates run higher in about 60 percent of the items. In almost a third of these, the excess is 50 percent or more.

I do not urge that national uniformity would be desirable. Such a development might well have disastrous effects on many state and local

programs as well as on those of other governmental agencies. In fact, conditions in localities *within* some states vary so much that a uniform state schedule may be a way of making the high fee areas set the level for all areas. In the case of the two states we have specifically studied, Senator Byrd, Congressman Taber, and other citizens will watch with interest whether, as time goes on, VA fees in New Jersey come down or Michigan's go up.

New York

New York contrasts with New Jersey and Michigan (and with many other states) in several ways. One difference is at the vital stage of authorization. The veteran in New York can go to any doctor he chooses for treatment, but his first step is to visit a VA examination clinic. There a VA doctor examines him, makes a diagnosis, certifies his eligibility for care, and gives him an authorization for treatment which sets forth, with the diagnosis, the character and extent of the treatment authorized.

The patient is thus saved the long delay between examination and treatment which characterizes the Michigan type, and authorizations can safely run for as long as three months. More important, though perhaps not so obvious, it serves the veteran by giving him the only effective guarantee of quality of care we have yet discovered in these programs.

The VA physician knows that his diagnosis will be subjected to automatic review by the physician chosen to treat the patient. Any apparent errors will be quickly called to his attention if the physician asks that the authorization be changed. And it works both ways. The veteran's doctor is put on his mettle too, if that is necessary.

Moreover, this departure provides a positive check against several of the evils previously referred to. With a salaried physician making most of the diagnoses, the economic incentives to exploitation are largely removed. With them disappears the need for many of the controls, the red tape, the investigations which are inherent in any completely free choice, fee-for-service program.

The agent of New York's Medical society is the Veterans' Medical Service Plan of New York, Inc. (VMSP). Five physicians, their salaries paid by the VMSP, are at work. Unlike New

Jersey's one doctor, these five men have a definite responsibility. They are located in VA offices in different parts of New York State. While the VA does all the routine administrative work, the VMSP's doctors have direct access to all records and can, efficiently and without duplication, carry out the VMSP's functions of representing the practicing physician before the VA, maintaining the cooperation of doctors, and handling all disciplinary matters.

Dr. Herbert Bauckus, a leading figure in the New York State Medical Society, has called the program "a milestone in the truly American tradition of democracy in medical care." Of VA's vesting disciplinary controls in the society's hands, he remarked, "the freedom of action in this regard is unique in the annals of medicine."

Government or Medicine?

Home Town programs need study designed to bring out their positive values as well as such negative ones as we have examined—achievements regarding quality of care, lower costs, and effective administrative procedures as well as devices for avoiding pitfalls. Such studies should be made by the VA itself. The program is big in the number of people and dollars involved, and is pregnant with importance for future medical care in America. It therefore imposes on the VA the responsibility for much more than fumbling, state-by-state "experimentation". Expert, critical, comparable analysis of administrative policies and methods is an obligation upon the VA as the program moves along. Such studies would be infinitely more constructive than post-mortems by newspaper columnists or by a congressional committee.

Certainly this brief glance at three state programs suggests, too, that organized medicine should be urging and assisting in such analysis; should be eager to adapt programs to their findings. Organized medicine now demands not merely participation in, but complete control of, health insurance plans and tax-supported medical care. Its claims can now be measured against its deeds. Its future status may well depend on this current test of its ability properly to discharge the inescapable responsibilities of power. Can Medicine change itself or must government change Medicine? The Home Town program is a proving ground.



DESPAIR

The Genius of Mestrovic

Ivan Mestrovic stems from Southeastern Europe, yet he belongs to all Western culture. He is original and modern, yet his roots are in the classic tradition. He is a sculptor's sculptor, yet what he creates has great significance for all people.

In the troubled world of these times he dwells upon the qualities that give men fiber—on faith, on inner strength in the face of tragedy. He is a deeply religious man.

Survey Graphic reproduced examples of the work of this giant among living sculptors when he had his first exhibition in this country, at the Brooklyn Museum in 1924. Now he is represented in five U. S. museums, and his two equestrian figures of American

Indians are well-known public monuments in Chicago.

The Yugoslav sculptor, now 63, has come to this country to be on the faculty of Syracuse University's School of Fine Arts. Currently the Metropolitan Museum in New York is exhibiting work which he has executed since 1941.

It is the first time in the Metropolitan's seventy-five years that it has honored a living artist with a one-man show. On display are Mestrovic's drawings, figures in marble and bronze, bronze relief, and many characteristic wood panels. As can be seen from the reproduction on page 299, the sculptor has developed relief carving in wood to an extraordinary degree of rhythm and beauty.



ST. FRANCIS



DO NOT TOUCH ME

SPECIAL BOOK SECTION

LETTERS AND LIFE

A Philosopher's Harvest

HARRY HANSEN

THERE ARE SEVERAL COGENT REASONS why a book of addresses and essays by Alfred North Whitehead should open with his own informal memories of the England of his youth. The simplest and least important is that they provide an easy introduction to the personality who, in the chapters that follow, speaks so frankly and without pedagogical pretence on the aims of education and culture. The better reason is that they disclose how thoroughly Mr. Whitehead is an interpreter of "the past in the present," trying to salvage spiritual values in a world in which mass production is threatening culture, if not civilization.

A man of mind and heart, he is quite definitely a modern, but he appreciates the older, individual freedom and the sound classical education while admitting the necessities of technical training. In the midst of a world mad about processing raw materials into useful goods, he wants to save the intangible matters of the spirit that elevate life.

In the background of the career of a philosopher of mathematical knowledge, rises the façade of Canterbury. Mr. Whitehead's father was a vicar in the diocese and an honorary canon of the cathedral. Alfred North Whitehead was born at Ramsgate, on the Isle of Thanet, eighty-six years ago. He met personalities of the 1870's. He was sensitive to historical associations. Thus, he soaked up the "tonality" of late Victorian times. His circle and his education gave him an understanding of the place of the traditional religion in fostering civilization, but his inquiring mind was doubtful of precise explanations, a partisan of Galileo and Newton.

"Essays in Science and Philosophy" was assembled by its editors from papers that have appeared in general and technical magazines and, in a few instances, in books. (Philosophical Library \$5.) Such a collection has its uses, especially for students and libra-

rians, even though not everyone who begins this one will last through the final elucidation of the formulas of non-Euclidean geometry. The arrangement of the twenty-two essays in four parts, headed "Personal," "Philosophy," "Education," and "Science," affords the reader a fairly good understanding of Whitehead's personality, ideas, and style. The section on education is especially rewarding.

Two of the essays, on geometry and mathematics, go back to the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1910). The essay on mathematics and liberal education was written in 1912 and the paper on Einstein's theory appeared in *The Times* of London in 1920. But there is a liberal representation of Whitehead's writing of the 1930's. Three of the papers, the opening "autobiographical notes" and the essays on "Immortality" and "Mathematics and the Good" are from the comprehensive volume on Whitehead in the "Library of Living Philosophers," edited by Paul Arthur Schilpp and issued by Northwestern University Press in 1941.

Idealist and Educator

Mr. Whitehead's philosophy has been singularly welcome to contemporary Americans because he has admitted the usefulness of graphs and charts without denying the elements that cannot be transcribed in blueprints. His views of the eternal mutability of the universe, its variety and freshness, as against "the one perfection of order," suited our experience of life. A material age found it difficult to accept a custom-built heaven, but it cherished the Whitehead doctrine that "human nature loses its most precious quality when it is robbed of its sense of things beyond, unexplored and yet insistent." The very vagueness of the Whitehead relativity was acceptable, because it did not close the doors on speculation.

Mr. Whitehead is well aware of the

powerful claims for collective action in our time, but as an educator he relies on the integrity of the individual. Communities, social groups, nations, can only be partially adequate; they cannot think or feel, and they do not possess those intuitions that become the mainsprings of individual conduct. His views on these matters make me believe that, despite his fears for civilizations, he does not think the individual beyond the reach of salvation. As Wilbur M. Urban of Yale University said, the realistic basis of the Whitehead philosophy is essentially naturalistic, but its spirit is idealistic and hopeful.

Mr. Whitehead argues that the finest flowering of individualism, so far as freedom of action goes, occurred during the hundred and fifty to two hundred years when the American continent was being settled. He does not use Turner's word "frontier," but he is convinced that this period saw "a triumph of individual freedom for those who like that sort of opportunity." He does not say that extreme individualism passed with the frontier, but that modern industrialism, "the new mechanism," has sent individualism into the same grave as feudalism, and that "the surging freedom" of the forefathers is being dissipated.

This, however, does not lead him to give up efforts to support cultural and spiritual aspirations in a world of gadgets and machines. It is necessary to recognize the distinction between "the realities of freedom and its mere show, between hurtful and fruitful ways of freedom." He wants "the preservation of freedom for those who are engaged in mass production and mass distribution, which are necessities in our modern civilization."

Here the best he can do is to reiterate the familiar argument for handicraft. He recalls the "independent individuality of demand," which Englishmen understand better than

(All Books ordered through Survey Associates, Inc., will be postpaid)

Americans. As a nation, we have ever esteemed conformity above difference, though we put a premium on novelty and "being first." Mr. Whitehead praises the crafts of France and their place in French culture. But this was written fourteen years ago, before the German hordes, machine-armed, flattened out the crafts of France.

Mr. Whitehead's concern is that of all educators. It animated Ruskin and William Morris. His remedy is a conscious effort to protect self-expression from being submerged by a flood of goods, by bringing about an "interweaving of mass production with craftsmanship." For "the starvation of human impulses," with its limitation on freedom, produces an "excess of irritability in the social organization" which may easily lead to catastrophe. This warning seems the only thing that might stimulate the "economic statesmanship" he desires. Since statesmen deal with actual conditions and rarely see far ahead, he must fall back on education and hope some youths choose "sheer intellectual training" that will prepare for leadership.

But Mr. Whitehead is too much a part of our time to be monastic or to split schools between those that deal with abstract knowledge and those that teach the handicrafts or, as we say, give vocational training. Mr. Whitehead is much younger than Robert M. Hutchins. "A training in handicraft of all types should form a large part in every curriculum," he declares. Common sense should be the guide. He adds:

It is obvious, that any blending of a machine age with a vigorous craftsmanship will require a large cooperation between schools and universities and the great business interests concerned with production and distribution. It will also require the education of the general public. It will also require the advice of technologists of all types from engineers to artists. It will destroy much of the sweet simplicity of modern business policy, which fastens its attention solely on one aspect of our complex human nature.

Mr. Whitehead's habit of crystallizing his thoughts in crisp sentences invites quotation. Here are a few of his stimulating conclusions:

Philosophy is an attempt to express the infinity of the universe in terms of the limitations of language.

Geography is half of character.

We think in generalities, but we live



ALFRED NORTH WHITEHEAD
British philosopher—"A man of mind and heart"

in detail. To make the past live, we must think of it in detail, in addition to thinking of it in generalities.

The worth of any social system depends on the value experience it promotes among individual human beings. . . . Each human being is a more complex structure than any social system to which he belongs. Any particular community life touches only part of the nature of each civilized man. If the man be wholly subordinated to the common life, he is dwarfed.

History is the drama of effort.

The literary interest of historians is captured by transitory brilliance. Survival power is the basic factor for political success. The second element in political success is compromise. Political solutions devoid of compromise are failures from the ideal of statesmanship.

The summit of human attainment does not wait for the emergence of systematized doctrine, though system has its essential functions in the rise of civilization. It provides the gradual upgrowth of a stabilized social system.

As He Sees Our Times

As the darkness deepened over Europe, Mr. Whitehead was asked to express himself on the prospects of rescuing civilization. He replied with

one of his few specific comments on world events, a paper called "An Appeal to Sanity," which appeared in *The Atlantic Monthly* for March 1939. It is the only essay to which he has added a postscript. He wrote: "Today, after the experience of the last seven years, I see no hope for the future of civilization apart from world unity based on sympathetic compromise within a framework of morality which the United Nations organization now represents."

This "appeal" is important, because it contains Mr. Whitehead's realistic appraisal of the aims of diplomacy, his conviction that war must be avoided because of the damage it inflicts on the victor no less than on the vanquished, his view of English policy toward Europe, and his plan for solving the Palestine question. It takes little account of nationalistic and patriotic aims, but makes the saving of civilization the major object. It warns against "contagious emotion" and declares: "The habitual policy should be isolation, unless . . ." and in explaining this reservation he makes "the fostering of certain types of civilization" for which the nation is responsible the supreme duty.

Mr. Whitehead warned that it

RELIGIOUS BOOK WEEK

ELLEN O'GORMAN DUFFY

would be madness to fight a war in order to stop the Pan-German movement, or to protect the frontiers of Czechoslovakia, which, he felt, contained minorities forcibly removed from their national units by the treaty of Versailles. His comment on what might happen if the Russian armies established themselves in Central Europe is being borne out by postwar experience. Mr. Whitehead was quite realistic; he was convinced that anything was preferable to war.

He believed that in the event of war there would be a "massacre of hundreds of thousands of Jews." War cannot solve the Jewish question, said he. He asked British statesmanship to apply in Palestine his rules for political success, which I have quoted above; first, power to survive, second compromise. Mr. Whitehead declared that the Jewish and Mahometan peoples have always been able to cooperate. Historically, "Jewish cooperation was a factor in the great period of Mahometan brilliance. In the present remodeling of the Mahometan world, Jewish skills can give the exact assistance that the populations require." But "crude notions of personal ownership, or of state dominance, fail to apply to the subtleties of tribal life. A sensitive response to the real facts of the life around is required."

The man who wrote this in 1939 might be acclaimed a realistic statesman, as well as something of a prophet, if his words stood alone. But what he said was approximately the view of many who were not caught by contagious emotion. It is quoted here merely to show that Mr. Whitehead thought both as a philosopher and as an Englishman. England did attempt a policy of isolation and appeasement, and was also ready to agree to a rectification of frontiers. But the mad dog of Europe was not satisfied.

The hope for peace in Palestine through compromise was often expressed, but the war has sharpened antagonisms and the political and economic solutions await a retreat from extreme positions. Here we respect the words of the philosopher, because he is a student of human experience and aspirations. He can hold up before us the goals of morality and decency. But not more than the rest of us can he control the erratic course of human behavior. He must fall back on education as the final hope.

RELIGIOUS BOOK WEEK, WHICH IS OBSERVED across the country under the auspices of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, is designed to further the objectives of that organization — to foster wholesome human relations among all the groups (religious, racial, and national) that compose the citizenship of America. American Brotherhood Week, which the National Conference has promoted annually for fourteen years, is a project in mass education. Religious Book Week is only five years old but its observance each year has surpassed that of the year before and the opportunity it presents to men of good will to advance the principles and practices that make for national unity is widely recognized.

Its purpose is to encourage the reading of "books of spiritual value" by people of the three religious traditions—Protestant, Catholic, Jewish. To that end there is prepared and widely circulated a list of 200 books of special merit. These are divided into three sections, appealing to the interest and adapted to the needs of members of the three groups, each section chosen by a committee of competent persons from the religious group whose name it bears. A fourth section is denominated Goodwill Books and the titles listed there are recommended by a committee drawn from all three groups. In addition, there is attached to each list of books for adults, a list of books for children.

A copy of this pamphlet can be secured without cost from the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. During the week, libraries and bookshops throughout the country arrange exhibitions of these books; requests for materials such as list, posters, brochures of suggestions, and bookmarks have come this year from many states, from

Hawaii, and from Fairbanks, Alaska.

The 1947 lists differ widely in content. They are carefully annotated, to help guide the reader to the books most likely to appeal to him. Volumes of prose and poetry, of history, fiction, biography, and philosophy offer a varied fare. As in any bibliography, the books chosen are of uneven merit. While some of these are of higher literary excellence than others, all are written with sincere conviction, all possess values that provide strength for the spirit and mind and therefore warrant their inclusion in this list. To mention but a few:

"Brandeis, a Free Man's Life," by Alpheus Thomas Mason; a biography of Cardinal Newman by Charles Frederick Harrold; "My Boyhood in a Parsonage," by Thomas W. Lamont; "Woman of the Pharisees," by Francois Mauriac; "Color Blind," by Margaret Halsey; "The Shore Dimly Seen," by Ellis Gibbs Arnall; "Religion in America," by Willard L. Sperry.

The children's books range over the United States, Latin America, and Europe so that young readers absorbed in these vivid stories unconsciously learn that this is, in truth, "One World."

Religious Book Week is held annually in the week in which May 10 falls. The date was chosen to afford contrast to that May 10 in 1933 when the Nazis consigned to the flames all the books which, because of their authors or their content, were repugnant to Nazi philosophy. Stephen Vincent Benét in his noble poem, "They Burned the Books," says "This is in remembrance." What more fitting remembrance of that Berlin bonfire than the presentation of this list showing, as Mr. Benét puts it, "Freedom to speak and pray . . . Freedom of thought, freedom of man's bold mind!"

HUMAN DESTINY, by Lecomte du Nouy. Longmans. \$3.50.

Reviewed by E. C. LINDEMAN

IN THIS HOUR OF DISENCHANTMENT ONE looks with eagerness towards all signs of hope. It would be especially promising if man's new optimism were to come from scientists, since according

to many observers it is the practitioners of science who have precipitated the crisis of modern life. Dr. du Nouy does not merely hold forth a faith in the future of mankind but he assumes that it is science itself which shows the way to a new belief in human progress.

A "paralyzing skepticism" and a "destructive materialism" are the chief causes of our present evils. Neither of these, according to Dr. du Noüy, is the inevitable consequence of a scientific interpretation of nature. However, science has been used for evil ends; it has been used "to sap the base of religion" and if this damage is to be repaired, it is necessary to find an interpretation of nature, supported by scientific evidence, which allows for a rational belief in religion. This is, in brief, the theme of Dr. du Noüy's essay.

The author is a French scientist whose major researches have dealt with the properties of blood. He has served as an associate member of the Rockefeller Institute, as head of the biophysics division of the Pasteur Institute, and as Director of the Ecole de Hautes Etudes of the Sorbonne. He has studied with Sir William Ramsay and with Pierre and Marie Curie. His credentials are of a high order. His book has received high praise from both American scientists and theologians. What he has written must therefore be treated with seriousness.

The logic of his proposition may be stated thus:

In order to produce the characteristic and unique human qualities which exist in man by means of pure chance, a span of time infinitely greater than the scientifically estimated duration of the earth would have been required. Science, which rests upon the law of probability, cannot therefore furnish a satisfactory explanation of man. The gap between living and nonliving matter cannot be bridged by science. We must therefore fall back upon anti-chance (Edgington's "cheater"), which is a force which violates the statistical laws of large numbers. We thus arrive at a belief in a purposeful universe. The concept of God, which is a pure idea like force or energy, is consequently reasonable, provided one does not strive to concretise this idea. The finest expression of the purpose of God is contained in the Christian religion.

I have, of course, oversimplified Dr. du Noüy's thesis but I have not, I believe, altered its affirmative meaning. The theory which emerges from the above logic is called "telefinalism," which means that God's final purpose and ultimate goal is to produce an evolutionary sequence which operates on the moral and spiritual plane. What I have omitted are numerous

ingenious interpretations of biological evolution, including an unusual stress upon mutations, and certain metaphysical notions which are used to bolster the main hypothesis.

I am not competent to deal critically with the strictly scientific statements, and I have no inclination to dissect his metaphysical abstractions. My concern with this unusual exercise in logic is that of a humanist who also hopes for reconciliation between science and religion, and from my viewpoint, I see nothing but mischief and retardation in Dr. du Noüy's thesis. When, for example, he states that "henceforth, contrary to all the others (*animals*), in order to evolve he (*man*) must no longer obey Nature. He must criticize and control his desires which are previously the only Law," I am not in the least encouraged. (Italic insertions are mine.) In fact, this statement seems to me so far from truth and reality that it actually fails to make sense. How is man to live in Nature and not obey Nature's laws?

For fear the reader will feel that I have chosen an unhappy quotation, I shall now list a few other statements which seem to me to do less than

justice to scientific thought. On page 108, he designates "moral and spiritual energy" as "specific male qualities." On page 117, he asserts that "Christ was, in a sense, the premature example" and on page 174, "Christ did not come too soon." On page 113, one finds this curious assertion: "Animals are, therefore, not free, and this is the symbolical meaning of Genesis when it says that God *ordered* them to live, to grow, and to multiply." On page 238, he insists that a book written by Isabel Paterson, "The God of the Machine," deals with *all* the problems man has to face today. On page 237, he writes, "Another human and social consequence of telefinalism, which once again crosses the path of the Christian doctrine, is the absolute necessity of complete freedom."

If a college freshman in a course of elementary logic attempted to defend statements of this order, he would most certainly fail. Yet when such statements are made by a reputable scientist they are acclaimed, even by scientists.

If human destiny rests upon the reasoning of Dr. du Noüy, and this is what some reviewers seem to imply, then there is cause indeed for pessi-

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mism. If this is to be taken as a sample of the kind of thinking done by scientists who become religionists, we shall do better to rely upon theologians. In one place Dr. du Noüy quotes from the Instructions of Ptah-Hotep (written some 5,300 years ago) these words: "If thou takest part in a council, remember that silence is better than an excess of words." I wish Dr. du Noüy had learned this instruction.

ON BEING FIT TO LIVE WITH, by Harry Emerson Fosdick. Harper. \$2.

Reviewed by
F. ERNEST JOHNSON

PREACHING HAS BEEN DEFINED AS "truth through personality." Dr. Fosdick's sermons have a superb quality which is due not only to his mastery of form but to the fact that his preaching effects personal encounter with his hearers. This little book of "sermons on postwar Christianity," the first of which gives it its title, represents Dr. Fosdick at his best. Sermons, as he says, are "not meant to be read, as essays are," but if one has heard this preacher once, he will see him in the pulpit and hear his voice as he reads these pages.

Dr. Fosdick makes the Bible sharply relevant to the problems of the hour. He uses literary references, historical incidents, and biographical flashes to great effect, but he never descends to mere anecdote. His architecture has no need for artificial embellishment.

Although calling himself a modernist, Dr. Fosdick has found that the easy social optimism so common a generation ago is no longer tenable. The task is now not to make people aware of public problems but to make them understand how these impinge upon the personal life and give rise to personal responsibility.

Few preachers have made so much use of the data of psychology and psychiatry, but he cuts through all superficiality in dealing with the fact of sin and the element of moral tragedy in human life. Also, he stresses the characteristics of our secular age, which makes religion a private affair, which is preoccupied with mechanisms, and in which "the motive of private profit, gone haywire, can do dreadful things." With great respect for science, he nevertheless knows that science is not a way of life.

Dr. Fosdick is more concerned about realities than ideologies but he makes this pointed remark about Soviet-American relations:

Were I talking to Russians I could say some damning things about their system, but I am talking to Americans, and this issue comes home to us here, with our slums, our appalling masses of the underprivileged, our embittered minorities, our racial discrimination.

There is an impressive unity in the thought of this vigorous, modern preacher. All the mystery of religion is caught up in the miracle of personality—ultimately in the personality of Christ. Prayer is not "the endeavor to get God to do what we want" but "the endeavor to put ourselves into such relationships with God that He can do in and for and through us, what He wants." The meaning of immortality is found not in clamorous insistence on individual survival but in the faith that what is finest in life is most durable.

THE AFFIRMATION OF IMMORTALITY, by John Haynes Holmes. Macmillan. \$1.50.

Reviewed by
FREDERICK MAY ELIOT

IN A BRIEF BUT ILLUMINATING NOTE at the end of this little volume, Dr. Holmes describes his lecture as "a kind of summary . . . of what I have been preaching and writing for more than forty years"; and this statement indicates both the value and the limitations of the book.

Here the reader will find the quintessence of the faith that has inspired and fortified the daily life of a valiant fighter for justice and brotherhood, whose courage and flaming idealism have won the admiration of countless men—especially young men—through more than four decades. Only a strong faith can create and nourish a strong life, and we cannot be too grateful for a document that sets forth in lucid and persuasive fashion the substance of the faith of John Haynes Holmes.

By the same token, the reader must not expect fresh light upon the age-old problem of the survival of the human soul after the death of the body. There is nothing here that was not in the minds of many people forty years ago. Except for a few "modern instances," the philosophy is that of John Fiske, of Robert Browning, of James Martineau—and of Plato. It is a familiar and beautiful philosophy,

presented with the deepening note of wise authority and the added power of eloquence that forty years have brought; but his "last testament on the subject of immortality," as Dr. Holmes calls it, carries the same message as his first.

There are, however, many thoughtful people who will not be able to accept this message, not because they have surrendered to "the materialistic trends of this modern age" nor because they are reconciled to the "low state of the immortal hope today." The reason why they cannot join with Dr. Holmes, at the close of his argument, in holding that the "survival of personality after death becomes inevitable" is that they have formed the habit of not letting themselves do as Browning's "Cleon" did:

"I dare at times imagine to
my need
Some future state revealed to
us by Zeus."

Such "imagination to our need," even though it be "what men have always done," and even though it seems legitimate to Dr. Holmes, does not seem to them a sufficient basis for an answer to the ancient question.

THE LUMINOUS TRAIL, by Rufus M. Jones. Macmillan. \$2.

Reviewed by
KATHARINE N. RHOADES

LET NOT THE CLARITY OF THOUGHT AND address in this slender volume deceive you into thinking it slight or simple in substance. Here is a distinguished book on the inward life of the saint. "The Luminous Trail" deals with events of first importance; the profound matter of man's pilgrimage to God, of his direct personal experience of God, and of himself purified and become an instrument of the Divine purpose. By means of a number of sensitively portrayed biographies and with the magic of his own religious discernment, Rufus Jones lifts into our apprehension these saintly beholders, these secret findings of the spirit and their transforming power till all of man is new, in Christ.

He has chosen saints from Apostolic days to the present: Paul of Tarsus, St. John, Hugh of St. Victor, St. Catherine of Siena, John Everard, William Law, and other great spirits of Christianity. Different as they are one from the other, Dr. Jones has

made them sing together as it were in choir, "organs of God's love," in the Invisible Church.

He writes, "There is in man a sensibility of soul, which is its capacity for Divine communication, for the operation of God's Holy Spirit upon it." For those to whom the life of the spirit is the true life of man, for those who love God or who would find Him to love Him, this book will come with kindling life. Read it on your knees if you would participate in their "homesickness for the holy way." Read it not as an intellectual pursuit but for spiritual enrichment and courage and renewal of faith—"a faith of love, a faith of hunger, a faith of thirst, a faith of certainty and assurance."

In these days of such disquieting secular disputations there is joy in meditating on these words of the 16th century Sebastian Castellio: "We dispute over matters which never can be known until our hearts are pure, for they are things which must be spiritually perceived."

THE REDISCOVERY OF MORALS, by Henry C. Link. Dutton. \$2.50.

REVIEWED BY W. RUSSELL BOWIE

THIS BOOK IS A CURIOUS COMBINATION of truth and twisted notions. It will doubtless be received with considerable expectation, because an earlier book by the author, "The Return to Religion," interested a very considerable circle of readers through the fact that here was a psychologist specifically stressing the necessity of a rediscovery of religion if there is to be any sound and wholesome foundation for life. In that book, Dr. Link said much that was both right and important, and he says things which are right and important in this new book also.

The primary theme is that we must again grasp and be grasped by the moral imperatives which have pervaded all that is best in our Judaeo-Christian heritage. As he says in the concluding paragraph of the book:

The great and most immediate task of the churches is to resurrect and to reinterpret the universal morals of personal and social conduct. A common faith without a common ethics is mere wishful thinking. A God without Commandments is worse than no God at all.

This cardinal truth has been proclaimed—and sometimes proclaimed better—of late in a number of other

books; for instance, in such a one as Trueblood's "The Predicament of Modern Man." But even if it has been said before, it should be said again, and Dr. Link's voice will add emphasis and force to a message which our generation sorely needs to hear.

The offset to this is in the fact that Dr. Link's interpretation of moral values in our contemporary life seems often to be twisted by instinctive prejudices so strong that they lead him into statements which are careless and inaccurate. Apparently he is a conservative in social, economic, and political matters, and one of the familiar group to whom the "New Deal" is a red rag of provocation. This, however, is incidental. Much more serious is the fact that at various points Dr. Link seems willing to warp evidence to his purpose.

A conspicuous instance of this is in the last chapter. In a section entitled "The Significance of the New Social Gospel," he actually declares that "the Christian churches, under the secular influences already described, are also being emancipated from the authority of the Ten Commandments," and at least some among them have "systematically if unwittingly encouraged their violation."

He attempts to support this reckless assertion by reference to an address delivered by William Temple, the late Archbishop of Canterbury, at Albert Hall, London, in 1942. He gives what he alleges to be a quotation from the Archbishop's words. But, as anyone can discover for himself by looking at the published address in the volume "The Church Looks Forward" (Macmillan, 1944), Dr. Link has quoted the Archbishop inaccurately, left out from the middle of the quotation, without any indication of doing so, words of vital importance of a contrary meaning, and put in his own italics an idea which the Archbishop did not italicize, but on the contrary made subordinate to a larger one. This sort of tactics is not calculated to create much respect for Dr. Link's reliability as an interpreter of anything which does not suit his own opinion.

In short, Dr. Link's book is a very mixed dish. There are some wholesome viands in it; but with regard to many of the opinions he serves up one may very well remember the familiar anecdote of the waiter in a railroad restaurant, who, responding to the request of the weary traveler

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for some eggs and a few kind words, brought the eggs and announced: "Here's the eggs, and here's the few kind words—don't eat 'em."

A SCIENTIST'S APPROACH TO RELIGION, by Carl Wallace Miller. Macmillan. \$2.

REVIEWED BY JOHN PAUL JONES

THE AUTHOR OF THIS EXCELLENT LITTLE book has the gift of saying much without too many words. He proceeds on the assumption that prophet and scientist are bound by a common unity, and that analogies from science are helpful to religion and vice versa. He makes good his claim. He also makes plain that eminence in either field may be accompanied by untenable beliefs in both. A Kepler or a Newton as well as a Paul or a Luther may believe considerable nonsense. But they are not therefore ignorant or foolish. Fallibility is common to all, but truth is discoverable none the less.

The author weaves back and forth between the materials of science and the substance of faith. He binds them both into the same tapestry. The great conservation laws, for instance, are not unrelated to faith's assertion of God's purpose. The unruly and chaotic perversity we call sin has a counterpart in science. "The relative ease of transforming mechanical energy into heat is evidence of a strange preference by nature for a state of disorder and a singular reluctance to permit the recovery of order out of chaos." But "the fact that the irreversible tendency of natural processes toward chaos, as recognized in the Second Law of Thermodynamics, is balanced in God's providence by a practically limitless supply of energy in the ordered structure of the atom, should give pause to the prophets of doom in the spiritual as well as in the material realm."

Analogies between the problems of science and faith abound in the book. Moreover, the writer understands his "nature," both human and otherwise.

The language is adapted to the layman, but the book is as serious as it is brief. The author uses no foils on his rapier. The nearest I got to amusement was blinking at the reference to the "stuff from which saints and martyrs have been spawned . . ." in the midst of his otherwise precise and accurate descriptions.



Courtesy French & Company, New York

Jo Davidson's bronze of William Allen White was placed last month on the grounds of a public school in Emporia, near the office of the *Gazette*

SELECTED LETTERS OF WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE, edited by Walter Johnson. Holt. \$3.75.

Reviewed by
RICHARD PATRICK KELLOGG

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE, FROM HIS vantage point as editor and publisher of the *Emporia Gazette* and as a life-long practicing liberal Republican, conducted a large and lively correspondence. One of the best expressions of his role as interpreter of the American middle class is in a 1930 letter:

If my own view of political philosophy is correct—and it may not be—I suppose I have two or three strong political convictions. . . . I distrust the proletariat because it is ignorant and selfish, and the plutocracy because it is cunning and greedy. As a corollary of these beliefs, I feel . . . that given time for discussion and for facts to work their way, the middle class will be able to protect the proletariat from destruction through its own ignorance and the plutocracy from destroying society through plutocratic greed. . . .

After resigning from The Committee to Defend America by Aiding

the Allies, Mr. White showed that he was aware of the tremendous problems inevitable when peace came, in a letter of May 25, 1943 to George Field of Freedom House:

. . . after unconditional surrender, if we win the peace, the United States must continue the same effort that has made victory in war. Nothing less on our part than the same unconditional sacrifice for the peace that we have demanded in unconditional surrender will hold the peace longer than it takes to rearm and re-form the next line of battle.

We are in for a ten years' struggle, ten years in which we must put our American energies, our American production, the full strength of American credit, and unstinted consecration of American sacrifice—not into a grand do-good adventure, not into making the world beautiful and Utopian, but in a cold-blooded, hard-boiled try-out to put world civilization back on its feet so that in the rehabilitated world we may find American markets. The capitalist system must not break down. But unless capitalism is willing to organize to sacrifice, to envision its own self-interest in the renewal and revival

of civilization, the war will be a failure. In isolation, we are only prepared for another Armageddon until finally faith in democracy fails. Then the weary, disheartened world may turn to totalitarianism and we shall regiment mankind in inevitable economic slavery.

I wonder what Mr. White would think of the present state of the world?

The letters illuminate many aspects of the history of America from frontier days to the Atomic Age by commenting on what was going on behind the scenes and by franker expressions of opinion than appeared in his editorials and articles. They are fascinating reading as a running record of the world projected through the mind of an intelligent, liberal, middle-class American.

MEDICINE IN THE CHANGING ORDER: Report of the New York Academy of Medicine Committee on Medicine and the Changing Order. Commonwealth Fund, \$2.

Reviewed by MICHAEL M. DAVIS

SPEAKING TO A CLASS OF MEDICAL students a few weeks ago, I held up a small book in each hand. One was the Report of the Committee on the Cost of Medical Care, issued in December 1932, which came to the conclusion that medical costs should be carried chiefly through voluntary health insurance and that medical service should gradually be reorganized so that it would be furnished through groups of physicians. The other book was this Report of the New York Academy of Medicine, in 1947, and the conclusions are essentially the same.

In the fifteen years between these two reports, unprecedented advances have taken place in the development of government and voluntary organizations for public health work, for health insurance, and for tax-supported medicine. A large body of facts has been accumulated on the economics of medicine and, still more important, a volume of experience in the organization and administration of programs.

Many of these facts, but little of the experience, are reflected in this report. It summarizes technological and economic changes in American medicine and American life; reviews problems of urban and rural areas, of public health services, public medical care, and hospitals. Its discussion of

the quality of care heads up towards the needed increase of group medical practice and the improvement of medical education. These summaries offer no original contribution, but are smoothly presented, with rough edges that irritate most physicians well planed off. Under the medically distinguished sponsorship of the Academy, the facts of the report will be acceptable and educational to medical men who have never found such material in their professional journals. The Academy's conclusions will also help to bring many physicians up to date as of 1932, or better.

Much more might have been accomplished if the later chapters of the report had been infused with the same level of scholarship that is apparent in the earlier, historical ones. There is no evidence, for instance, that more than a superficial study of European health insurance experience was made. Few works are cited and these, with one or two exceptions, are secondary sources. Again, reference to unfavorable experience in New Zealand is based chiefly upon an Associated Press article which appeared in some American newspapers in 1945. Authoritative and available material from medical and governmental sources in New Zealand goes unmentioned. The fears expressed regarding overcentralization under national health insurance in the United States are certainly derived from something else than the experience of Europe, where the administration of health insurance has been highly decentralized.

The discussion of current legislative proposals in the United States is too brief to be weighty. It includes some regrettable errors, notably in the discussion of finances. The expense of all forms of social security taken together is presented in a way to give the reader the uncorrected impression that these figures would be the cost of health insurance.

It is a pity that an authoritative committee which recommends the extension of voluntary health insurance plans as the program for the foreseeable future, should not have elucidated the difficult problems which this extension already faces. No greater contribution could have been made towards developing high quality medical care in these plans than to render the physicians, organizers, and managers of these plans more

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sophisticated about their administration. No mention is made of the serious obstacle to their extension that is imposed by restrictive laws enacted in some fifteen states at the instance of medical societies and now promoted by the societies in additional legislatures.

The Committee suggests the desirability of government subsidies to voluntary plans, but fails to explore the problems of this likely and (under certain conditions) partially practicable policy. Certainly experience in educational and welfare fields has shown that the use of public funds by private agencies needs many and careful safeguards.

JIM CROW AMERICA, by Earl Conrad. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. \$3.

REVIEWED by JOHN LAFARGE, S. J.

IN A VIGOROUS LITTLE BOOK "SLAVE AND CITIZEN," Frank Tannenbaum, professor of Latin American history at Columbia University, contrasted the experience of the Negro slave in Latin America and in the United States. In Latin America the Negro achieved completely legal equality, slowly, through manumission, and after he had acquired a moral personality. But in the U. S. he was given his freedom suddenly, and before the white community credited him with moral status.

Herein lies one of the main roots of the doctrine of white racial supremacy as a theory and as an institution. This phenomenon excites amazement among visitors to our shores from Brazil and other southern lands.

Anomalies and injustices of the white supremacy idea and its offspring, Jim Crow or systematic racial segregation, have been so frequently described and analyzed in recent years by sociologists and so publicized in the daily and the Negro press that there is little new to add in the way of revelations. Mr. Conrad is white; he was formerly on PM and is now on the staff of the Chicago *Defender*, Negro weekly. This book, which is a collection of his reflections, largely historical and political, on the evils of race segregation, offers handy replies to many a hoary slogan used in defense of white supremacy.

He sees a "boiling sectional conflict" still in the South. He asks:

Will the Rankin element attempt another secession movement and attempt

to set up its own nation in some new Confederacy, to suppress Negro and white progressive advance? It is always possible. Is it possible that the Negro and white allies North and South could take over the states' rights theory and use it themselves for continuous democratic advance? That too is possible.

The author wants a change in people's minds, a change in the social-political areas, but does not see this, apparently, as a moral change. "Those who ask for 'moral' changes want no economic changes." Many people, however, believe that a sense or absence of moral values is at the root of our economic conduct, and that only when manifest wrong is known and stigmatized as wrong, can we expect vicious economic habits to be altered.

According to Mr. Conrad, "A. Philip Randolph's spadework with the Fair Employment Practice Committee movement and his labor leadership before then have won him an extensive hearing among Negroes, but his anti-Sovietism has limited his influence in the political sphere." And he sees the Negro moving fast into the "Russian orbit." Mr. Randolph is interested in labor, not in politics, and in his chosen field his anti-Sovietism, combined with his American liberalism, seems to me to have enhanced rather than hindered his popularity with the actual rank and file of his people.

While Sovietism has succeeded in making a certain emotional appeal, with its well-known ability to dramatize worthy causes and proliferate new fronts and committees, I am convinced that the Negro worker will judge by accomplishments rather than by promises. Totalitarianism and systematic deprivation of human liberties are distasteful to him no matter what political or social dress they wear.

SCIENCE AND FREEDOM, by Lyman Bryson. Columbia University Press. \$2.75.

Reviewed by ORDWAY TEAD

I FIND MR. BRYSON'S CONSISTENT EMPHASIS on what is central to the idea of democracy to be one of the most clarifying things in a lucid volume. For instance:

A democratic government has for its purpose the creation of such conditions as will best keep and develop the intrinsic powers of men. . . . We are educated by what exercises our powers. . . . Informed action is better develop-

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ment of the person than the most scrupulous obedience. . . . The argument is that freedom, in this case the various forms of freedom called democratic, will be attained if man and not materials or efficient processes is made the end, and if all strength is applied to man's development.

The theme in relation to which democracy is thus personalized is that to advance the freedom which democracy would assure as a goal, mankind must make a more radical and universal use of scientific outlook and method. "Science can be used as one of the tools by which to establish the conditions in which human powers may realize human values. This supporting and reinforcing aid of "conditions" is specially emphasized.

The chapter on education, as one such condition, is among the most suggestive. And especially do we have to listen with attention to what this author has to say on adult educa-

tion. "It is," he wisely observes, "impossible for men to understand the remedies for problems if they have not yet met the problems in their own experience." Education, he is reminding us, is only effective at the time of felt need and clear relevance.

The book is quotable, limpid, flowing in a way that may disarm the less attentive reader as to the full purport of what is being said. For there are insights and perceptive hints here which are deeply civilized and civilizing, ranging through wide areas of current thought and policy. Mr. Bryson's capacity to carry over subtle ideas into simple contexts is, by common knowledge, extraordinary; and here this capacity serves him in good stead. Altogether, this is a notable book, contributing to a wider and richer grasp of the truth of the dependence of democracy's freedom upon all that science can fruitfully imply.

THE TUG OVER PALESTINE

Reviewed by BLAIR BOLLES

BEHIND THE SILKEN CURTAIN, by Bartley C. Crum. Simon and Schuster. \$3.

LIFE LINE TO A PROMISED LAND, by Ira A. Hirschmann. Vanguard Press. \$2.75

UNDERGROUND TO PALESTINE, by I. F. Stone. Boni and Gaer. \$2.50.

PALESTINE: STAR OR CRESCENT? by Nevill Barbour. Odyssey Press. \$3.

HERE ARE FOUR EARNEST BOOKS ABOUT the most vexatious problem in foreign affairs that our time plagues us with—Palestine. Their earnestness tells us more clearly than does the text why we get no closer to some solution. Mr. Barbour believes that the country belongs to the Arabs, and the other authors argue stoutly and movingly that in the Holy Land the Jews should have primacy. Both Arab and Jew, however, are in Palestine irrevocably, neither to be pushed out like a band of Cherokee Indians shoved across the American continent.

A good day might dawn for Palestine when authors, however interesting and able, stop writing about that land in terms of the righteousness of one of two causes; when they begin in detachment to examine means by which the dilemma can be resolved without postulating either that the Arabs depart or that the Jews halt their migrations. The Jewish and Arab peoples themselves generate, understandably, so much heat in their own discussions of this issue that

North Americans would perform a service to those inharmonious neighbor peoples by cool objectivity. Mr. Crum reports that Wendell Willkie once told him, "The Arabs have a good case in Palestine. There is only one thing wrong with it. The Jews have a better case." This sort of thinking in terms of exclusive alternatives will keep Palestine in fester forever.

Of the four books at hand, those by Messrs. Crum, Hirschmann, and Stone are superior to the book by Mr. Barbour. The last has written a sort of lawyer's brief, burdened with *ex parte* citations running back to a few millenniums before Christ in order to analyze the opposing claims to Palestine of Jews and Arabs, to the Arab's advantage.

The three friends of Zionism tell their stories in human terms, and theirs are moving tales. Those who have hearts will find them pricked by the factual accounts of the plight of Jews in Europe, as seen by Mr. Crum in displaced persons camps he visited last year as a member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine; by Mr. Hirschmann, in his extraordinary wartime assignment of rescuing, by cajolery and scheming in Turkey, harassed, persecuted, murder-threatened Jews from Nazi governments in central Europe; and by Mr.

The Republic of Silence

EDITED BY
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AT what point does a man begin to resist the invader? A. J. Liebling, brilliant reporter for *The New Yorker*, seeks the answer to this age-old question in the writings of the French Resistance—writings by Louis Aragon, Vercors, Francois Mauriac, and many an anonymous patriot.

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Stone on his remarkable and daring journey early in 1946 from Poland to Palestine by train and boat in company with a band of desperate Jews bound to escape the hell of Europe after the war and knowing no goal but *Eretz Israel*.

Yet apparently the United States is populated by millions of cold hearts, untouched by such stories, for many Americans are prone both to comment that Jews should not try to enter Palestine illegally and also to cry halt when one suggests their admission instead to the USA.

Except for the brisk prose of the professional writer I. F. Stone, the writing in these books is so labored that they discourage the prospective reader. The Hirschmann account is the most interesting and most valuable. It reveals some of the inside story of the workings of an unusual agency, the War Refugee Board, established by President Roosevelt early in 1944 and dedicated to the proposition that governments at war can concern themselves with the comfort and welfare of individual human beings. In a period of unlimited and organized killing, Mr. Hirschmann spent his time saving lives.

The very existence of the War Refugee Board was due in large measure to Mr. Hirschmann. An avoidable tragedy, the sinking in the Dardanelles in February 1942 of the steamship "Struma" with 767 Jewish refugees aboard, sickened him, and the complacency of routine officials in the face of such wanton loss of life disgusted him. Breckinridge Long, Assistant Secretary of State, told him that "all was being done that could be done in time of war." Long mentioned the existence of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, an almost inactive agency, helpless to take responsibility for those who fled from Europe on such ships as the "Struma."

Mr. Hirschmann decided to go to Turkey to find out whether he, as a citizen, could help a few Jews escape alive from Nazidom to some outer haven. He talked his idea over in Washington, where others, unlike Assistant Secretary Long, were impressed by the same problem. This interest caused the establishment of the War Refugee Board, directed "to take action for the immediate rescue from the Nazis of as many as possible of the persecuted minorities, . . . to take all measures within the govern-

ment's power to rescue the victims of enemy persecution who are in imminent danger of death." So rescuer Hirschmann went as a diplomatic attaché, not as a private citizen.

He tells how he obtained ships for bringing Jewish refugees through the Black Sea to the Aegean, persuaded the Rumanians to close their hell-hole Transdnistria internment camp, encouraged "The Boys" to parachute into central Europe for daring rescue acts, and with the help of a pack of cigarettes as a gift for a diplomat's wife, persuaded the Bulgarian government to rescind its anti-Semitic laws and to permit the Jews to rehabilitate themselves within Bulgaria. No other belligerent government undertook this sort of rescue work and Mr. Hirschmann is proudly American. When he saved a German Jewish musician in Istanbul from deportation to Germany he said:

You tried to thank me today for saving your life. I did not do it. It was the great and free people of the United States of America who came to your rescue. Always remember that, and try someday to give something back to that idea.

Mr. Crum gives us a personal narrative that illuminates the dusty report which the Anglo-American Inquiry Commission issued last May. The great point he makes—it should gleam in neon brightness before everybody who turns his thoughts to Palestine—is that the masses of Arabs and the masses of Jews in Palestine accept one another. "Political conflict on high levels does not affect the relations of men in the street." The antagonism is synthetic, manufactured by high-placed Arabs, kinds and effendis and also by supporters of "British imperialism."

The grounds on which the synthesizers attack the Jews are sympathetically set forth in Mr. Barbour's book, but King Ibn Saud, the ruler of Saudi Arabia, made clear for Mr. Crum how empty and unreal is the antagonism. Ibn Saud told Mr. Crum that his attitude toward the Jew was "not the product of modern times but an ancient enmity going back thousands of years" to the writing of the Koran, which says: "Thou wilt surely find that the strongest in enmity against those who believe are the Jews and idolaters." Only by thinking in terms of today can the world deal with the problem of Palestine.

SOIL AND STEEL, by P. Alston Waring and Clinton S. Golden. Harper. \$3.

Reviewed by
MORRIS LLEWELLYN COOKE

THIS BOOK SEEKS TO EXPLORE THE common interests of farmers and wage earners, the reasons for the immemorial clash between them, and the basis for our faith that the accommodation of these differences is of prime importance in the further development of our society.

The authors are exceptionally well qualified to represent the groups for which they speak—by character, experience, speculative frame of mind, and status in the working world. That they happen to live within two miles of each other is a happy circumstance, for otherwise a book that bears the marks of close collaboration might not have been possible for two such busy men. It is futile to wish that this problem could have been so competently explored and discussed years ago. For it is only the more rapid organization of industrial workers in unions since World War I that makes it possible now to envision their coming together with farmers in an effective relationship.

This recital of the step by step progress made by the organized industrial workers is needed to remind us that, as recently as President Harding's administration, some 150,000 men in the steel industry worked from eleven to fourteen hours a day and many of them on Sundays, as well. The authors utilize the quick changes and improvements among industrial workers as offering hope that, through membership in a wide variety of cooperatives, the farmers may be learning the value of united action as contrasted with their highly prized individualism, admitted to have been at times a tower of strength for the nation.

The drive in the labor movement comes principally from the younger men. The average age among farmers is around fifty years. Our authors quote an associate as saying that even such a logical and wholly necessary matter as soil conservation is hard to get across to middle-aged farmers. A man reaches an age of contentment!

The authors attribute much of the discord between rural and city people to carefully planned efforts by the large business interests, including "canned" editorials to be had for the asking and advertising patronage for

the "good" local papers. Getting all this out in the open will do no harm to any legitimate interest.

While the authors offer no blueprint or definite formula for breaking down the barriers between town and country, on the whole they give an inspiring interpretation of current trends. Those who love the Republic should read this book.

THE WEB OF GOVERNMENT, by R. M. MacIver. Macmillan. \$4.50.

Reviewed by
JANE PERRY CLARK CAREY

IN A WORLD OF BITTERLY CONFLICTING forces, dispassionateness of inquiry and judgment based on careful analysis are desperately needed. Professor MacIver, in his brilliant consideration of the forces that go to make up government in all its types and functions, responds to this need with one of the important contributions to thought of this period.

To him, government is not something invented by the strong and imposed upon the rest of society but is the continuation and development of a process of regulation already begun in the family and community. He traces the emergence of government in its different stages, always a reflection of underlying social attitudes and beliefs. He then proceeds to the most illuminating analysis of the different types and forms of government which it has been this reviewer's good fortune to read.

His chapter on "The Ways of Democracy" not only clarifies the meaning of that much misused word but cuts away the dross when it shows that only under democracy does government become the agent and the people the principal that holds it to account. Only under democracy can all opinions with respect to the desirability of any form of government be allowed free expression. Here Professor MacIver has one caveat—those who express their opinions must not approve the resort to force for the furtherance of any cause in which they believe, else they reject the only ground on which they are entitled to ask for freedom.

In "The Ways of Dictatorship," the author reduces to their essence the various types of dictatorship and shows how they contain within themselves the germs of their own ultimate destruction.

(Continued on page 312)

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No one exemplifies more truly than Professor MacIver the truth of Justice Holmes' statement that "to be master of any branch of knowledge you must master those which lie next to it; and thus to know anything you must know all." The volume shows clearly what depth and perspective have been added to the author's understanding of government by his sociological studies.

Professor MacIver's approach to the crucial question of our time is tempered by knowledge and understanding: Can a fully collectivist system, which means public ownership of the whole apparatus of production and distribution and the abolition of all private enterprise, be made to work without sacrifice of the democratic principle, assuming such a system can come into existence through the gradual advance of nationalization?

Aware that the corrupting influence of the possession of power will not disappear with the loss of the profit motive, he realizes that "when it is gone the traffic of ambition will be more ruthlessly concentrated along the political avenue." While he does not conclude that democratic polity will never be able to survive under collectivism, he points out that "the evolution of democratic processes has still a long way to go before the experience is attained that would admit the marriage of the two without the imminent peril of a divorce of a kind that would leave collectivism in sole possession of the national home."

Though the book's high quality and tempered wisdom ought to reach more than the scholarly few, its form and language are not such that he who runs may read. Those who most need the understanding and the message will be least likely to read it. All of us will profit by the reminder that no brave new order can be constructed *de novo*, but that "the newest order we can achieve no matter how bold its experiments must be as continuous with the past and present as the new generation of men is continuous with those that went before."

GENTLEMAN'S AGREEMENT by Laura Z. Hobson. Simon and Schuster. \$2.75.

REVIEWED by JAMES REID PARKER

THIS NOVEL WILL BE OF SPECIAL interest to *Survey Graphic* readers, who presumably will want to chart its reception by the public and draw

useful conclusions from its impact on the readers of popular fiction, to whom it is especially addressed. Instead of preparing one more tract against anti-Semitism, Mrs. Hobson has written a novel calculated to inform through the medium of glossy entertainment. The book's enormous value is in the very way it cheerfully falls in with the style and manner of "women's fiction." Wearing this seemingly innocuous guise, it manages to describe anti-Semitism in America with a thoroughness that a professor of sociology might envy. It is reported that "Gentleman's Agreement" is to be filmed in Hollywood. Evidently this story is going to reach quite a few of the people who can most happily be influenced by it.

It is not a violent book. Rather better than that, its theme is the tragic idiocy of prejudice, and Mrs. Hobson goes after the mild, passive variety in particular, giving relatively little space to the professional haters.

The plot is serviceable. A reporter who is not a Jew is to do a series of articles on anti-Semitism for what Mrs. Hobson describes as a liberal weekly with a huge circulation. (It will at once be apparent that this is not a *roman a clef*.) He decides to call his series "I Was Jewish for Six Months," and to live the part. His private life becomes eventful, to put it mildly, and boy loses girl. On the final page, however, it becomes amply clear that he will get her back. I am sure that many a reader will rejoice, as she reaches for the last chocolate cream in the box—(the crunchy and chewy ones probably having been exhausted around the time Kathy was writing her touching note to Phil—"Maybe we fell in love too quickly, before we really had time to know each other.")

And there is no reason to believe that Hollywood will disappoint the nougat-lovers, either. All things considered, I think we can safely say that Mrs. Hobson has rung the bell. What's more, she has rung it as no one has ever attempted before.

There will be those who will object to this book because it is tastelessly written. They will be overlooking one of its greatest assets. "Gentleman's Agreement," exactly as is, can perform a tremendous service. It is propaganda of the most artful kind. Even if there is more introspection per page than most lending library devotees are accustomed to, Mrs.

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Hobson's style will appease them.

Women who wouldn't touch *The Nation* or *The New Republic* (or *Survey Graphic*) with a ten foot pole are going to read "Gentleman's Agreement" as they sit under the dryer, and they're going to urge their husbands to read it. Good for Mrs. Hobson!

LOYALTY PURGE (Continued from page 287)

that persons need not join them without full knowledge of their subversive character.

2. The use of the doctrine of "guilt by association" to establish disloyalty should be discarded. This can be done by sharply limiting, by appropriate written directions, the inferences which loyalty boards may properly draw from membership in, or association with, organizations black-listed by the Attorney General. An inference of disloyalty should not be drawn from such association unless the employe had knowledge of the subversive character of the organization. The extent of his activity in the organization rather than mere membership, should be the crucial test of possible disloyalty.

Past membership should not be regarded as prejudicial if it occurred a substantial number of years ago and was later abandoned. Loyalty boards should be instructed to appraise with great care the relative reliability of the files of the various investigative agencies of the government. This suggestion is grounded on the well-established unreliability of the old Dies Committee Files.

3. A number of procedural safeguards might well be extended to accused employes. The employe should be entitled to a bill of particulars which would make explicit the charges against him. He should be allowed not only "to be accompanied by counsel" but also have the right to be represented by counsel. He should have the right to subpoena witnesses in his behalf and also to subpoena relevant documents when security considerations do not forbid this. The government should provide him with a stenographic report of the proceedings, and the findings and decision of the loyalty board should be in writing. He should be assured an

adequate time to prepare his appeal and be allowed to file a brief on appeal.

Finally, it cannot be too strongly urged that men of the highest character must be drafted for this disagreeable job. The only thing that can possibly make this loyalty purge tolerable in a nation which values civil liberty is to place its administration in the hands of able and fair-minded men who can be neither bullied nor seduced into deviating from the rigid demands of justice and fair play.

THE CAMPFIRE CIRCLE (Continued from page 293)

led the discussions and shared the daily life of the young people attending the Institute were Maxwell Stewart of the *Nation* and his wife, at that time student secretary of the FPA; Bruce Bliven, of the *New Republic*; Frank Kingdon, then president of Dana College; Holger Kilander then dean of Panzer College of Physical Education—and of course Carl Voss.

There were panel discussions such as "What Can I Do for Peace?" "America and the Coming Conflict," "The Biological Implications of War." (Not *all* baseball and fooling around together and good eats, you see, even for people in their middle teens.)

Last year (1946), among the "faculty" (I pick out some of the names almost at random) were Wing-Tsit Chan, professor of Chinese culture at Dartmouth; James Squires, head of the social studies department, Colby Junior College; Rachel Davis Dubois, director of the Workshop for Cultural Democracy; Edgar J. Fisher, assistant director, Institute of International Education; Kenneth Gould, editor of *Scholastic*; William Brown, assistant principal of a large Negro high school in Birmingham, Ala.; Esther Holmes Jones, chairman of the Peace and Service Committee of the Friends General Conference; Dr. Eddy Asirvatham of Madras; Dr. Enrique S. de Lozada, formerly ambassador from Bolivia.

There will be leaders of the United Nations official staff on this summer's faculty with authorities from colleges of the U. S. and other countries.

Further, a number of the young sons and daughters of UN delegates

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and staff—of all colors and races—are to be among those playing baseball at the institute at its 1947 sessions, swimming in the lovely little lake, hiking on the wooded Vermont mountains, and gathering together around the evening campfire after the stimulation of the day.

It is astonishing what a difference there is between thinking about something that we know would be desirable—and making it happen. Most of us get a sincerely uplifted feeling when we suddenly think, “Oh, wouldn’t it be a fine idea to—” well, perhaps set up nursery schools with no racial discrimination, or organize potential volunteer workers to help complete lagging housing projects.

But if we are at all experienced, we quail, and with reason, at our second thought of the formidable amount of hard, detailed work which is necessary to set any good idea going. And as to the life-slavery involved in keeping it going—no, there are limits, we think, to what can be expected of us. It *was* a fine idea, but we have our living to make, and our vacations to enjoy, our housekeeping to do, and our bridge games to play.

This fatal anticipatory fatigue is what stops so many of us at the recollection of the committee meetings, the consultations, the finding of suitable helpers, the buying of supplies, the filing of papers, the responsibility for tiresome detail, all the work, the hard, uninteresting, hour-after-hour, day-after day work which is the cost of putting a fine idea into practice.

There is something really exciting, as a fine piece of music is exciting, in seeing that there are people who, in spite of the cost in effort, simply put one foot in front of the other and walk right through all those obstacles.

CANAL JIM CROW

(Continued from page 290)

constitute one of the most serious problems that we must solve.”

After 1928, in response to anti-Negro agitation, West Indian Negro immigration into Panama proper was restricted, and American authorities nominally obeyed the directions of Panama governments that West Indian employes on the canal should not be permitted to move into the Republic.

Former President Arnulfo Arias

and his followers, in the 1941 constitution and supplementary laws, excluded all Negro West Indians who were born in the British colonies from citizenship and from certain types of employment. Arias even went so far as to take citizenship away retroactively from West Indians who had been born in Panama and had already acquired citizenship rights. He gave his racial movement a nationalist flavor by exempting from the exclusion laws Negroes who came from Spanish-speaking countries. The United States never challenged the Arias policy but in May 1942 formally agreed to cooperate with Panama in enforcing the Arias racial restrictions.

When Arias was deposed by a bloodless *coup d’etat*, the new president, Ricardo de la Guardia, suspended the 1941 constitution and modified the discriminatory decrees of the previous administration. Arias was exiled, and when he returned to the Republic in 1945 and was involved in an abortive attempt at alleged revolution, he was arrested and imprisoned under the present president, Enrique Jimenez. In spite of the defeat of Arias, the racial philosophy which he represented still

has many adherents in the Republic of Panama, and the West Indians in this troubled little nation still feel like a besieged advance guard of their race, scorned by their powerful neighbor of the north, threatened with new discriminations in Panama.

Meanwhile, the rapidly growing Communist movements of Latin America are losing no opportunity to use our racial policy in Panama as proof that “Yankee imperialism” necessarily means racial discrimination. From Cuba to Chile the favorite target of the leftist sharpshooters is the hypocrisy of a good neighbor whose neighborliness depends on skin color.

In this case the remedy is fairly simple. No state legislatures or southern sheriffs or Ku Klux mobs can prevent a change in the Canal Zone caste system if the President of the United States decides that that racial policy is no longer appropriate in an American community. The power under federal law is completely in his hands, and there is reason to hope that he will soon bring the Canal Zone into line with the truly progressive policies of his administration in other parts of the Caribbean.

THE GREEKS—MAJOR TEST FOR US

(Continued from page 282)

their wealth in liquid and unproductive form, as gold or foreign currency, ready for instant flight. The peasants are working hard to rebuild their homes, restore their livestock and tools, and re-establish their productive power, regardless of possible future dangers. Greek industrialists, on the other hand, hesitate to make commitments in the face of present uncertainties.

Yet there is much in Greece upon which to build. And all observers are in agreement as to their confidence in the people’s capacity for self-help.

The Kind of People They Are

“Provided,” said Dr. Ezekiel, “a spiritual drive can be imparted to them.” Which means, I take it, that the structural changes in their economy must be sufficiently deep-seated and convincing to make them feel—after the stunning effects of the war—that they now have a stake in their country’s future.

The FAO report says:

The people of Greece are by nature individualistic and impatient of rigid controls. They are shrewd and ambitious, with a strong urge to help themselves. Yet the Greek people are tenacious in their ways, and have maintained their own ancient language and culture through centuries of rule by foreigners. Democratic and voluntary methods of future development, rather than compulsory dictation or direction, are in keeping with these centuries-old characteristics of the Hellenic temperament.

Agricultural methods in Greece often are as primitive as in Homer’s day. From any recent visitor, one gets accounts of women hitched to a wooden plow. One aged woman was working in her neighbor’s field as a hired farm hand. She had given her own small farm as a dowry to insure her daughter’s marriage and there was nothing else left for her to do. An American expert was urging the use of at least a scythe and cradle for harvesting, instead of the sickle. “No,” answered the farmer, “the

scythe is too heavy. Harvesting, after all, is a woman's work."

The farm cooperatives stand out as bright and progressive hopes in many accounts of Greece today. Dr. Ezekiel comments:

The presidents of the local co-ops are a proof that democratic elections can be held in Greece today. They are democratically elected. They are themselves small landowners, average farmers, and the average farm has ten acres. Their intelligence and sincerity are very impressive. The co-ops are a going concern right now, and with loans from the Agricultural Bank—which hasn't any money these days to loan—they could produce immediate results.

The average Greek, Dr. Ezekiel feels sure, is neither a communist nor a fascist but a very intense individualist. The Liberal leader Themistocles Sophoulis, who refused to join the present government, impressed this American as talking more like President Roosevelt than any man he saw in Greece.

"The average Greek is conspicuously a believer in education," said Dr. Ezekiel. He might have added that the present answer to this want is near-famine. Public elementary schools are not more than half restored from the war, and in guerilla territory the schools are closed. The FAO plan outlines technical education advances, but leaves the common schools to government initiative. Dr. Ezekiel went on:

I remember a family in Thrace which always seemed to me highly typical. They were all barefooted and lived off their farm of four and a half acres. Their single crop was an acre and a half of tobacco. There were three or four children. The mother was illiterate. The father had been to school two or three years. But the eldest son, about twenty, was a college graduate, and the next son was finishing high school and expecting to go to college. And when I was there last summer, the only chance for work in Greece for those sons was the primitive cultivation of that tiny patch of tobacco.

Stories are endless as to the resourcefulness of the Greek peasants. One concerns the first shipload of horses sent in by UNRRA to begin restocking the farms. An elaborate system of distribution had been worked out with full benefit of army red tape—all sorts of veterinary care, feeding stations, routes for transport-

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tation, check-ups and reports. Then the Greeks proceeded to handle the matter themselves. They simply sent from each region a committee to bring home the horses. And since the horses were to be distributed by lot, and since the committee members were themselves hoping each to receive a horse, they took the best of care that no harm should befall their charges.

The American Farm School at Saloniki was used as a German local headquarters during the war and partly blown up at the finish. But the staff returned at once, and resumed their school work. Now it is proceeding with more than prewar normal activity. This school, using Hampton Institute in Virginia as inspiration and model, was founded in 1902 on borrowed money by two Americans, Dr. John H. House and Dr. Edward Haskell. A son of the former, Charles L. House, directs the work today. The ideal is to train young Greeks in modern farming. Its thesis was that with proper knowledge, barren and arid land could be made to yield good crops and year after year it educated boys not away from the land but to go back and make more of their land. That is going on today, about one hundred boys producing most of their food while they learn scientific agriculture at a cost of about \$300 per boy. One report since the war called the school a place where, amidst the troubles besetting Greece, "people trust each other and build together for the future."

Yet another advantage in Greece, according to most reports, is the absence of a land problem. Venizelos carried out a widespread program of land reforms just after the first World War—over the bitter opposition of Greek Communists who saw one of their best issues being stolen away from them. Similarly the FAO report met with attack by Communist papers in Athens as an attempt at capitalist exploitation of the country. The Communist program still makes much of the need for land reform—which the statistics of the report discount.

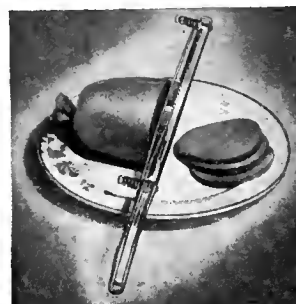
On the other hand, the few enjoying the greatest favors from the present regime and having the most influence in the country have been the ones up to now most bitterly opposed to economic changes which the report designates essential.

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International Matrix

At the Greek border stand Albania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria, all so-called Soviet satellites. Their behavior, at least, has presented no embarrassment to the Kremlin. At the Turkish border stands Russia herself. And in the background lie Russia's age-old urge

for control of access to unfrozen seas and Britain's concern for its lifeline through the Mediterranean—to say nothing of modern competition for oil in the Near East in which we, too, are involved.

According to what are certainly impressive reports from American, Greek, and British officials, from the United Nations and the press, there has been unrelenting border pressure on Greece from the satellites mentioned and vital support given by

them to guerillas engaged in civil war against the Greek government. There have been official and recurring pressures on Turkey from Russia, demands for territory and undoubtedly a threat to Turkish sovereignty—all this resulting in heavy burdens for defense on the part of a relatively weak country. Taking seriously the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the Golden Gate, it is the simplest of obligations to recognize that these small nations have a claim on a world wanting peace for the support of their integrity.

There are those Americans who vigorously protest that in offering this support directly, the United States is undercutting the United Nations, and may provoke war with Soviet Russia. They see it increasing Russia's fear of us and strengthening Communist movements in other European countries. On the other hand, there are those who see it rather as a belated move to fill the vacuum left by the United Nations by failure so far to set up an international police force that can hold aggression in leash in troubled zones—while, as at Moscow this spring and at the United Nations capital in New York, the slow process goes forward of grounding friendship and understanding between the Great Powers and fabricating an enduring world order.

Personality Problems

Certain it is that this new American position of acknowledged opposition to further expansion by Russia along this ancient frontier is charged with hazards. The maintenance of such lines of defense is a technical matter. The success of the civilian program itself will hang in large measure on the policies and personalities animating the commands charged with the military task. There is an American responsibility. Well known American generals have expressed attitudes that invite almost certain tragedy if the job should be placed in their hands. The whole \$150,000,000 program for civil rehabilitation could be fouled or nullified by military obtuseness. From these delicate balances it is clear that the quicker the United Nations organization is developed to the point of dealing with such security problems, and the quicker the United States can turn this one over to international control, the better will be the chance of peace in the world and of promoting revival in

Greece along democratic lines.

During four years of war and occupation, Greece experienced the shattering effects of Nazi malice. The dragon's teeth were sown. Vandalism and starvation would have made problem enough, but amidst the wreckage is the further difficulty of a small class still conspicuously comfortable and dominant, resentful of any change disturbing to their own position. This is the scene in which our Hercules must labor—Uncle Sam challenged to cleanse the stables, lay hands on Hippolyte's girdle, and tame a whole mythology of lions, wild horses, and dragons.

Blueprints Are Not Enough

The threat of starvation has been lifted, but malnutrition is a continuing irritant to body and spirit. The physical destruction from war remains mostly untouched. Reorganizing the national economy means two or three five-year plans laid end to end. And now to repeat the consensus of the experts for the sake of emphasis, blueprints and money by themselves will not be enough, even with good intentions added. The essential task the Greek people themselves must perform after their spirits have been aroused to a great common national interest.

The FAO mission touched on this intangible when it said:

Not until governmental arrangements can be worked out which have the confidence and support of the great mass of the Greek people can a clear and consistent economic program be established. Such developments are essential not only for restoring the confidence of foreign investors, but also for carrying forward a vigorous policy of agricultural and industrial development as recommended in this report.

Does this mean a general election?

It is hard to conceive of any government based on the present Greek parliament being able to meet the needs of the whole people. At the last election, March 31, 1946, the total vote numbered approximately 15 percent of the population of Greece. That was the smallest turnout of any recent election in Europe, outside of Portugal and Spain. In the last British election, the vote was 52 percent of the population.

"Royalist" has been an easy brickbat to throw at the regime, but the

late king's death brought tardy recognition that he had been a man quite without influence—a perfect nonentity, except as a symbol. The word is not "royalist" but "oligarchic." The cabinet and parliament of Greece are held accountable by a tiny fraction of the population, far smaller than the 15 percent which is considered the top figure for Communist strength. By the power of personal wealth, tradition, and social influence, their present grip on the reins, and the cohesive factor of public self, this class retains control.

Paul Porter, head of the American Economic Mission, told the House Foreign Affairs Committee that he would welcome another election in Greece. Privately he has expressed confidence that an election would be called without great unwillingness or delay. His statement to the committee, furthermore, after the usual roll call of basic needs, declared that "the Greek government has accepted in principle the necessity of such a program and requested such American assistance." This optimism certainly ought not to be scorned, even by those who wait for the actual performance.

Even an election, however, with a vastly improved Greek government resulting, cannot relieve the United States of a responsibility which calls for the best we can give. Former Governor Herbert H. Lehman of New York, who made an extended visit to Greece to study the relief problem while he was director general of UNRRA, summed up the task in these words:

When we send a mission to Greece, we don't want to run the country. But there will be very difficult steps to take. There is no doubt that very drastic economic reforms are essential within Greece in order to put the country again on its feet. One of the great problems will be to effect these reforms without interfering too greatly in the internal administration. That will require very careful balancing. But I have no hesitation in saying that basic reforms are essential. The solution is going to require the very best thinking, along both economic and human lines.

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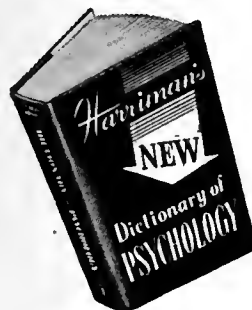
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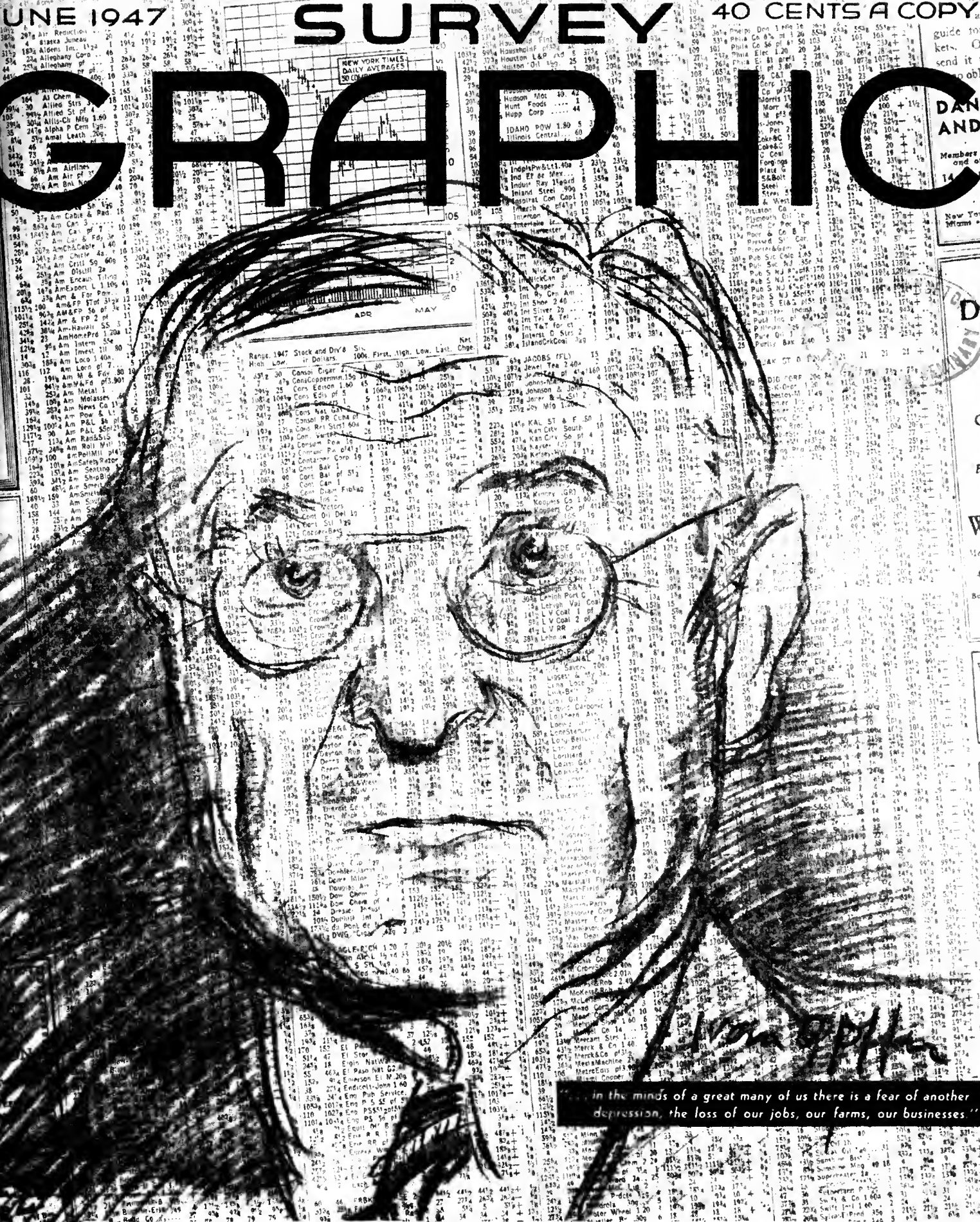
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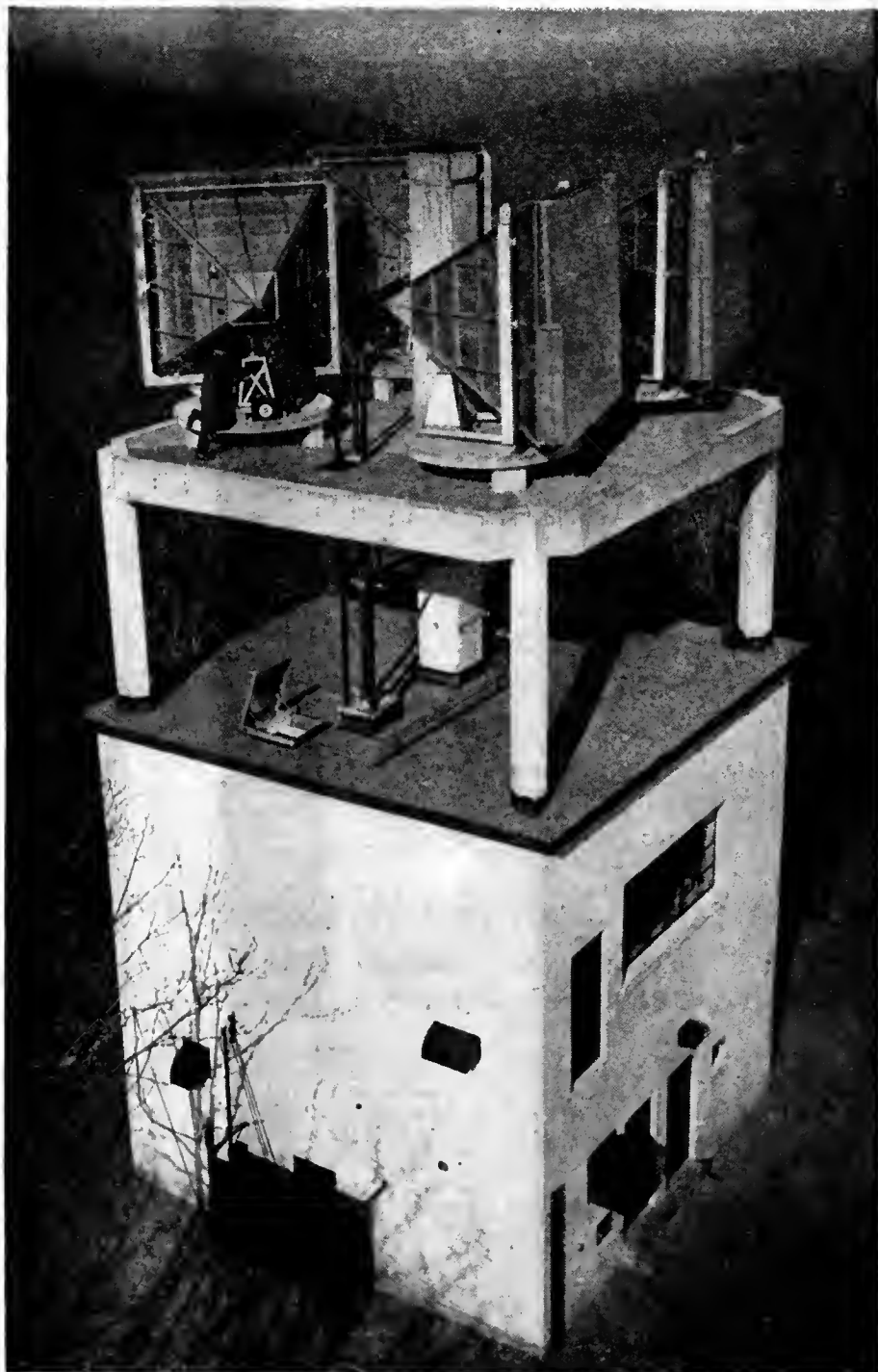
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The Quakers plan to send at least 200 used copies a month of selected periodicals to their reading rooms, neighborhood centers, and other service units abroad. The plan grew out of numerous requests, particularly from Central Europe "for something to supply spiritual and intellectual as well as physical needs." Contributed copies should be sent to the AFSC Warehouse, 23 and Arch Streets, Philadelphia 3, Pa.

SEVERAL GENEROUS INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANIZATIONS have contributed funds recently for strategic circulation of our special January 1947 number on "Segregation."

One giver, who wishes to remain anonymous, has sent copies to all members of Congress and of the U.S. Supreme Court, and to mayors and police chiefs of large cities.

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the American Jewish Committee, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and Sidney Hollander of Baltimore, have contributed to a special fund to send copies to libraries.

Our thanks to all—and an invitation to other readers to contribute to the Library Fund.

"AMERICA'S SHARE OF EUROPE'S DISPLACED," by William S. Bernard in last February's *Survey Graphic*, has gone marching on to a wider audience—potentially, at least. It was read into the *Congressional Record* by Representative Walter H. Judd of Minnesota, and may be found in the March 27 Appendix, page A-1400.

LETTERS OF PRAISE TO THE EDITOR ARE, indeed, like a kiss planted on a lady's hand, but as a certain blonde remarked years ago, a diamond necklace lasts longer. In the latter category are the words of Survey Associate member Garth Cate, who writes: "I've been reading and thinking about Murray's provocative article, 'Time for a Positive Morality' which appeared in the March S. G. . . . The main idea is of basic importance . . . well thought out and forceful . . . fresh and direct. I'll chip in \$25 toward the cost of a convenient lightweight reprint. . . ." Accepted with thanks!

"CALLING AMERICA" MIGHT WELL BE THE caption of this paragraph, which reiterates a message on this page in April relative to the pending Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill (S.866). The bill now has been reported out favorably by the Banking and

Survey Graphic for June 1947

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Survey Midmonthly published on the 15th of the month. Single copies 40c. By subscription—Domestic: year \$4; 2 years \$6. Canadian and Foreign: year \$4.50, two years \$7.

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Currency Committee, thanks to the persistence of the chairman, Senator Charles W. Tobey, but only by a majority of one.

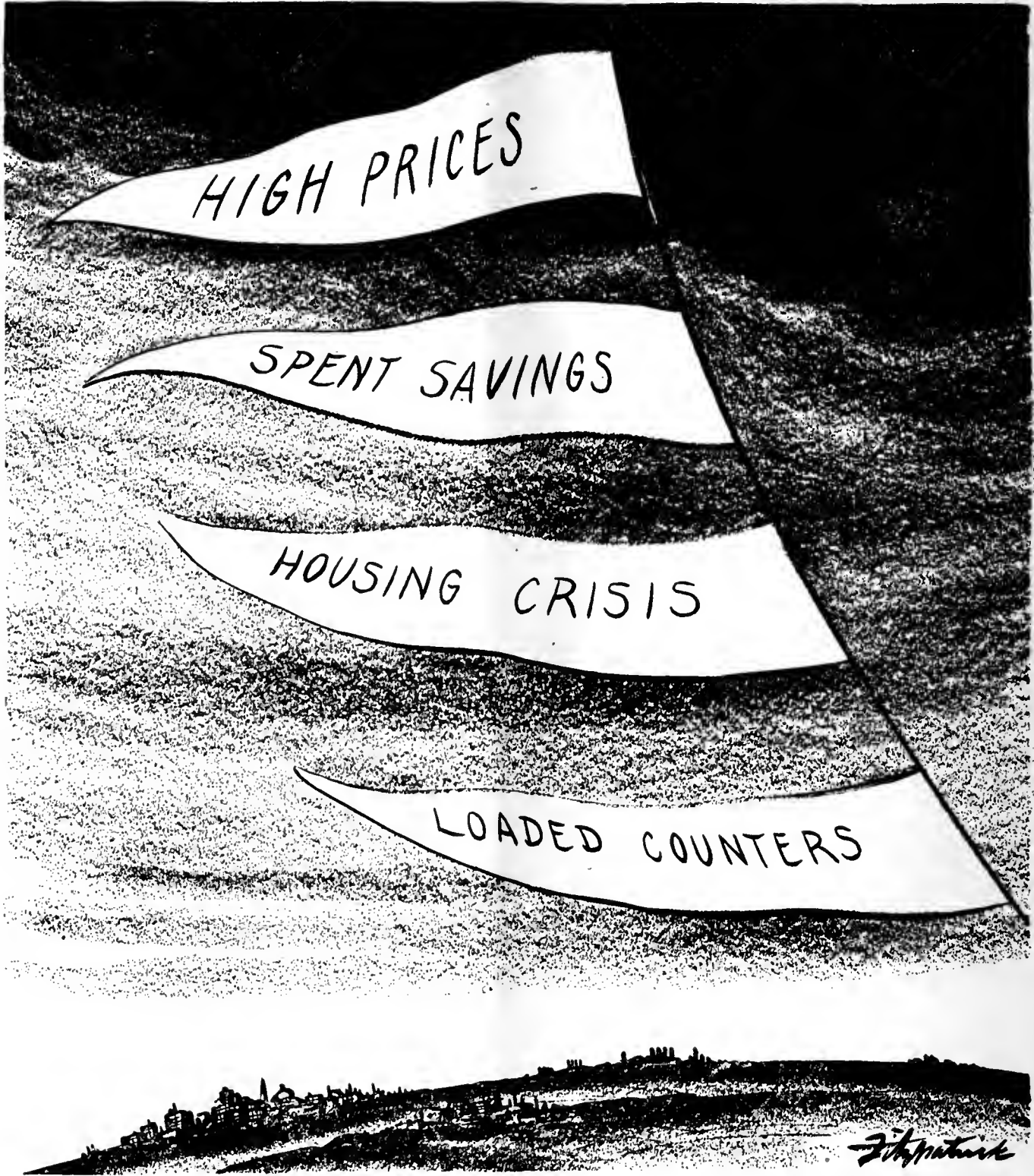
Senator Robert A. Taft, the bill's Republican sponsor, has recently expressed his continued active interest—certain fears to the contrary notwithstanding. *The New York Times* on April 26 said approvingly, "This bill is not 'socialistic.' . . . It will need support from people who believe in the American home—as who does not when the statement is made in that form?"

The bill contemplates the eventual construction of 15,000,000 homes over a ten-year period. This includes 500,000 federally subsidized dwellings to be built in the next four years, the initial appropriation asked for this purpose next year being \$26,400,000. The nonsubsidized homes are to be achieved by private enterprise with federal cooperation to provide loans, credits, and technical guidance.

But this bill is not included in the Senate majority's list of "must" legislation. In the House, Chairman Jesse P. Wolcott of the Banking and Currency Committee has said that the committee's tentative program in all probability would preclude hearings during this session.

There has been no organization of public opinion from back home in favor of the bill. That accounts for its neglect. Unless such demand is forthcoming—and promptly—there is little chance of enactment. The call, then, is for a ground swell! If only a tiny fraction of those needing houses would write to Congress, what a ground swell it would be.

THE FINANCIAL PAGE STOCK TABLE USED AS a background for the cover drawing of President Truman on this issue of the *Survey Graphic* is from *The New York Times*, and permission is hereby acknowledged.



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

STORM WARNINGS



Are We In for Depression?

Business, labor and government economists send up storm signals.
Current facts and long run factors behind darkening forecasts.

DANIEL S. GILLMOR

NEVER IN THE U. S. HISTORY OF 171 years, with its seven wars and eleven depressions, recessions, panics and crashes, has there been an economic crisis which has received more advance notice, more pointing with alarm, more gratuitous translations of statistical handwriting on the wall than the one foreboded today.

"We note increasing agreement among economists . . . that a business recession will probably begin either in the third or fourth quarter (of 1947)," said the *Magazine of Wall Street* on March 29, 1947.

In Washington, the President of the United States introduced his Economic Report to Congress on January 8 with the words: "As the year 1947 opens, America has never been so strong or so prosperous. . . . Yet in the minds of a great many of us there is a fear of another depression, the loss of our jobs, our farms, our businesses."

Three months later, Mr. Truman was more emphatic. Speaking in New York before America's newspaper publishers, he warned that unless prices came down from current high levels a recession would follow.

"The 1947 depression, recession, or shakeout, whichever one calls it, has advanced from a fear to a fad," says Wall Street's *Barron's Weekly*. "Not to believe in its imminence stamps one an ignoramus."

This article is an effort to explore whether in fact as well as in opinion today's prophets of gloom are soothsayers of "fear," "fad," or simply folly.

—By the new Executive Editor of the *Survey Graphic* staff, whose acquaintance with the workings of finance stems from long contact with Wall Street as student of the Street's role in our economy. He is now putting finishing touches on a book on the subject.

The question posed by Mr. Gillmor's article is one of the most urgent now facing us, not only as Americans but as responsible citizens of the world.

There is no lack either of fact or opinion. A Niagara of economic data has been loosed from government bureaus, labor union research departments, banks, brokers, and consumers' organizations. Politicians, government economists, business men, and union leaders have eagerly offered me their judgments.

Indeed, one reason why tomorrow's trouble is so well advertised today lies in the torrent of information available about the American economy. The Departments of Commerce, Labor, and Agriculture, the Federal Reserve Board, and the new Council of Economic Advisers to the President are the governmental fountains from which a flood of data pours almost daily, only to be analyzed, added to, and regurgitated by the research departments of the CIO, the AFL, the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Brookings Institution—to say nothing of two leading New York banks, countless brokerage offices and

independent economists, financial journals, and Wall Street tip sheets.

It is only natural that one finds, floating upon this broad stream of data, a generous flotsam and jetsam of opinion. What is surprising, however, is the almost complete unanimity of that opinion that the nation faces, sometime in the fairly near future, a period of lower production and employment; that Americans, you and I, are living today in the shadow of an early recession, and probably a major depression later.

From Fact to Opinion

The outstanding dissenters from this small army of solemn-faced men are Senator Robert A. Taft, majority leader, and Emerson P. Schmidt, director of research for the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. When I interviewed them last month, neither could see what the shouting was about.

Leaving the Senate floor where he was supporting a legislative ban on industrywide bargaining, Senator Taft gave me his opinion:

No, I don't see it. Of course, eventually we will have to do something about a depression when it comes, but wage-price-production relationships are not so badly adjusted that we won't go along all right for the next couple of years.

Asked whether his view was that of his Republican colleagues, the Senator said he thought they, too, saw nothing "so bad" in the current situation.

Like-minded, the Chamber of Commerce's Dr. Schmidt also saw "no danger" in sight.

But in the postwar hush of government offices I heard forecasts of unemployment as high as eight million by early 1948.

"The immediate situation is not unusual," an economist who plays a key role in shaping government fiscal policy told me blandly. "It is just a normal postwar boom which is coming to an end in the usual pattern."

Asked what he thought of the President's efforts to stimulate new buying by persuading business voluntarily to reduce prices, he remarked: "If that happens, it will be the first time in the history of our economic system."

Other government analysts differed only in their estimate of the timing, extent, and duration of the recession. For obvious reasons, they all spoke "off the record" in offering their opinions. All agreed that unless prices decline, consumer purchasing power will be too low to support current levels of production. Pressed for their opinions on the effectiveness of Presidential persuasion, two top Administration experts complained in almost identical words that "the President has an economic policy but has no tools with which to implement it," and that "preventive measures against a future deflation are not convincing to the people, and are therefore politically impossible."

CIO and AFL economists, Stanley Ruttenburg and Boris Shishkin, differed only in degree. The former saw developments, because of political indifference, leading into a major depression perhaps two years hence, while the latter asserted that the recession is already here.

A partner in one of Wall Street's largest brokerages reluctantly turned from his view of a harbor crammed with shipping to say, "The internal structure of business is much the same as it was in 1920, and you know what happened then."

Yet Wilfred Sykes, president of the Inland Steel Corporation and of the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, was quoted last month in the *Chicago Journal of Commerce* as seeing only two alternatives: "A quick slump this year, or a larger and more drastic let-down, depending on how the recession or depression is handled."

Meanwhile (in April) the board of

directors of the giant United States Steel Corporation in its 1946 annual report assayed the future thus:

Good management seems to require that all reasonable action be taken in an attempt to improve United States Steel's earnings in times of high operations, so that it may have the financial means to maintain itself during periods when customers' demand for steel is small. . . .

If the board of directors of U. S. Steel is concerned about coming hard times for the billion dollar might of that industrial giant, surely it behooves the average citizen to look into the economic facts of life a little more than casually. Let's take a look at that stream of data, authoritatively offered us by the various agencies of the federal government.

These sources reveal that the basis of our postwar prosperity may be only temporary.

They show the grave lack of consumer purchasing power implicit not only in the rising cost of living but in the vanishing savings of the majority of Americans.

These are set against a background of a war-expanded industry whose ownership is now concentrated in the hands of a small fraction of the population.

In short, they underscore the legitimate concern of many economists and business men as to the "boom-and-bust" character of today's prosperity.

Postwar Prosperity

Nonetheless, amid these gloomy prophecies, the American economy had enjoyed an era of unprecedented peacetime prosperity, during the twenty-one months following the end of hostilities. In March the Federal Reserve Board's index of the volume of industrial production reached a record peace year high of 189 percent of the 1935-39 average volume. The steel industry was operating at 97 percent of capacity. The electrical appliance industry expected "to produce between three million and four and a quarter million refrigerators . . . between two and a half and four million" washing machines this year, according to Ralph H. Cordiner, the vice-president of General Electric, as quoted in the April 3 *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* of New York. Automobile and truck production was rocking Detroit with 187 percent of the production it averaged from 1935 to 1939, FRB figures show.

Compared with the halcyon days of

1929, today's boom makes that yearned-for year seem drab indeed. Last year's industrial production averaged 54 percent above the 1929 volume. With almost sixty million wage earners at work, today's nonagricultural employment is approximately 25 percent greater than it was then.

But further research into government reports concerning the transitory nature of this prosperity reveals that beneath the analytical smoke there burned a factual fire, the chief fuel of which was the fact that American consumers are by a greater margin less able to buy the total output of American production.

Six Props of Prosperity

In the main, in that widening gap between purchasing power and production, some six war-born factors explain current prosperity:

Reconversion and plant expansion: American industry has set new records in the rate at which it has spent money for new plant and equipment, investing at least \$12,000,000,000 last year for this purpose alone.

Refilling bare shelves: At the same time the nation's industries added fully \$10,000,000,000 worth of consumers' goods to the war-emptied shelves of wholesalers, middlemen, and retail stores, bringing the total in February 1947 to a record figure of \$37,000,000,000.

Consumer credit expansion: Meantime the nation's consumers went back into debt to above the 1941 peak, acquiring \$9,900,000,000 of debts to finance what they could not pay for out of current income or savings. Yet this was a year when marked shortages of durable consumers' goods prevented much buying in these categories.

Cut or stopped saving by millions of persons: The savings of individuals had reached \$33,000,000,000 a year in 1945. To buy at 1946 boom prices, the Department of Commerce estimated in April that consumers had cut this rate to \$16,000,000,000 a year.

Government spending: Still committed to war and postwar promises, including veterans' benefits, the federal government spending continued at high levels until the beginning of July 1946, and is still about three times what it was before the war.

Foreign trade: A net excess of exports over imports of nearly \$5,000,000,000 swelled the total purchasing power for American goods and services in 1946.

But other developments were also taking place, tending to decrease net-consumer purchasing power.

Record profits: All U. S. corporations realized approximately \$19,000,000,000 in profits before taxes, and net profits set an all time record of \$12,000,000,000.

Real wages decline: "Including armed forces payments, money wages declined from \$113,000,000,000 in 1944 to \$106,000,000,000 in 1946," the AFL's economist Boris Shishkin told me, and went on:

Adjusted for the effect of demobilization and for a 20 percent price rise since 1944, the real wage income therefore declined from \$113,000,000,000 to \$90,000,000,000, while at the same time not only profits, but farm income, interest payments, and entrepreneurial income soared.

It seems reasonable to assume from Mr. Shishkin's data that the result of these developments has been to redistribute national income so that the share going to wage earners has fallen sharply during 1946, while the share going to profits and farm income has risen.

The net result could only be a general reduction of consumer purchasing power. Recent wage increases, peacefully obtained by organized labor, can be said to have countered this trend to some extent.

In truth, factors which till now have made up for that lag in purchasing power are disappearing from the economy. We can call the roll of dead or dying war-accumulated demand in the following order:

Reconversion: Over.

Plant expansion: Rapidly nearing completion.

Inventory accumulation: Not only ending, but in many overstocked soft goods and luxury lines, accompanied by distress selling.

Government spending: Down to \$42,000,000,000 beginning July 1946, a sharp contrast with the \$100,000,000,000 budget of 1944-45.

Foreign trade: A question mark. No one knows the size our future international commitments may assume. Net exports during 1946 were \$5,000,000,000, but much of this amount was the result of carrying out obligations undertaken during the war. In the last peacetime year of 1939 our exports exceeded imports by only \$887,000,000, a figure which was representative of our average annual net exports for the whole decade of the 1930's.

Construction: Many economic analysts had hoped for a boom in residential and allied commercial construction to replace other declining substitutes for the insufficiency of consumer purchasing power. It is becoming increasingly clear that the building industry is having difficulty in selling housing worth \$5,000 in the prewar market for \$10,000 and \$12,000 today. There were only 46,000 "starts" in new construction, in March 1947. This not only was not the hoped for increase, but was actually a 33 percent drop from February's figure for the number of new building permits issued by the nation's municipalities.

More ominous, however, is the depletion of the savings of individuals. As early as the end of 1945, a joint survey of the Department of Agriculture and the Federal Reserve Board revealed that of \$81,000,000,000 in the personal savings of individuals (not counting currency or stocks and other corporate securities held), the top 30 percent of "spending units" held 87 percent of the total, while the bottom 40 percent held only one percent—or only \$40 per unit either in the bank or in war bonds. The remaining middle 30 percent had about \$700 in savings per unit.

This survey defines "spending units" as typical wage earners. In the first quarter of 1946, 39,000,000 bread winners, whose typical economic status was represented by a median

The President's Proposals

Pursuant to the Employment Act of 1946, Mr. Truman presented the first "Economic Report of the President" on January 8. In this he made both short term and long range proposals. He held that *price reductions, increased benefits under the social security system, a million new housing units started this year, and plans for "an equitable reduction of taxes"* were what were needed on a short range basis.

This is what he proposed for a long range program:

1. *Efficient utilization of the labor force*, by industrial training and counseling; "an integrated interstate system for disseminating job information and placing workers across state lines"; ending discrimination in employment "against certain racial and religious groups, against workers in late middle age, and against women."

2. *Maximum utilization of productive resources*, by "nationwide concerted action to remove the fear that demand will periodically be inadequate to absorb maximum production"; government policy "aimed at preserving the family-sized farm and preventing another agricultural depression"; regional development, including low-cost hydroelectric energy, flood control, fair competitive rates of transportation, land drainage and irrigation projects; strengthened programs of grants-in-aid for health and education projects, public works, road and airport construction; stabilized public works construction according to long

terms needs; protection of the public interest "in inventions and discoveries resulting from expenditures of public funds."

3. *Encouragement of free competitive enterprise* by extending Section 7 of the Clayton Act to prohibit mergers by the acquisition of assets, as well as by stock control; enforcement of existing antitrust laws; encouragement of small business.

4. *Promotion of welfare, health, and security*, by integrating proposals for maximum employment, production and purchasing power, with such general welfare programs as unemployment insurance, retirement and pension systems, and education; expanded peacetime programs of public health, nutrition, and education; strengthening and extending the social security system, and adding to it a program of medical care and disability benefits.

5. *Cooperation in international economic relations* through loans and investments which will help "in developing the world's productive resources"; the formation of the International Trade Organization; the reciprocal reduction of trade barriers.

6. *Resistance to economic fluctuations*: "Only by blending all practicable programs in wise proportions can we be successful in stabilizing our economy at the highest feasible levels."

income of \$1,850 and savings of \$363, constituted 85 percent of the total number of "spending units," the survey showed. The remaining 15 percent, with incomes ranging from \$4,000 to top corporation executive and Hollywood salaries, held 46 percent of the total of individual savings. Even a year ago, the latter group, already owners of most existing homes, cars, refrigerators, washing machines, and so on, were the very group who held the bulk of savings with which to buy more of these commodities.

In contrast, those who lacked these durable goods whose sale is essential to the continuance of prosperity were already so low in income and savings as to be slow to buy.

In dramatic confirmation of this concentrated holding of savings, 84 percent of the family heads and individuals sampled by the survey replied "No" to the query as to whether they intended to purchase automobiles; 83 percent answered "No" on the purchase of a house. Only 8 percent said they definitely would buy cars; 6 percent, houses.

Nevertheless, there are substantial backlogs of orders on the books of durable goods producers. There is a big difference between orders, on the one hand, and actual delivery and payment for goods, on the other. Many of the orders were placed when other costs of living were still relatively low, when savings were still at their wartime level, and when job prospects seemed much more lasting than they do today. They are not canceled by retailers until cancellation begins to become rife at the retail level. This, in turn, takes place only when actual delivery of the goods to the ultimate consumer is in immediate prospect, and some definite decision must be made as to paying the bill.

Conservative objections to the survey held that currency, the form in which the lowest income groups allegedly save, was not covered by the survey, and that this tended to show a greater concentration of savings in upper brackets than actually existed.

"Pocket Money" vs. Big Bills

Whatever, then, their cash savings were, Federal Reserve Board reports on U.S. money in circulation indicate that much of it was lost to the lower income groups during 1946. During that year, coin and currency up to

\$10 bills went out of circulation to the tune of \$355,000,000, whereas the currency of the classes, rather than the masses—\$20 and larger bills—rose in circulation by \$793,000,000. Fifty dollar and \$100 bills, rarely seen by most of the population, accounted for \$666,000,000 of the big bill increase, and if you know a thrifty workman in need of a \$5,000 or \$10,000 bill to put in his sock, you can be sure he will get it, for there are \$3,000,000 more of these now in circulation!

Further evidence of the concentration of savings became available late in April when the Department of Commerce reported that, now that wartime appeals to save are over, the rate of saving had declined to \$19,000,000,000 per year from the 1945 rate of \$33,000,000,000. At the same time that low denomination E bond holdings declined by \$500,000,000, holdings of the F and G bonds, generally purchased through bank bond departments, rose by \$2,000,000,000, suggesting that higher income groups are doing most of the buying.

E bond purchases in the \$50 denomination had dropped from 14 percent of the total purchases in 1945 to 8 percent a year later, while \$10 and \$25 E bond purchases dropped from 34 percent of the total value purchased in 1945 to 16 percent in 1946. Meanwhile \$500 and \$1,000 E bonds steadily gained in the percentage they represented of total purchases.

January 1947 buying quickly made up the decline in E bond holdings, a further indication that most purchasers are high income buyers, eager to purchase their legal limit each year.

Savings vs. Living Costs

The FRB's estimate of the *disposable income of all individuals* was \$15,000,000,000 a year greater in the last quarter of 1946 than it was in the first quarter. Yet consumer expenditures were also \$15,000,000,000 a year higher in the last quarter than in the first. Consumers as a whole thus saved nothing out of the increased income.

In Washington the same anonymous government fiscal expert who was so skeptical of the President's efforts, pointed to these unusual developments, and expressed the opinion that consumer expenditures out of savings would come to an end by the first quarter of 1947. A new savings survey, to be issued late in June, will tell whether this forecast

is accurate. "Not even installment buying will make up the difference," an Administration economist observed, "for although it is still rising, the trend is not strong because of the drain on incomes today."

That drain is represented by a rise of nearly 21 percent in the cost of living since August 1945 as measured by the consumer price index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The latest final figure put the index at the end of March 1947 at 156.3 percent of the average cost of living in 1935-1939.

Such are the forces underlying the postwar boom, forces which are steadily eating their way into the market for American production.

At the same time, production is still at levels undreamed of before the onset of the second World War: From 1940 to 1945 our arsenal of democracy shifted from an \$88,000,000,000 economy to a \$200,000,000,000 economy, dominating the industrial production of the world. Some gauge of that productive capacity will be realized if we remember that war production was carried out when the cream of the American labor force was depleted by 11,000,000 men and women in the armed forces.

Concentration of Ownership

Not only is our capacity to produce greatly expanded, but the ownership and control of that productive capacity has also been concentrated into even fewer hands as an outcome of the war period. It is this fact which explains most graphically of all why it is that our capacity to consume is falling short of our capacity to produce, why it is that both savings and incomes are highly concentrated.

America entered five years of war production in 1940 with an economy already highly concentrated in ownership and control. By 1939, the three largest automobile companies accounted for 90 percent of their industry's total production; the four largest producers of copper, for over 80 percent; the four largest iron and steel producers for 65 percent of rolling mill capacity.

Here is what the Securities and Exchange Commission, reporting in Monograph No. 29 of the Temporary National Economic Committee, had to say about prewar economic concentration:

"Only 10,000 persons (0.008 percent of the population)" owned in 1939 "one fourth, and 75,000 persons (0.06



Herblock in *The Washington Post*

Ajax Defying the Lightning



"Now in the Handwriting on This Wall, We Observe—"



"I Seem to be Getting Smaller and Smaller"

percent of the population)" owned "one half of all the corporate stock of the country. . . . The 1,000 largest dividend recipients received 10.4 percent of the dividends, while 61,000 persons (0.047 percent of the population) received one half of the dividends."

Of the largest 200 nonfinancial corporations, "the top one percent of the book shareholdings accounted for 60 percent of the common stock shares outstanding."

Further "the 20 largest book shareholdings accounted for more than 50 percent of the common stock outstanding in about one fourth of the 200 corporations; from 25 percent to 50 percent in one fifth; and from 10 percent to 25 percent in one third."

"Three family groups," the SEC found, "the du Ponts, the Mellons, and the Rockefellers" owned "shareholdings valued at nearly \$1,400,000,000 which directly or indirectly" gave "control over 15 of the 200 largest nonfinancial corporations with aggregate assets of over \$8,000,000,000. . . ."

Such was the picture of economic concentration as we entered the war period in 1940.

Immediately, our concentrated economy underwent a phenomenal expansion. Far from suffering under the impact of war it benefited enormously, and it underwent further concentration. Here is the record:

While the FRB index of industrial production volume rose 62 percent from 125 to 203, reaching an all time peak of 239 in 1943, the dollar value of all goods and services rose 131 percent—from \$88,600,000,000 to \$199,200,000,000. The people and corpora-

tions of the United States, and their local, state, and federal governments, spent nearly \$1,000,000,000,000 — one trillion dollars — in those five years. During that period, the federal government incurred a deficit of \$209,000,000,000; state and local governments realized a small surplus; while corporations and individuals significantly made a net gain of \$201,000,000,000.

Further War Concentration

"It was the industrial giants . . . which made the greatest gains during the war," says the report of the Smaller War Plants Corporation on "Economic Concentration and World War II," issued January 1946. "In manufacturing as a whole," the report states, the few firms with 10,000 or more employes "accounted for . . . fully 31 percent" of total employment by 1944.

The top hundred corporations received 67.2 percent of all prime war-supply contracts awarded from June 1940 to September 1944, amounting to \$117,600,000,000 of a \$175,000,000,000 total. "This enormous centralization of prime contracts clearly meant an increase in the concentration of the American economy."

Moreover, the same report offers the estimate that about \$20,000,000,000 of the \$26,000,000,000 expansion in plant and equipment which took place was usable for peacetime production, thus bringing the total value of our present plant to \$60,000,000,000. According to the report, the 250 largest manufacturing corporations in 1939—31 of them controlled by only 5 financial groups—

owned 65 percent of the nation's productive facilities in 1939; operated during the war 79 percent of all new privately operated plant facilities built with federal funds, and in September 1944 held 78 percent of the active prime war-supply contracts. . . . If these 250 industrial giants finally acquire the \$8,900,000,000 of usable (for peacetime production) federally financed facilities on which they generally hold purchase options, their facility holdings will come to \$38,500,000,000, 66.5 percent of total usable facilities, and almost as much as the entire \$39,600,000,000 held before the war by all of the more than 75,000 manufacturing companies then in existence.

For the same war period the SEC estimated the liquid assets of all U. S. corporations as increasing from \$27,500,000,000 of working capital in 1940 to \$52,400,000,000 in 1945.

The consequences of such expansion and concentration are only now beginning to become apparent. It is unreasonable to expect that the 250 corporations and less than one percent of the population who, according to these studies, own such an overwhelming share of American industry will or can buy the output of that industry's productive capacity. Corporations have no use for more than a few refrigerators and washing machines. Yet U. S. corporations managed to add some \$24,000,000,000 to their cash positions during the war, not to mention \$12,000,000,000 more in net profits during 1946. Reinvestment of corporate and "stockholders' surpluses for still more plant capacity would help to keep production and employment at the "full" marker. But

(Continued on page 362)

Shadow Over the Nation

Mounting destitution faced by the public welfare departments.
Shortcomings in our economy revealed by a New York appraisal.

HENRY J. ROSNER

NEW YORK'S MUNICIPAL DEPARTMENT of Welfare, responsible for the feeding and care of the city's destitute, had an extra \$30,000,000 to spend this year over last year. Yet that was not enough. When rising demands showed that the budget figure of \$105,000,000 (year ending June 30, 1947) would not meet the need, the department requested a deficiency appropriation of about \$7,000,000 extra.

Even so! The campaign of criticism in certain New York newspapers which rages as this article goes into print is evidence that public relief was not permanently laid to rest by the war's full-employment boom. The poor, the widows and orphans, the blind are always with us. Newspaper criticism has been met in part by other newspapers, making counter-charges of political bias. Now there is to be a state government investigation. Meanwhile, the case load grows heavier each month.

It is neither the responsibility nor the purpose of this author to come forward with answers to the attacks. The warmth of the relief question, however, is a sign of the times, and neither New Yorkers nor Americans generally can shut their eyes to the fact that large budget appropriations for relief are not necessarily symptoms or products of depression. There are many persons who find themselves left out in our modern social and industrial scheme of things. This happens in both good times and bad. Flourishing business is fine for those affected by it, but there is going to remain a substantial fraction of the population for whom tax-supported assistance must be provided, either temporarily or in some cases permanently.

New York's Board of Estimate has just approved Mayor O'Dwyer's budget for the new fiscal year of \$142,000,000 for the Department of Welfare, which is \$67,000,000 more than the budget for our first postwar year. It is hoped that the present upward trend of applications for public assistance now will level off.

Yet these increases have occurred

—By the fiscal officer of the New York City Department of Welfare, recently returned from a tour including Washington, the South, and the Middle West which confirmed the national significance of his analysis.

A graduate of City College, where he specialized in the social sciences, Mr. Rosner was research secretary of the New York City Affairs Committee; later assistant executive director of the Emergency Relief Bureau of New York. Thereafter he was assistant to Welfare Commissioners William Hodson, Leo Arnstein, and now Edward Rhatigan.

In 1944, he was turned over to Commissioner Edward Corsi to assist in reorganizing the New York State Labor Department.

during a period of high production and increasing employment. The New York State Labor Department reports that 10 percent more jobs have been made available so far in 1947 than in 1946.

Since the Board of Estimate's 1947-48 appropriation is based on continuing high level employment conditions, it is clear that if the coming price readjustment should result in a deflationary process, causing widespread bankruptcy and mass unemployment, then next year's budget will prove hopelessly inadequate.

Then, undoubtedly, the federal government would have to step in again to reinforce American states and cities as it did in the early 1930's.

From War to Peace

To go back a bit, the war years saw a steady reduction in relief cases in New York City until by August 1945, their number had dropped to about 93,000. As our young men went into the armed forces and our war industries expanded, considerable labor shortages developed. Women with small children and older workers, for whose services there had been little demand in the 1930's, were sought by employers. The result was a very swift decline in general relief and in aid to dependent children. General relief cases dropped from 125,000 in January 1942 to 25,000 in August 1945.

Aid to dependent children declined from 21,000 cases to 15,000 in the same interval. Even old age assistance went down from 55,000 cases to 52,000.

But demobilization swiftly put an end to the employment of marginal workers. Once again modern industry has no place for everyone who needs work in order to live. As soldiers, sailors, and warworkers returned to civilian jobs, they replaced many of those persons who are now applying for and receiving public assistance.

The change-over is discernible in unemployment insurance figures: At the beginning of 1946 there were 259,000 persons applying for or receiving unemployment insurance in New York City, against 79,000 in September 1945. Many had unemployment insurance rights sufficient to carry them through 1946. Beneficiaries of unemployment insurance continued at this high level throughout 1946. A considerable percentage was in process of transition from war industry and the armed forces to civilian industry.

Industry Rejects Older Workers

But as the end of 1946 approached, the pattern began to change. Not a few of the displaced workers found their way into peacetime jobs. But the older workers and the working women with children, now found their unemployment insurance benefits ending, without their having found a place in civilian production. They had no other choice than to apply to welfare departments for public assistance. As the Bureau of Research and Statistics of the New York State Division of Placement and Unemployment Insurance reported recently:

Reports from local offices throughout the state point up the same problems time and again, so that certain dominant themes emerge clearly. Age is the primary deterrent to placement, and generally, the individuals who exhausted their benefit rights were older than the average person still collecting unemployment insurance. But "economic old age" comes early these days; a woman over thirty-five and a man over forty-five are not hired because industry feels they are

too costly to be utilized in competitive production. The degree and length of previous experience seem to matter less than the age factor *per se*. Industry wants young, strong, energetic workers.

In most communities and most industries, employers express an outright preference for male workers. Women, particularly married women and others with home obligations, frequently find the personnel manager's door closed to them. Women, as a class, are considered marginal employes to be hired only when an acute labor shortage exists or at low-paid, monotonous jobs. Women whose recent industrial experience was limited to the war emergency have a particularly hard time finding work, as their experience may have been too brief or insufficiently comprehensive.

The impact on the New York public assistance case load was immediate and dramatic. That load is currently rising at the rate of 3,500 cases a month comprising three categories: about 2,275 general relief, 1,000 aid to dependent children, and 225 old age assistance and blind cases. By March of this year the total case load had reached 122,000. Projected to June 1948, the same trend would result in the following comparison:

	March 1947	June 1948
General Relief	39,000	73,000
Aid to Dependent Children	27,000	42,000
Old Age Assistance	54,000	57,000
Blind Assistance	2,000	3,000
Total	122,000	175,000

But such a tabulation involves many more people than the mere numbers imply. The 175,000 cases in June 1948 will include more than 350,000 persons, of whom 150,000 will be children — about 5 percent of the total population of the city of New York.

This is indeed a tragic forecast, but in the light of present trends in unemployment compensation it is entirely reasonable. The level of insurance payments is continuing high in 1947, and their lapse the next twelve months probably will result in a similar number of new applications for public assistance.

Time also tends to increase the need for public assistance. Many potential recipients of unemployment compensation not only built up benefits during the war but also accumulated some savings and war bonds. At the termination of compensation, many



“AGE IS THE PRIMARY DETERRENT TO PLACEMENT . . .”

From the window of a tenement apartment across the narrow court, 26-year-old Leonard Schreiber illustrates with his camera the matter-of-fact words of the New York State Division of Placement and Unemployment Insurance: “Age is the primary deterrent to placement, and generally the individuals who exhausted their benefit rights were older than the average person still collecting unemployment insurance . . . Women . . . frequently find the personnel manager's door closed . . . as a class, are considered marginal employes . . .”

persons are thus able to fall back on these savings for a time. But at the end of that time, public assistance must come to their aid. Thus, declines in unemployment insurance payments may not signal any reduction in the number of new public assistance applicants.

But rising case loads are not the whole explanation of rising costs of public relief. The rise in the cost of living has also been an impressive factor. Last year the New York department had to increase family budgets by approximately 30 percent to keep abreast of mounting prices despite the fact that there had been earlier increases to compensate for wartime living costs. The food allowance in New York for a family of five has risen since Pearl Harbor, significantly, from \$36.30 to \$80.50 a month.

During this period, food prices actually increased about 90 percent, but food allowances were increased 122 percent to carry out the New York departmental policy not only of safeguarding but improving standards of nutrition through increased quantities and enhanced quality of food. The explanation is simple and convincing. In the prewar depression years the pressure of heavy case loads upon inadequate appropriations necessitated spreading the butter very thin. In 1939, the over-all allowance for a family of four was only \$60 a month, \$68 for a family of five. Today, the same allowances stand at \$131 and \$154, and these standards are further supplemented by medical care as needed, and by special grants for clothing and household furniture. Altogether, while the cost of living rose about 58 percent in the last eight years, family budgets have been increased 125 percent.

Hand in hand with the postwar growth in clientele has come another problem. For every 3,000 cases added to our rolls we must employ forty additional field workers and at least five supervisors. Further, more intake interviewers must be engaged to handle the flow of new applicants. During the war the staff of the department declined rapidly. Many trained employes left either for war work or military service. Because public salaries are by no means attractive in this era of high prices many of these experienced welfare workers have not returned. Now we find it very difficult to recruit trained per-

sonnel fast enough to keep pace with the rising volume of work, even though we recently raised beginning salary for social workers to \$2,460.

The forces at work in New York are typical of industrial communities throughout the United States. Statistics published by the Social Security Board show that enough had happened even prior to January 1947, to establish the trend. Over the nation, old age assistance had risen from 2,033,000 persons in August 1945, to 2,213,000 in January 1947; aid to dependent children from 255,000 cases to 354,000, and general relief from 229,000 to 335,000. National public assistance case loads had risen over 15 percent in that period, while in New York the rise was almost 20 percent. It should be noted that a comparison between urban communities would probably show no difference, since the national percentages are undoubtedly reduced by the slower rises in rural areas.

Nationwide Pinch

But the rate of increase in 1947 is at a much higher tempo than hitherto. Last fall our load increased at about 1,000 cases a month, while the current increase is nearer 3,500. The same acceleration is occurring elsewhere.

My recent trip to the South and Middle West indicated that many communities throughout the nation are caught between rising case loads and higher costs of living. In most places public welfare funds are not available to take care of both.

In St. Louis, for example, the welfare director informed me that after allowances had been increased to compensate for mounting prices the pressure upon available funds because of the rising case load had forced him to cut down the official allowance by 20 percent. It is obvious that the public assistance clients cannot eat official schedules.

My trip indicated that most local communities are not as fortunate as New York; and that the time has been reached when federal aid should be provided to localities for general relief on the same basis as it is now granted them for the other forms of public assistance. This is particularly needed now since the greatest increases in public assistance unquestionably will come in the general relief category for which there is no federal aid at the present time. The

danger is that grants will have to be lowered for the federally supported programs in order to save the money to care for general relief cases. The result is that much of the progress that has been made in raising standards as a result of federal aid for old age, aid to dependent children, and blind assistance will be wiped out.

This is fortunately not true of New York, where the state government is now meeting 57 percent of public assistance costs, leaving 21 percent for the city and the balance for the federal government.

Concepts for Citizens

Clearly then, the country as a whole faces the necessity of recognizing a problem of mounting dependency. What shall be done about it? I suggest that there are three concepts that should guide the thinking of responsible citizens and officials alike.

First, an adequate program of public assistance is essential in a modern economy. When hundreds of thousands of families are unable to buy what they need they also drop out of the market as essential consumers. Mass production is impossible without mass consumption. The loss of tens and hundreds of thousands of customers must necessarily adversely affect national business. The rise in the cost of living has reduced the buying power of millions who have had no corresponding increase in income — and thus created an uncertain business outlook today. Similarly failure to provide the destitute with cash incomes has a depressing effect.

We should not look upon the recipients of public assistance as social pariahs. They are citizens who worked when work was to be had, and have lost it through no fault of theirs. The aged among them are entitled to spend their declining years in security and dignity.

Every social worker knows how difficult it is to find substitute homes for children who have no parents to care for them. It is plain that the widow or the deserted woman can make her contribution to society best by raising her children in her own home with the aid of the public assistance program. Deprivation of that right leads only to juvenile delinquency and crime, which in the long run cost society much more. The older worker who is not yet superannuated—but

(Continued on page 362)

Cleveland's Job Inventory

How one community uncovered its resources in employment opportunities, and how businessmen, schools, vocational counselors use this vital information.

R. CLYDE WHITE

FOR EIGHT YEARS, PEOPLE OF CLEVELAND had been asking themselves — what kinds of jobs are there in the city and in Cuyahoga County? How many of each kind are there? Does a specific kind of industry have an occupational pattern peculiar to itself?

In the winter of 1945 the Welfare Federation's Occupational Planning Committee decided that we should stop speculating and find a way to make an occupational inventory of the county. Clearly such an analysis, kept up to date, would have great practical value to schools, colleges, vocational guidance and employment agencies, to service divisions of libraries, to businessmen establishing new plants, and to governmental agencies planning public works.

In the latter half of 1945 the data were finally collected. The report, published in November 1946, probably contains more information about jobs in this metropolitan area than is available about any other community in the country.

The Big Six

Manufacturing and nonmanufacturing industries were classified according to the code of the Social Security Administration. It would have been costly (and unnecessary) to obtain information from every individual business in the county. Thousands of industry, commerce and service activities were sorted into 265 classifications. Then it was not difficult to select a representative sample of each type.

When the data were tabulated, the dominant industries stood out. The "Big Three" in manufacturing were machinery (non-electrical), iron and steel, and electrical machinery, in that order. At the time the count of employment was made, aircraft was larger than electrical machinery, but it dropped to a mere fraction of its wartime size before the end of the year. About 25 percent of all workers in the county were employed in the "Big Three."

In nonmanufacturing, the "Big Three" are government, retail food

—By the professor of public welfare at the School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University.

Mr. White was formerly on the faculty of the School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago.

and liquor, and retail general merchandise. These accounted for about 12 percent of all jobs in the county.

Because of their size these six in large measure determine the character of the community, but outside of them about two thirds of the workers of Greater Cleveland find employment in 259 other kinds of industry. This fact is of major importance to young people, and to their advisers.

Of no less importance is knowledge of the jobs provided by these 265 types of industry. To classify these was more difficult. The services of the Division of Occupational Analysis of the U. S. Employment Service were obtained to group some 10,000 specific jobs into a smaller number of fields of work. A field of work was defined as "a group of related occupations." The division succeeded in putting the 10,000 jobs into 210 fields of work.

Definitions were drawn up, more than one hundred people in business and social agencies were trained to use them, and then they went out to get the information about the plants included in the sample. This kind of detailed occupational information was obtained and tabulated for ninety-one kinds of industry employing about 82 percent of the working population in the county.

The result is that we have a fairly reliable estimate of the number of persons employed in each of the 210 fields of work, and we know this for each of the ninety-one major industries of Cuyahoga County.

Occupational Patterns

The number of kinds of jobs in a specific kind of industry follows a pattern. The pattern may vary in some details from one plant to another, but it is substantially the same. While proof is not yet conclusive, it

is believed that the pattern does not vary much for small, medium, or large plants in the industry. Furthermore, personnel experts and industrial engineers who participated in the project are convinced that the pattern changes little with prosperity and depression.

One of the most interesting things found is the wide variation in the proportion of workers in managerial positions in different industries. In manufacturing it ranges from less than 2 percent in a few industries to almost 15 percent in the manufacture of communication equipment and related products. Textile and knitting mills, industrial chemicals, paints and varnishes, and structural metal products show more than 10 percent of their employes in managerial positions.

The variations are even wider in nonmanufacturing industries. Here the differences range from less than 2 percent in regular governmental establishments to more than 23 percent in grocery stores and over 52 percent in trade associations and chambers of commerce.

Public contact work, which includes both selling and customer service, is required in very different proportions by both manufacturing and nonmanufacturing establishments. In manufacturing it ranges from one percent in the motor vehicle body industry to nearly 43 percent in bakery products. In nonmanufacturing the proportion of public contact jobs varies from zero in taxicabs to 59 percent in motion picture theaters and over 83 percent in the dime stores.

The distribution of persons engaged in mechanical repair work in nonmanufacturing is interesting. Only half of this type of industry reported such positions at all. Eating and drinking places had only one tenth of one percent of their employes engaged in such work, and only one reported as many as 10 percent. This was Great Lakes Trade which had almost 41 percent of its employes in this type of work.

Heretofore, little experience has

been gained in the use of occupational patterns. However, enough is known about them to suggest various applications. The existence of occupational patterns was an assumption back of the War Manpower Commission's extensive use of manning tables during the war. It is also involved in the classification of workers by both occupation and industry in the offices of the public employment service. Consulting engineers employ the principle in planning the organization of new plants for their clients. What the Occupational Inventory of Cuyahoga County does is to make this kind of information available on a large scale and to call attention to its many possible uses.

Uses of the Patterns

Schools and colleges are called upon constantly to advise students on their choice of careers. With the occupational inventory before them, they can tell a young man interested in becoming a glass and tile setter that in 1945 only one such job was found in Cuyahoga County and that he would probably have to seek employment elsewhere, if he is determined to become a glass and tile setter.

On the other hand, if the young man or woman is interested in selling, the adviser could tell him that in 1945 there were over 21,000 positions in such work and that, in addition, there were almost 5,000 positions in sales managerial work in the county. By looking at the master table of the inventory the adviser can tell him the opportunities in sales work offered by a large number of manufacturing and nonmanufacturing industries. The student would still have to make up his own mind, but he would have some facts on which to base his choice of both occupation and specific industry. He could then proceed with the appropriate training.

In a somewhat similar way, employment and guidance agencies utilize the inventory. The guidance agency or the counsellor in an employment agency is in a position to advise both new workers and older ones who find it necessary or desirable to change jobs. If the applicant expects to work in another city, it is believed that the patterns for similar industries could still be used with confidence.

It remains to be determined from study in other communities whether or not the pattern for iron and steel

foundry products, for example, or for telephone communication is similar to that found in Cuyahoga County, but among persons familiar with a wide variety of industries and with the inventory, it is believed that the pattern would not vary much in any comparable industrial area.

Libraries are rapidly becoming community service institutions, and one of the things they often have to do is to answer inquiries about literature of particular occupations. With the occupational inventory at hand, the Cleveland Public Library can give more precise information about both jobs and industries.

Union leaders who participated in making the inventory think it can be useful to organized labor. Many unions fix the number of apprentices to be taken on each year, and also serve as a clearing house of information as to where there are shortages or surpluses of specific skills. The inventory in Cuyahoga County offers labor in this community a body of facts which can be used to advantage in planning apprentice programs

ADAM'S CURSE

In the sweat of his brow shall a man earn his bread.

But the story told by a modern economist's charts is not so simple. The scientific curve of the curse of Adam starts with machine-equipped man beating the curse. Then it goes on to show that "the sources of jobs in the United States have passed their prime and are getting feeble." How is modern man going to contrive the sweating brow after all?

This is the riddle of a study on which David Cushman Coyle reports in next month's *Survey Graphic*.

Continuing the examination of employment and business conditions presented in this issue, Mr. Coyle is going to say in July:—

"The studies here reported do not show any signs of age or weariness in the American productive system, or in our technology, or in the liberal side of our politics. But they do indicate that 'business'—or management—is not quite keeping up the pace. Possibly after all, some of the old boys whose ideas set our patterns and whose keeness is supposed to solve our problems would be more useful playing golf in Colorado or Florida the year round."

and in determining the state of the local labor market.

Occupational patterns have two important uses in business. They provide an accurate description of the labor supply in the community. When a business man thinks of establishing a plant in a new place, one of the first questions he has to ask himself or his advisers is, "What about the labor supply?"

Perhaps his enterprise needs skills already employed in the community. In this case, he needs to know whether there is a surplus sufficient for his purposes. If not, labor has to be recruited elsewhere.

Business also uses occupational patterns as yardsticks to measure conditions in a particular industry. While there is bound to be some variation from plant to plant, nevertheless if an employer finds that his proportion of managerial employes or clerical workers is twice as high, or only half as high, as the pattern percentages, he is likely to turn a critical eye on his own set-up and attempt to gauge the efficiency of his organization.

Government can use occupational patterns in the timing of public work. For many years in this country we have talked about using public works to take up the slack in private employment. This is both a seasonal and a cyclical problem. The Occupational Planning Committee expects to get a count of employment by industry in Cuyahoga County at least once a year. This probably will be done by the state employment service. The report will be not only a count of the men and women at work on a given date but it will include projections of trends for perhaps two months, four months, and one year ahead.

Some public works have to be done irrespective of the conditions of general employment, but many can be put into blueprint and held in abeyance until the time is propitious. This sort of public work could absorb labor which otherwise would be living at the relatively low standard set by unemployment insurance benefits. The inventory offers an additional tool for this sort of planning.

The population of Cuyahoga County is about 1,250,000. It was recognized at the beginning that to obtain the needed information would be expensive. The committee had an executive secretary and also a clerical worker. There was some money to
(Continued on page 365)

THE EXILES ON CYPRUS

A first hand story of today's Wandering Jew
—imprisoned behind barbed wire, his eyes
fixed on the Promised Land.

TAMAR DE SOLA POOL

—By the American representative of Hadasah—the Women's Zionist Organization of America—on the Jewish Agency's management committee of Youth Aliyah (Youth Immigration to Palestine).

Mrs. Pool, a former president of Hadasah, has visited Palestine frequently in connection with the medical and social services carried on there by her organization. She returned from her most recent trip to Palestine only six weeks ago. It was on this journey that she made the visit to the refugee camps which she describes here.

These bitter herbs—wherefore do we eat them? It is because the Egyptians embittered the lives of our fathers in Egypt.

THE WORDS ARE FROM THE TIME hallowed Passover ritual that commemorates The Flight from the ancient House of Bondage in Egypt.

Behind two high tiers of modern barbed wire, with some ten feet of no-man's land between them, behind heavily barricaded gates and under the glare of the lofty watch towers manned by armed guards, a thousand young voices chanted the words. It was on the night of the full moon of April 1947, near the Port of Larnaca on the island of Cyprus.

"But it is not alone our fathers whom the Holy One, blessed be He, redeemed, but also us whom He liberated." The voices behind barbed wire sang on in unison, "He brought us forth from bondage, to freedom, from subjection to redemption, from sorrow to joy, from mourning to festivity, and from darkness into great light. Let us therefore sing before Him, Hallelujah, praise ye the Lord."

The chorus of boys and girls rang out loud and clear. They joined in modern songs and songs thirty centuries old; in psalms of liberation

and psalms of labor, of pioneering, and hope.

Who were these imprisoned children singing the Hallelujah of freedom? How came they there? Whither bound? These questions have been asked through the years, and the answer today is the same as that given in the Book of Jonah:

Tell us now, what are you doing here? Where do you come from? What is your country, and what is your nation? So he told them, "I am a Hebrew. I worship the Eternal, the God of heaven, Who made the sea and the dry land."

Maapilim

In mid-May there were over 14,000 Jewish refugees held in the five detention camps on Cyprus. Two to three thousand are confined in each. There was a sixth camp completed but not yet occupied. The present facilities are considered by the British army adequate for 20,000. One of the encampments is for children to which the young people themselves gave the Hebrew name *Kfar Noar* — Youth Village. It was to spend the Passover with them that I left Palestine with its vitality and spirits running high in spite of curfews, tanks, and ubiquitous barbed wire.



Photo from European

... behind two tiers of barbed wire, under armed watch towers

The refugees and uncertificated immigrants who in these days reach the shores of Palestine aboard rickety and unseaworthy ships are called *Maapilim*. That Hebrew word means the undeterred, or the determined ones. The "national anthem" of the Cyprus camps is "We are the *Maapilim*."

The refugees hail from every country in Europe. They include large numbers of partisans who helped undermine the power of Hitler throughout the European theater of the war. They have learned to cross frontiers undetected and find their way unaided. They are among the unknown and unrecorded heroes of the war. Many of them carry indelibly branded on their arms their numbers in the Nazi concentration camps.

But the coming of V.-E. Day brought for them no liberation. They found what little was left of their youth wasting away in postwar DP camps and bombed out ruins. So they were prepared to risk their lives to realize their "last best hope of earth."

The British White Paper of 1939, issued back in the Chamberlain regime, made it possible thereafter for only a very small trickle of displaced Jews to secure immigration certificates to enter Palestine. The *Maapilim* set out without certificates from Euro-

pean ports for their Jewish National Home. Since the vessels carrying them as a rule are confiscated, only ships that no one else wants can be secured and these are overcrowded beyond imagination, unsanitary, inadequate, dangerous.

The Impasse

The stories of the interception of these contingents off the coast of Palestine almost weekly form a sorry chapter in the history of the British Mandate. It is a chapter of squalid encounters between navy and army forces and worn out, thirsty, hungry, shattered men, women, and children. Then comes their immediate deportation too often effected by tear gas and gun butts, versus broken bottles and bare fists. The refugees are determined to land, the Mandatory determined to prevent their entry.

In this impasse, the British sought to discourage the movement by diverting the stream of refugees to Cyprus. The Palestine government was asked to supply the funds and the Jewish refugees first sent there were to build detention camps for themselves and for later uncertificated immigrants. The Palestine government furnished the means but the

Maapilim refused to build their own prisons with their own hands.

The Jewish Agency and kindred groups in Palestine maintain that since Jews there pay more than two thirds of the taxes (though they constitute only one third of the population) and since the social services they receive from the government make up but a small part of the government's budget, they are themselves largely maintaining the refugee encampments. Their demand is that immigration camps be established in Palestine and not in Cyprus. They want to be close to their own kinsmen, where they can bind up the wounds and cheer the spirit of those for whom they have waited so long.

The refugees have a desperate yearning for Palestine; and Jewish hearts in Palestine reach out to them. The prosperous, dynamic, creative *Yishuv* (as the Jewish settlement is called) will go into mourning as for another Temple destroyed if the exile of these their kinsmen does not end.

As each new boatload dashed fruitlessly against the shores of Palestine during my visit there in March, my thoughts followed the exiles on their enforced journey to Cyprus. "These bitter herbs. . . ." They were not

mere atavistic memories. They were of today; they were the daily bread of Jewish boys and girls on a beautiful island in the Mediterranean. I chafed at the thought of spending my own Passover elsewhere than with these dispossessed children of Israel in a strange land.

Cyprus

Cyprus lies like an open oyster shell in the Mediterranean midway between Palestine and Greece. It is favored with sandy beaches and transparent waters. Rising from the center of the island, a T-shaped mountain range provides skiing in winter. It was still flecked with snow at the time of my visit in the late spring. The population of some 400,000 includes 70,000 Turks and enough British to govern the island that was one of Disraeli's quixotic gifts to his beloved Queen Victoria.

Things move slowly on Cyprus. The Cypriots do not speak English, although the island has been in British hands since 1878. About fifteen or twenty years ago Sir Ronald Storrs, then governor of Cyprus, brought over some Palestine farmers to teach citriculture as practiced in the Jewish colonies. Today those orchards bear



Photo from European

British soldiers are gentle with this mother who has just arrived on a Cyprus quay—but her Promised Land is still unreachd



Reproduced from Jacob Rosner's "A Palestine Picture Book" Published by Schocken Books, New York

Fulfillment of an ancient promise. With zest and courage Palestine youths stride into the practical rebuilding of their world

the famous Jaffa oranges profusely, but there has been no extension of the industry.

Cyprus lacks water. Jewish pioneers have brought water to the arid Negev, or southland of Palestine. Their like could assure Cyprus an abundant supply of water in a few years. But Jews are not allowed to settle or work freely in Cyprus. Rather, following their detention as "illegal" immigrants, they wait there aimlessly, behind barbed wire, for immigration certificates.

"Legal" immigrants (Jewish) are admitted to Palestine at the rate of 1,500 a month, half of which number is assigned to the detainees on Cyprus. A constant subject of conversation in the camps is the assignment of this precious quota of monthly certificates. To get one is like getting a ticket to heaven or a passport to life. I spoke

to a number of lucky ones whose turn was coming in mid-April. But when April 15 arrived those chosen refused to leave. They had heard that only half of the monthly quota were to be freed to go. The others were "written off" by the authorities because of those who at Gaza had successfully broken through the cordon drawn around Palestine.

The "Saga of Gaza"

I had arrived in Jerusalem the day after this episode had occurred and the details were on every tongue. Someone had had the idea of trying to land a boatload of refugees at the southern port of Gaza instead of encountering the destroyers that are posted around Tel-Aviv and Haifa. All would have gone well had not a storm at sea delayed the landing and given the British authorities time to

discover what was up. Buses filled with men and women, and groups of young people on foot had converged to welcome the expected *Maapilim*.

British soldiers came upon this "Operation Rescue" in the darkness of the night and in the confusion a "saga" took place. The Jewish colonists quickly changed their dry clothes for the dripping wet garmets of the newcomers who had made their way from the boat to the freedom and safety of shore.

Then the young colonists were forced on board. Willingly they took the places of the refugees they had come to welcome. The rickety vessel under tow of the British navy was taken to Haifa and the Palestinians, its new but undetected passengers, were duly taken to Cyprus. This was the "Saga of Gaza" which has become heroic folklore of Palestine.

Later, the Palestinians, who of course were legal residents under the Mandate, were returned to Palestine. But it was their number that was deducted from the Cyprus quota on April 15. Whether or not the British world of sport would call this "cricket," it was protested by the refugees held in the Cyprus camps. Those who were offered certificates refused to take them, and all of the 750 whose turn had come, including the ones who were actually to be allowed to go, went on a hunger strike.

The passionate desire of these people to get to Palestine is compounded of their revolt against the cruel past and their determination to share in rebuilding a new kind of world on the site of the home of their ancestors. That is what Zionism means to the old and young among them.

Kfar Noar

When we reached the children's camp near Larnaca it was getting dark. The glare from the watchtower, which gave light to the sentry aloft, blinded us below. The dark uniform rows of Quonset huts cast deep shadows in the moonlight. We passed the heavily barbed gates dispiritedly.

In our party were two American journalists, I. F. Stone, *PM* correspondent in the Near East, and Dr. S. Margoshes, columnist of the New York *Jewish Day*, and the Palestine labor leader, Harzfeld. Morris Laub, representative of the Joint Distribution Committee in Cyprus and director of its relief operations, was our guide. Part of our party, under President Ben Zvi of the *Vaad Leumi* (National Council of Palestine Jews) had gone to the reception camp at Caralios, including his wife, Rahel Yannait, pioneer in agricultural education for girls, and two actors from leading theaters in Tel-Aviv.

Young voices were already chanting the millennial questions and answers when we took our places on rickety benches at the festive table at *Kfar Noar*. The children thought only of the Egyptians—or did they? I wondered whether generations yet unborn would recite the tale of this new exodus, no less cruel and bitter, no less long if dated only from the massacre at Kishinev in 1903.

Dr. Margoshes was sitting next to me. "Sing," he said, "sing, Tamar Pool, why don't you sing?" I could not answer him. I was choking. But the children were singing. I was shiv-

ering in a woolen dress and a warm coat in the coolness of the Cyprus night. But facing me was a child, not more than ten years old. He wore only a little undershirt; it was sleeveless and low cut; once white, it was now grey in color. At the Passover festive table one wears one's "Sunday best." The child sang but I was silent.

On the table were wine, matzoth, and other special foods from Palestine supplied by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. Two days before the Passover the JDC had sent a request for fish to the farmers near Tel-Aviv. In Palestine, fishing is not a mere sport but a new and growing industry. No farm is complete which does not set aside part of its acreage for ponds for fish breeding, thus adding to the scant supply of protein in the land.

On Thursday morning 7,000 pounds of fresh-water carp from these man-made ponds had been rushed into the deep freezers at Tel-Aviv. Thursday evening they were loaded in ice on the same ship that took me to Cyprus; Friday they were delivered to the camps. So, too, were 5,000 pounds of kosher salami which the butchers of Tel-Aviv had prepared in thirty-six hours. One should not complain of little things: that there were no forks; that we had to eat meat and fish with a spoon; that empty tin cans were our cups. The wine and unleavened bread were specially blessed because they came from the Holy Land. And there were the songs from the same source.

The *Seder* (Passover) tables were set out in the open air between two rows of Quonset huts. A youth from the children's village of Ben Shemen in Palestine had come over to teach its songs to the children on Cyprus. Harzfeld, with his tousled white hair, stood on a shaky bench so that all the children could see him and spoke to them of the homeland that is waiting for them. "We have so much more work to do, but we will not finish the task without you and we shall be ready for you when you come. We are waiting for you children." They beamed with joy. "Just prepare yourselves for the upbuilding of the land. Let's sing." And he too led them in the latest folksongs from the Land of Israel.

That same night, at a *Mizrahi* (orthodox) celebration, a little boy sat next to me. His leg was in a cast. I was told he had been shot during

a meleé when hundreds of refugees hurled themselves against the barbed wire that separated one camp from another. The refugees accepted the double fence of barbed wire which shut them away from the free world; but the fences between adjoining camps, dividing one group of comrades from another, they would not stand—they fought the routine regulation that kept them apart. When they had made a rush upon the barbed wire, the sentries fired and there were several victims. The next day there was a breach in the barrier. The authorities not only left it that way, they even built a bridge over a road which runs between two camps. This bridge was opened to use, appropriately enough, on the first day of Passover and a steady stream went back and forth, as if to freedom.

The military are not unkindly; but it is not easy for young Tommies to understand the inner turmoil and the psychological needs of the people they guard.

For instance, when they built in one of the camps an out-of-door tile furnace for heating water, a riot ensued. The children and young people ran in every direction screaming, hysterical. They thought it was a furnace in the style of Hitler. It is hard to restore in them any sense of security, any certainty that the barbed wire enclosures in which they live are not the concentration camps from which they came, that the numbers tattooed on their arms there are only symbols of that nightmare.

Group Loyalties

I left the *Seder* table for a moment to follow voices that did not seem a part of the Passover. Young Revisionists were ending their festivity with military exercises. I was snatched back to the orthodox table by one of the *Mizrahi* comrades who wanted to hold me in his group.

The "group" is the primary social unit and pattern of organization in Cyprus as it is among the DP's in Europe. There are no homes left and the Jewish family is gone. The Nazis saw to that. Only individuals have survived. Each one can say, "I alone am left to tell the tale." That tale varies:

"They took my wife and four children."

"My wife was a concert pianist. You never heard her name?"

(Continued on page 364)

"The Cooperative City"

The North Dakota wind may blow dry dust over the wheatfields again; but the farmers of Williams County believe they have found a lasting shield against starvation.

ALDEN STEVENS

"Brown snow fell in Chicago yesterday, and brown rain in Cleveland."

—CBS News, January 31, 1947

"Many persons telephoned newspaper offices asking whether the millennium had come."

—New York Times, same date.

WHEN BROWN SNOW FELL IN 1931 IT set dust bowl people thinking about the millennium, too. In Williston, N. D., their answer was to establish what is probably the most complete and best balanced group of cooperatives in any town in the United States.

Now the land is dry again and the wind is blowing. Another serious drought must be regarded as a possibility. I wanted to find out how farmers in one of the hardest hit corners of the Great Plains, men who had seen the dry dust blot the sun before and seen prosperity again in years that followed it, felt about their outlook now. I wanted to know more about the co-ops they had established to protect themselves from another wheatless year.

This Thing is Wheat

Driving under the cloudless sky of North Dakota gives one a rough idea of the magnitude and of the variety in America. Across the endless fields of waving wheat tall elevators mark a town's location. Like the lofty steeples in New England which show that a village lies beneath the mask of tall green trees, these towering iron storehouses are symbols of the region's life. By their invariable presence they emphasize that here is one all-absorbing thing, that the people's food and clothing and in fact their whole lives depend upon it, and that this thing is wheat.

Williston is the county seat of Williams County. It is a flat, rather ordinary looking town on the Great Northern Railway. Men and women plainly dressed drive old cars in to shop and talk. The main street has the usual drug stores, chain stores, movie theater, and old hotel. It is a drab town, on the whole, the sort of town the average tourist would drive through without even stopping for gas or a coca-cola. The Missouri



Photo from the author

The Co-op rooster has something to crow about in Williston, N. D.

River flows past it, but you scarcely see it from the highway here.

Dull it may be as a town. But here men survived dry wind and dust when not even a turnip would sprout. Here they remember the years when each sun-licked acre dropped its yield from twenty-five to ten to five bushels, when finally a thousand acre tract bore no wheat at all. One family traveled regularly eleven miles to gather Russian thistle for their one remaining bony cow—they had eaten their other stock or sold it for almost nothing because they could not feed it. For weeks they ate nothing but milk and beans. They were luckier than some of their neighbors whose cows had died and who had no beans.

Williston today is a far different

—In his book "Arms and the People" Alden Stevens, well known to *Surrey Graphic* readers, made a vivid picture of the United States geared for war. Now, in time of peace, he has been looking at the small towns of our country, and thinks important things are happening there.

One of his reasons is Williston, N. D., the subject of this article, which will also be dealt with in a book he is now writing on what he sees as a rural renaissance in the USA.

place. The war brought higher prices, and crops were good. Its grim years have made it somewhat different from the average farm community; there is something now that makes it seem, when you spend a little time there, a happy, confident town.

The Years of the Hopeless Acres

To explain how this came about, let's go back for a moment to a drought year in the early thirties, when one day a banker scurried into the sheriff's office with a harried look on his face.

"There's going to be trouble," he said. "I want protection."

The tall man with the star looked at his visitor coolly.

"I was hoping you'd call it off. But I'll be there to keep the peace, and I don't think you'll get hurt."

Next morning the sheriff and a deputy drove along a dusty highway. The wind blew from a cloudless sky, and yet they could not see the sun. The bleak road, and the fields on either side, were powdery grey. They could see no grass, no growing crops, no trees but yellow skeletons. In these terrible, dry dust bowl years the few crops that grew were small and withered, and wheat died hot and parched on the hopeless acres.

The sheriff turned into a farmyard where a score of silent overalled men stood in motionless groups. The windmill creaked as it pumped a thin trickle of water into the great wooden tank supported man-high on a framework of cut tree trunks. There were neither chickens, pigs, nor cows on this homestead; the only life visible which belonged to the place was the white face of a small boy pressed against the front window. Gusts spiraled sand against the paintless, weathered house.

The auctioneer pounded his gavel and sing-songed through the court order for a foreclosure sale. Now he asked for bids, first on the single section of land—640 acres. There was a silent moment, and the first bid came, clear and meaningful.

"One dollar."

It stamped this as a Farm Holiday auction. The man with the gavel had been through one of these, and he didn't propose to go through another. He gathered up his papers and started for his car. Two unshaven wheat farmers advanced on him and one said:

"It's mine for a dollar."

"We'll have to hold another auction," the auctioneer answered.

"There'll be no other auction," said the man. "You can call for higher bids if you want to."

"No! I won't!"

One of the men turned to the other and mused, "Wonder how long

When the auction was over, the entire place had been sold for \$4.80. The bank got this, and the original owner got his place back free of any encumbrance.

Alfred Solberg, who has lived in North Dakota since 1904, told me that story, and with a smile he said:

We only had one of those foreclosures around here. It worked out so well we were kind of sorry there weren't more. Of course, it's different now. There's hardly any mortgaged land, and besides, we have the Credit Union and do most of our farm business through the co-ops. We own those, we built 'em up, and we *know* we'll get a square deal.

"We've been through the mill," said Sig Forseth, "and we're not going through it again."

"You can do anything cooperatively here," said another co-op member, "except go to the movies, buy a new car, or get drunk."

It is amazingly true. A Co-op health plan now being brought to completion will help finance the birth of a child. If he grows up to be a farmer (and what North Dakotan doesn't?) he can buy a co-op tractor and farm equipment. He can save on gas and oil at the Farmers Union Oil Co-op, the biggest gas station in Williston. He can build a house with material bought at the co-op lumber yard. He can insure his property and his life at the Williston Insurance Lodge.

He will get the best possible price for his wheat and rye by selling it through the Farmers Union Central Exchange, which does the biggest grain business in town. It has a 217,000 bushel elevator, the largest cooperatively owned primary grain warehouse in the U. S. If he has a dairy herd, he knows the co-op creamery, largest plant of its kind in North Dakota, will give him a square deal, for he owns part of it. If he has beef cattle, he can sell through the co-op stockyard. Chicks, seed, feed, and freezer-locker space, as well as other farm supplies and services, are obtained cheapest from his own Farmers Union Grain and Supply Company, and he can have his eggs processed here in the state's largest incubator (capacity 240,000 eggs). He can buy staple foods, work clothing, drugs and other oddments at the co-op market, largest home-owned Williston store.

When in town he can eat at the co-op cafeteria, where the best food in town is available in glistening surroundings. He can buy electric power through the REA Co-op. If he needs a loan he can get it at a low rate from the Williston Co-op Credit Union, and he can put any surplus cash he may have into the same institution to earn a good rate of interest. And when he dies he can be buried from the Cooperative Funeral Home.

I talked with Henry Williams, county Farmers Union president, with Alfred Solberg, with Sig Forseth, who resigned from the North Dakota legislature to take over the management of the REA (Rural Electrifica-



Library of Congress (R. A.)

"... here men survived dry wind and dust when not even a turnip would sprout"

a man could live if we dumped him in that water tank."

The auctioneer looked at the banker, who like himself was flanked by two husky farmers clearly capable of keeping him silent, then appealed to the sheriff for help.

"I'm here to keep the peace," said that officer. "So far it hasn't been violated, and I hope it won't be."

The two big men were moving in, and there was only one thing to do.

The auctioneer cleared his throat:

"Do I hear two dollars?"

"A dollar fifty."

"A dollar seventy-five."

There were no further bids on the land. The house followed for a dollar and a quarter, a Case tractor for eighty cents, a binder for thirty-five cents and a cultivator for thirty.

Williston, during the worst of the 1931 depression and drought, suffered perhaps more than any other town in the country. Now its financial underpinning is sound and firm.

With the help and advice of the Farmers Union, men in this stricken community banded together to establish their own business houses, financed these themselves, and now control and manage them, sharing the profits and losses in proportion to the amount of business each man does.

If in the past, wheat has failed in North Dakota and men have known starvation, they are determined never to starve again, and the badge of their resolution is the shield-like trademark of the Farmers Union Co-ops.

tion Administration) Co-op, and with the managers of every Williston co-op, as well as to members and non-members around town. I found they all regarded the cooperative simply as an efficient, flexible way of doing business, not in the least a religion or a political ism. The enterprises are, in fact, strictly nonpolitical. I asked Solberg how they had happened to form such a complete network. He shrugged and said:

When your stomach is empty your brain starts working. We know we'll never be able to count on rain in this country. We know there'll always be years of drought now and then when we'll only get two or three bushels of wheat to the acre instead of a normal twenty to thirty.

But in the last drought this was comparatively new country. People didn't really know how the climate worked. We know, now, and these co-ops are partly protection against the next dry spell. We've all worked for them because we know we'll all need them, come the next bad year.

And Sig Forseth came in to say:

The credit union was formed mainly because the oil co-op had been giving too much credit—just because members *had* to have tractor fuel to get a crop in but didn't have any money. We couldn't watch it go under, so we formed the credit union, got the money and loaned it to save the oil station. Now we have a capital of \$673,000.

"During the worst days," Anton Novak told me, "we had nothing to eat but potatoes, and not many of them." The Red Cross wasn't interested because there had been neither a flood nor a cyclone, and there was no federal relief in those days.

The Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association sent 50,000 bushels of wheat and even set up a mill to grind it, giving the flour to needy families. Employees of the Farmers Union Central Exchange donated ten percent of their salaries for relief, and families in Minnesota adopted families in western North Dakota and saw them through the cold bleak winter. Alfred Solberg went on:

Things got so bad that we marched on the capitol with pitchforks and sat down in the legislative chamber. We sent a signed ultimatum to Congress saying we needed so much relief, and if we didn't get it within thirty days we were going to march into the stores and take food.

We got relief. Dry times will come



Photo from the author

"... these towering iron storehouses are symbols of the region's life"

again, lots of us expect them this year. We dread it, but we're better able to handle it now."

"We don't brag about it," Forseth added, "though we don't ever deny it either, but six out of seven of us in this county were on relief at one time or another."

Now there's hardly a farmer in the area who hasn't got a year's supply of seed laid by, and some of them have two years' supply. More than one of these ex-relievers could write a check for \$75,000, and while the memory of those dreadful years makes people restless and apprehensive when a dry spell drags on, it makes them that much more determined to maintain their co-ops. Not co-ops, but rain brought Williams County out of the shadow—but the co-ops will prevent collapse if catastrophe strikes again.

Cooperation Plus

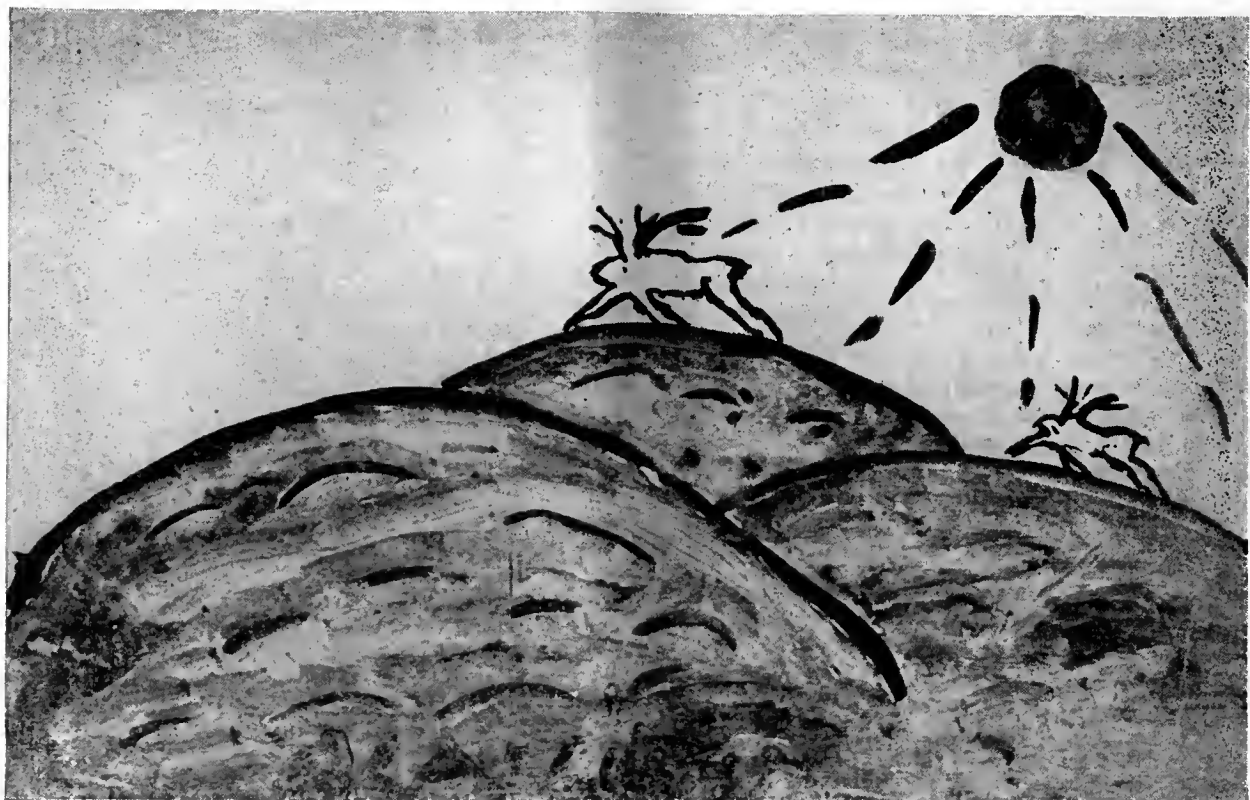
All these astonishing enterprises have an interlocking relationship. The co-op creamery naturally buys co-op gas and oil for its trucks and sells butter and milk to the co-op market. When the grain and supply co-op builds an addition—and all these enterprises are in a continuous turmoil of expansion—it gets lumber from the co-op lumber yard. If a co-op needs cash, there's the credit union. Thus the costs are cut and at the same time there is mutual strengthening.

Many local business men say the co-ops are bad for them, and the Williston Chamber of Commerce is less than enthusiastic about the title "The Cooperative City," bestowed by the

Farmers Union. The cooperators retort that they keep money in the county and thus increase the general level of prosperity and make possible more business for the movie theaters, the auto dealers, drug stores, dry goods merchants, hardware men, and even the saloons. For while it is possible to trade almost exclusively with co-ops, few people do, and much of the co-op trade would be going to Montgomery Ward, J. C. Penney, the Standard Oil Company, or the Red Owl chain grocery. And profits from these places do not stay in Williston. They go to New York, Chicago, Denver, and Kansas City.

A bent, gray, old wheat farmer in patched overalls and a worn out straw hat eats roast beef, creamed potatoes, salad, and apple pie *à la mode* at the co-op cafeteria, signs his slip, and puts it into the box for accounting. There is a gleam of pride in his eye that says—"This place is mine, I own part of it. It's good and I like it."

His pride of ownership in the structure that does a \$13,000,000 annual business in a county of 16,000 people is shared by nearly every farm family and many non-farm families. It is more than owning equities in the market, the grain elevator, the creamery and the oil station, more than having money on deposit at the credit union or being a director of the lumber yard. He knows, and others know with him, that when trouble comes again—and they do not doubt it will, this year, next year, or the year after—he will have friends and he will have resources and they will work together.



American Friends Service Committee

Reindeer over the lonely *tuntuvit*—Lapland's bare hills—as drawn by eight-year-old Olavi K. of Rovaniemi

What the Finns Mean by *Sisu*

You'll find it animating the revival of devastated Lapland—
and the new footholds they've held out to uprooted Karelians.

LILLIE M. PECK

IN THEIR INDESCRIBABLY DIFFICULT language, Finns have a word for their own nature. *Sisu* stands for stubbornness and indomitable will—traits which may prove either good or bad—but it stands, also, for a certain inner integrity and faithfulness by which the Finn has to go through with whatever he has undertaken.

Small Finland was foremost for tenacity in repaying American loans after World War I. Today they have no thought of not meeting reparations payments to Soviet Russia; nor of not mending the wreckage at home due to bombings and ravage in World War II. Rather there is a deep uncertainty as to whether whatever they do will be enough to assure the Finns their independence. Many simply say, "We must try." And then a grim look of resolution comes into their eyes and there is silence.

This is the background of every conversation, every detail of daily living. Such anxiety added to their

—A close-up by the Secretary of our National Federation of Settlements, who, within the year, has re-established firsthand contacts with kindred settlements in England, France, Holland, Sweden, and Finland.

Settlements have long been distinguished for insight and initiative in community life. Her articles (the first was on Holland, in *Survey Graphic*, February) reveal them as coigns of vantage in scanning the ordeals and objectives of a whole people.

Interestingly enough, Miss Peck's postwar trip was in part made possible by the Barnett Fellowship set up jointly some years ago by British and American donors in honor of the founder of Toynbee Hall, London, first of the social settlements.

natural gravity, to long winters and lack of outside contacts, could have serious consequences on individual and group morale. Clearly it will take all the *sisu* in all the people of Finland to meet the years ahead.

Perhaps this is why the Finns so warmly welcome guests from the outside, especially from America. They are grateful for the help which has reached them, but even more to people whose coming expresses friendship and confidence. They tell you that the large scale programs of UNRRA and of the American Red Cross, of the Swedes and the Swiss, have been wonderful in reaching vast numbers whose needs could not have been met otherwise.

But to them the American Friends Service Committee, with its small team of international workers, has been a visible symbol of friendship way beyond any material aid. Even a visitor like myself, who brought only the good will of our National Federation of Settlements, was greeted with genuine feeling. Like the Quakers and the Red Cross, the settlements are themselves links with the New World. It counted for even more that I had been there twenty

years ago and had come again. "You will know how it is with us," they said.

Helsinki—after Twenty Years

Helsinki had grown in those two decades both in population and extent. This was registered in what for me were new apartment buildings, new housing areas for large families, new public buildings. These last were all functional—rather austere but businesslike; the housing—simple but adequate; the landscaping—natural and rough. Eliel Saarinen had influenced all this modern architecture. Today he is head of the distinguished Cranbrook Academy of Art at Bloomfield Hills, near Detroit. Alvar Aalto, now at The Massachusetts Institute of Technology as a visiting professor, had led in town planning. Again links between Old World and New—bringing gifts the other way around.

Only in the old square on the South Basin did the Great Church, the government and university buildings, bring back to me the Old World atmosphere of Helsinki in the mid-twenties.

True, it was late winter then; with sleighs on long runners, droshkies pulled by high-collared horses, and with melting snow and the smell of spring just beginning to release one's spirit to search after sun. Today, there are automobiles, but many of them have what look like home made boilers at the back. It is not uncommon to see the driver stop to pull out a bag of small wood, like scrap from a planing mill, and replenish his fire. The buses carry such bags on top and have regular refueling stations, for gasoline must be imported and is scarce and costly.

Working class areas in Helsinki suffered especially at the hands of Russian bombers back in the Winter War of 1939. That was true of the Kallio district—so called because of the rocky hill that dominates it. This in turn had given its name to *Kalliola**—the first of the Finnish settlements. Buildings made up of family flats on the three corners opposite were entirely demolished by bombs. The settlement itself was badly damaged by blasts, but never stopping its work, moved into a nearby nursing school which had been evacuated to the country.

Kalliola is the seed bed of the settlement movement in Finland, founded by Sigfrid Sirenus in 1919. *Sippy Seta* (Uncle Sippy) to all Finland, he is full of energy at sixty-nine. His story is a saga of the North.

As a young Lutheran preacher, Sirenus had gone to Antwerp in 1905 and then on to London as pastor of the Finnish Seamen's Church there. In making a study of urban parochial work, he shortly came in touch with British settlements—staying at Oxford House in Bethnal Green, and then at the Robert Browning Settlement where Herbert Stead introduced him to the part which organized Christianity played in relation to trade unionism. The seamen's pastor there-



Rebuilding of war destroyed homes goes on even by lamplight

after met many of the outstanding British labor leaders of that time—Kier Hardy, George Lansbury, Will Crooks—and was greatly influenced.

In 1911, Bishop Jaakko Gummerus came to London and was shown every detail of this work by his eager young compatriot. Two years later, the "Good Bishop," as he was called, invited Mr. Stead to lecture in Finland. At that time the controversy between Finnish Labor and the established Church was raging. As Dr. Sirenus told me, in those days he "never dared to hope that a bridge might be built between them."

Herbert Stead, however, urged him to give up the pastorate in his home village to which he had just been appointed and to start kindred work himself—"at least until you can find a better man." Through Bishop Gum-

merus, Sirenus was invited to speak before the Congregation of Lutheran Ministers on the neglect of the workers by the organized church. The congregation decided unanimously—and heartily—to give Sirenus the chance to see what could be done. For four years he went from factory to factory, speaking to groups of workers, but never losing sight of his ambition to have a settlement for his headquarters.

So it was that he opened *Kalliola* in Helsinki in 1919. When, seven years later, I visited Finland, three more settlements had been added—two to the east in Viipuri (Viborg) in the province of Karelia, and one to the North in Rovaniemi. Though Viipuri's two are no longer among the number, today there are sixteen such houses organized in a National Federation of Settlements with Sigfrid Sirenus as secretary.

The Karelian Refugees

Sirenus could not have foreseen when he started *Kalliola* that within a quarter century, these settlements would be called on to play an emergent role in two great situations that have faced Finland in sequence to another world war: One has been the relief and rebuilding of the northern province of Rovaniemi, devastated by the retreating Nazi armies; the other, resettlement of Karelian refugees when that eastern province was invaded by Russian armies and later ceded to the Soviet Union.

Displaced persons are an ever present postwar problem in Finland, for they make up one out of nine of its entire population of four million. Many Karelians from their city of Viipuri migrated with their industries to Lahti, Jyvaskyla, and Kotka. For the most part, however, the Karelians left their homes and all their possessions behind and were destitute on arrival. Karelian farmers, moreover, have needed new holdings and this has meant not only clearing unbroken land but breaking up large farms such as those run by the Finnish cooperatives. I heard of one old peasant who said he wanted only to die and become a worm so as to bore through the earth and come up in his old Karelian farm. Fishing folk from Petsamo have been even more difficult to place, for they did not take to the lands, still to be cleared, which were allotted to them in the north.

(Continued on page 346)

* The names of settlements are indicated by the ending *la* usually added to the name of the district. *Kalliola*—Neighborhood House of Kallio—means House of the Rock.



Photographs from Finnish Travel Information Bureau

The clean distinctive lines of this example of Finland's modern architecture (a variety store in Tampere) make apt background for Aaltonen's statue "Maid of Finland," on Hämeensilta Bridge, which has the sturdy tradition of folk art, peculiarly Finnish, combined with a flowing plastic vigor characteristic of this sculptor.



The National Renaissance in Finnish Art

The painter A. Gallen-Kallela (1865-1931) and the sculptor Väinö Aaltonen (1894—) are outstanding symbols of the growth and strength of Finland's art in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Both were a part of the national awakening, the fusion of tradition with new aspiration.

The fresco above, one of an eight-part series Gallen did for the Jusélius mauseum in Pori, a youth shooting at an unseen bird, has the artist's concern with the struggle between life and death—the minor note always linked with the portrayal of native vigor in this northern country. The original work, injured by dampness, has been restored by the artist's son.

In the bronze statue by Aaltonen, below, in Railroad Square, Helsinki, the portrait has in fact and portrayal the grave brooding disposition of folk art. The subject is Kivi, nineteenth century poet and novelist, whose own work on peasant themes gave him the title "Finnish Cervantes."





Dr. Sigfried Sirenus and Arvo Ohinen, headworker of Rovala settlement

The American Friends Service Committee established its 1946-47 headquarters at Jyvaskyla in middle Finland. The AFSC staff lives in *Jyvala*, the settlement there, aiding in the classes and entering into the life of the community.

They have organized distribution of new and used shoes and clothing shipped in by the committee itself but contributed largely by devoted Americans of Finnish extraction. They are working also with the Finnish, Swedish, and other relief agencies in supplying an extra meal daily for undernourished children.

The funds to supplement this program are once again largely from these same groups in America as well as other non-Finnish Americans. The need is still pressing and the presence and initiative of this international team is good will at its best.

Every settlement in Finland has its Karelian Club—some with 200 members—who come regularly to meet each other, to sew or study, and to share in the general activities. I met many of them on a trip to cities in the interior planned for me by Dr. Sirenus.

In each place my hosts were eager to show me landmarks in its cultural landscape—a fine church, for example,

at Tampere; frescoes by Gallen-Kallela at Pori. In sequence to Finland's earlier arts, few small countries have made such modern strides not only in architecture, but in sculpture and painting. And by good fortune, much of this escaped destruction in the war.

Characteristic Communities

My quest, however, had to do primarily with the people themselves, beginning with children who recited or sang for me as a mark of hospitality on my visits to schools and settlements. When I spoke to their English clubs and the members could not understand, they would say that they had studied "English" not "American"!

But what a difference skillful interpreters made on more formal occasions—in translating speeches of welcome and the talks on America and American settlements scheduled for me. I am grateful to all those who helped scale the language barrier—to teachers of English in the schools, to young people who had lived in the United States, to Bishop Gulin and such settlement friends as Nilo Kotilainen and Heikki Waris, director of the courses in social work at the University of Helsinki.

In good natured raillery, Professor Waris provoked laughter which made the double speeches easier for younger settlement listeners.

Lahti, famed for its wireless station and its ski-jump, looks like the young pioneering town it is, for it dates only to 1905. In the last ten years its population has risen from 22,000 to 40,000. One member of the board of the local settlement, *Harjula*, is a dressmaker—"a self made woman," I was proudly told, who saved enough out of her earnings to give the land on which it stands. That may be a clue, also, to why today it carries on a trade school in dressmaking for war widows and for Karelian refugees seeking fresh means of livelihood.

I was shown the handsome city hall designed by Saarinen and also the hundred prefabricated one-story houses which the Swedish town of Vasteras had sent as a gift. At another part of town, two and three family houses, built in Finland, were going up—less barrack-like, with their small porches and set among old trees. Here, too, I came upon some gypsies, living their own lives in traditional ways, no more a part of the community there than those I have long been familiar with on New York's lower East Side.

As we drove along, my companion, Ensio Partanen, headworker of *Harjula*, pointed out a small house where he told me Americans had established a home for children. We knocked at the rear door which was opened by a fair-faced nun, a blue apron over her black habit, who welcomed us in once she recovered from her surprise at being greeted in English. Her associate was a gentle, slender member of the order, who had only recently arrived from Missouri. Later we were joined by the priest, a Dutch Catholic.

Their mission had been located in Viipuri and they had migrated with the Karelians. The older sister, who had gone through some hard experiences, spoke Finnish well and had great respect for the Finns; and the settlement and mission were on excellent terms.

Pori—near the west coast of Finland—boasts an old culture but its neighborhood house, *Otsola*, is the youngest of the Finnish settlements. It was started in 1944, largely through the initiative of the local Rotary Club; its chairman, the Reverend Matti A.

Mustonen who is at once a Lutheran Pastor and an enthusiastic member of this club movement that sprang from America. Interestingly enough, his welcome was in English and in excellent form, though he had started to learn the language only six months before by reading the Bible in English every day. The settlement itself is in very poor quarters due to the housing shortage, but its youth and its workers' groups are vigorous.

Tampere is a thriving industrial town, spoken of as the "Manchester" of Finland, as it is the seat of the Finlayson and other textile interests. It is a city of 85,000, with excellent water power and modern buildings in a setting of wooded hills and lakes. Its settlement, *Ahjola*, (House of the Forge) has a staff of ten and operates several outposts in the industrial suburbs. A young and enthusiastic headworker, the Reverend Topi Tarkka, began with a boys' club, back in 1929. A great chimney, a heating plant, and one wing of the settlement had been erected when the Winter War broke out. This section has been in constant use since, and some day the rest will follow. Workers education is a chief interest, and besides fifty boys and girls clubs, there are twenty-six adult study circles.

At Tampere, I was joined by Dr. Sirenius. He took me to see Bishop Gulin whose diocese covers a wide territory in central Finland. The Bishop showed me a map on which each tiny church is marked by a cross. He visits them regularly, without an automobile and across country only sparsely served by rail. In his well-stocked library, two shelves were given up to the latest theological and philosophical books sent from the United States. The Bishop speaks excellent English, is keen, well-informed, socially minded; it was a delightful and inspiring afternoon.

As the Finnish settlements are a part of the established church organization, I ventured to express the hope that those with inadequate plants and those wiped out in the North, might share in the distribution of the generous fund which Lutheran churches in the United States had put at the disposal of the Council of Bishops.

From Tampere, a night train took me to Kemi and thence on to Rovaniemi, the principal city of the province of that name. Traditionally, this is known as Finnish Lapland and lies just under the Arctic Circle. Here

are the great timberlands which are the heart of Finland's economic life.

When morning light came through the curtains of the sleeping car, I pushed them back and saw the sun just coming up over the horizon of a frozen lake. The birches that rimmed it were red; the tall spruces gold. I looked at my watch—it was barely eight o'clock; and at nine, the sun did not seem much higher. We were going through forests and past tiny hamlets of red barns and houses. Cord wood and timber were piled up along the tracks—Finland's wealth which, in spite of careful forestry and controlled cutting, she is spending

cooking on a tiny stove, another serving at rough tables, it was a far cry from the prewar Wagon-Lits.

At Kemi, I was entertained at a private house which showed evidences of comfortable and cultivated family life. It was here I had my first glimpse of the wreckage left by the German Army in its retreat from this northland in 1944. Not only was the bridge over the river left a maze of twisted iron, but Kemi is one of the cities where the Nazis set fire to many dwellings.

Over sixty of the burned dwellings housed neighbors of *Toivola*, the settlement at Kemi; but its own new



This Karelian war invalid and his refugee family are sturdily cheerful but like other Karelians their need for a house and fields is great

fast in this time of reconstruction.

At the wayside stops, I watched country folk, old and young, as they got off and on. A young couple with a baby rolled up like a mummy reminded me of an experience on another of these trips when I gave my last piece of chocolate to a child of perhaps four. He unwrapped it slowly, holding it in his hand, until his mother told him what to do. I shall never forget his look of bewilderment, then surprise, at last pleasure, as he ate it bit by bit and licked his fingers thoroughly.

My little alcohol lamp had yielded coffee for breakfast; and my traveling companion, Samppa Tolsa, and I ate my American butter on Finnish bread of dark rye flour. At noon we tried the dining car. With one woman

building escaped. This, with adjacent study and club rooms, however, was turned into a hospital during the war and now in greater part is used by the provincial government. Governor Hannula has his office there.

Finnish Youth

The night of our arrival, I met the board of managers of *Toivola* settlement and other leading citizens at supper, Governor Hannula himself presiding as chairman of the board. It was he who summed up a discussion of what, in the face of all the other problems confronting the community, seemed to be a burning question: whether to have "modern" dancing in the settlements. There were the usual arguments for and against: Was it not better to dance in a place

where there are standards of behavior, where parents may come, and no alcohol is sold? Where else did the young people go? And would they come to the settlement if they could not dance there? The Governor's mind ran to the contrary:

We Finns have a job to do. Our entire effort and will must be put into that. It's not for us to encourage our youth to be light and gay. It is against our nature and our national character.

I could but question this the next evening, which I spent with the "Outing Club" at *Rovala* in Rovaniemi. This settlement had been wiped out by the Nazis with the town. A long narrow room of the barrack was filled with young people, seated at tables made of planks.

Finnish youths are neat and up-standing, and they were responsive even when they had to listen, sentence by sentence, to the translating. Their singing was excellent, serious, and in minor key; but they fairly shouted when their leader announced that Pastor Reimaa from Kemi, also a guest, would teach them a "new" song. It sounded like nonsense:

*Lilli, Lilli, Ellinova
Alli, Lilli, Allinova
Runtini, runtini, pou*

The bells toll ting a ling,
The bells toll ting a ling,
The people go their way,
But the bell tolls for each one sometime.

Perhaps it was a Scandinavian version of the old folk lament; and even though they sang with gusto and laughter, as the round in four parts grew faster and faster, the minor note was present.

Later on the young people promptly cleared the room and threw themselves into a simple folk game which gave full play to muscular vigor and struck me as good training for a marathon winner.

Not only Rovaniemi but all the surrounding countryside had been deliberately devastated with dynamite, machine gun fire, and incendiaries by the retreating Germans. Most of the 2,000 buildings were of wood and went easily. I saw only two large cement stores which seemed to have been repaired and some older farms and farm houses outside the town.

When the Quakers arrived in the winter of 1945 they found but two bath houses and one frame dwelling standing in one village, which now

has 70 percent of its quota of buildings ready for use. True, these are very primitive—usually one room, with no plumbing, running water, or electricity.

Rovaniemi itself looks like an Alaskan town in the boom years with its plain structures of new wood. The *Sauna* (bath house) is an essential part of Finnish life, and in these times is often put up first and lived in before the main house itself is built. There are cellar holes everywhere and tall chimneys stand like sentinels to mark what had been homes. Many people still live in the ruins but most of them have at least a roof over their heads. It is these ruins that distinguish Rovaniemi from a boom town.

We had a meeting of the board of directors of *Rovala* in the basement of the hotel—all that is left of it.

As usual, the directors included people from different political parties, right and left, together with workers of various sorts and representatives of the lumber industry. The headworker, the Reverend Arvo Ohinen, had left for the United States to study American methods and to visit Quaker work camps and settlements.

Afterward, we went to the home of the acting head, the Reverend Reino Huhtala, a new house with wood stoves and even electricity—one of three or four put up by the settlement and financed in part with indemnity money.

Among the Forests of Lapland

For two hours our host told of the settlement's work with the lumbermen in the camps throughout Finnish Lapland—a roving commission directed from the center at Rovaniemi. Before its destruction by the Nazis, the settlement was a well-equipped building and hostel, but now it is little more than a desk in a temporary barrack.

Rovala (House of the Untrodden Ground), was the third settlement in Finland. It was founded in 1923 by Aaro Tolsa, who had been working among the lumbermen for many years. Plans for a new building have been approved and money assigned from UNRRA's special fund. This will house its activities and provide a hostel for fifty men, library, restaurant, reading and club rooms, where men en route to camps may gather. Eventually it is hoped to build five or six central buildings in the main lumber regions.

The work is under the supervision of a joint committee representative of the employers, workmen's organizations, and the settlement. The government aids, and all other groups join in what is the important (and only) piece of educational and social work in Finland's basic industry—its capital stock for the future.

There are some 25,000 lumbermen and loggers working in the great forests of northern Finland. Conditions of living in the long winter are bad and there is no easy contact between one camp and another. Sillanpaa's novel, which won him a Nobel prize, gave a dour picture of central Finland in earlier years, but those in the north were even worse.

In trying to better them, workers from *Rovala*—always ministers—go from camp to camp, holding meetings, both religious and educational, and especially entering into free discussion with the men. An office for employment was early carried on to direct loggers to those camps where they were needed and where conditions were good. This office made 40,000 placements in 1941 and now has been taken over by the state. *Rovala* next developed a service for training and placing camp cooks and inspecting them on the job, so that the men might get decent food. Courses in the repair of tools are given and foremen are taught how to encourage care of what have become all but irreplaceable necessities.

Thirty-one portable libraries are in circulation but, alas, their resources are meager, for most of the 4,200 volumes hitherto owned were lost when the settlement was destroyed.

Before the war, *Rovala* sent its workers into the villages to carry on evening classes and since the war the Ministry of Education has sent 225 elementary school teachers to Rovaniemi to take a special course in youth work. At the time of my visit, a young woman settlement worker was going out into the communes to help organize evening programs for young people, accompanied by one of the Friends group to relate their school feeding program of last year to work of a more permanent character.

Thus the *Rovala* settlement and the American Friends Service Committee work hand-in-hand. During the winter of 1945-46, the latter helped organize local committees through which clothing from America was distributed and by May 1946 they

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The Greenville Acquittals

A southerner—special editor of our Segregation number
—appraises a South Carolina jury's verdict on lynch law.

THOMAS SANCTON

—New Orleans-born, graduate of Tulane, a Nieman Fellow at Harvard and holder of a Julius Rosenwald Fellowship, Mr. Sancton writes from the Deep South. He is again in residence at Pascagoula, Miss., a small Gulf port which became a teeming shipping center in World War II.

He is helpless because he is behind bars. He is helpless because of his color and race in a region which insists that it is an antisocial crime to regard a man of his color as a full human being. His helplessness itself stimulates violence.

The way to rescue the Negro from this helplessness is to make him a citizen, a man, an American. This requires fundamental economic reforms no less than police and court reforms. It requires fundamental self-analysis on the part of Americans everywhere, most of whom do not suspect the depth of the inconsistency which confuses their attitudes about "freedom," "democracy," "race."

Irony and Truth

It would have brought a momentary thrill if some measure of justice had been meted the lynchers. I am afraid this feeling would have spilled over into self-congratulations and a misunderstanding of the needed reforms—that would have been untouched by the verdict. This happened a few months earlier in the case of the Negroes who were freed on charges of "rioting" in Columbia, Tenn. The irony that they—the victims—were tried at all was forgotten.

The fundamental truth is this: a federal antilynching law enforced through the federal courts would afford a new and a promising approach for stamping out lynching and ultimately the terror psychology that goes with it. No realist, aware of the glacial immensity of the social and economic conditions to be overcome, honestly could have believed that convictions at Greenville—had they been handed down—would have overturned any of these massive conditions and factors. Yet that interpretation would have been made mis-

takenly by many people both in the North and South.

Now the shock of the Greenville verdicts makes clear not only the necessity for a federal antilynching bill, but also puts its enactment up to the Republican Congress now in the saddle at Washington.

In the long view, it is better—instead of a mood of self-congratulation and a general obscuring of the need for a federal antilynch law—that more influential southerners like Ralph McGill, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, should have been stirred by the acquittals to such a frank statement as this (reported by the AP):

We who opposed a federal lynch law—because to support one would be an admission that the moral strength of a state was not strong enough to support its own law and law enforcement bodies—are pushed into a corner where it is no longer possible to defend our position.

Only when enough southern leaders have been brought by the naked ugliness of fact to strip down their own thinking to simple unambiguous principles can sufficient pressure be created in the South to bring about broad reforms and establish genuine constitutional government.

Spiritual Fission?

Greenville is in the heart of a southern textile district, surrounded by mill communities like Judson, Woodside, Riverside and others. Probably a majority of the shares in these various companies are held by northern investors, either directly or indirectly through stock in northern banks or investment companies. Undoubtedly, among the many Americans who were genuinely shocked by the Greenville decision, there were a number of stockholders far removed from the scene who did not reflect on the fact that they, too, have a responsibility for the South Carolina *status quo* and hence for this phenomenon of lynching.

This economic picture is complicated. The element of hypocrisy embedded in it is vaguely sensed though

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THE SOUTH CAROLINA JURY WHICH on May 21 freed twenty-eight men, accused of lynching, probably inadvertently advanced the cause of civil liberties in the United States.

Twenty-six of the defendants had signed statements admitting participation in the lynching, which was literally the butchering of a twenty-three-year-old Negro in a hog pen.

The lynched man had been arrested as a suspect in the robbery and fatal stabbing of a taxi driver. He may have been guilty, but the chances are he was not. Any extended study of "evidence" in such cases of record leads to that general conclusion.

News accounts of the trial told of the defendants' wives, of their barefoot children, of the widow of the slain taxi driver, sitting in front seats where the defense counsel could best play them upon the sentiments of the jury. "Willie Earle is dead," one of these lawyers told the jury, "and I wish more like him were dead." No widow of the dead negro was there, nor could anyone seem to make the fact come alive in a way that mattered that Willie Earle had not been convicted of any crime, nor even tried.

The judge charged the jury on four counts: murder, accessory before the fact, accessory after the fact, conspiracy to murder. I do not know the range of possible verdicts which might have been brought under South Carolina law, but it is certain that in the atmosphere of this town and courthouse, the very most that could have been expected would have been minimum guilt and short sentences.

Even a conviction in this case, however, would not have changed any of the basic causes that produce lynchings. Perhaps it might have "thrown the fear of God" into Greenville, S. C. But basic factors remaining what they are, there might have been a lynching the next day in the next state, or even the next county—if that evil and freakish idea of killing a human being had happened to present itself to a similar group of confused and fear-ridden men.

It is the utter helplessness of the Negro prisoner that invites lynching.



A Heart and Cravin'

A Kentucky mountaineer's dream has been realized today in a school where boys and girls from mine camps and gullied farms come to learn "the art and craft of living."

VIRGINIA P. MATTHIAS

THE VISITOR IN THE MOUNTAIN REGIONS of eastern Kentucky may, if he wanders far enough from Harlan County's main highways, chance upon the hidden valley behind Pine Mountain.

Along the floor of this valley a rocky little road follows Greasy Creek—"greasy" because once upon a time Dan'l Boone killed a b'ar nearby and left the oily carcass in the stream. Between the creek and the road stand occasional gray, low-hung cabins, un-screened and almost windowless.

Corn grows in small cleared patches in the midst of the forest, clinging unbelievably to the sharp hillsides. Here and there a great black kettle simmers over a small wood fire, and a bare-footed woman stirs the family wash with a smooth stick.

"Howdy," she says solemnly as the traveler goes by.

He lifts his hand in salute. "Howdy," he answers.

He moves warily, not to disturb the

three belled cows idling tentatively along before him, nor the flock of serious geese around the next corner, nor the fat black and white sow feeding her ten little pigs exactly in the middle of the dusty road. But at

—By a teacher of English at Berea College, who knows at first hand the nearby school of which she writes. Mrs. Matthias was for some years on the faculty of her alma mater, Mount Holyoke. She has also taught at Piedmont College, in northern Georgia, and worked for two summers as a volunteer at Pine Mountain.

Survey Graphic readers who enjoyed our articles drawn from the Kentucky diary of Marion Morse Mackaye last summer will have a special interest in this present-day account of Pine Mountain Settlement School. It was here that Percy Mackaye and his wife spent the summer of 1921, studying the speech and folklore of the mountain people.

length, just where Greasy Creek is joined by Isaac's Run, he steps over a log bridge and opens a wooden gate.

"Pine Mountain Settlement School," the sign at the entrance reads. The Shangri-La that James Hilton's hero reached in the desolate mountains of Tibet was an oasis of culture and well-being shut off from the desert of ignorance and suffering outside its gates. Pine Mountain Settlement School, too, is an oasis of culture and well-being, but it is not shut off from the folk who live in the hills and valleys of the southern mountain regions. When in 1913 Uncle William Creech, one of the early settlers, brought two schoolteachers from the north country and gave more than a hundred of his best acres for the founding of a school, it was his hope that here the boys and girls of the mountains would come to learn the art and the craft of living.

"I have a heart and cravin' that our people may grow better," he said. And today the influence of Pine Mountain School reaches out for many miles along the roads and creeks and paths of the Southern Appalachians, and beyond the mountains, too.

A boarding school on the high school level for boys and girls from hill farms and coal camps, Pine Mountain offers education at so low a cost that it is within the reach of any child, from however poor a family. Besides the registration fee of ten dollars, tuition is seven dollars and a half a month. Board is paid not in dollars but in labor — two hours a day; and if a student has no money for tuition he may work that out, too, during the summer months and the Christmas holidays.

What They Learn

Most of the boys and girls who attend Pine Mountain could otherwise have no formal education beyond what they receive in little one-room district schools, for they are chosen from among the children whose homes are remote from a high school. The public high school nearest to the Pine Mountain community, for instance, is eighteen miles distant; and no means of transportation connects it with any of the nearby settlements. A large number of students live as much as twenty or thirty miles from a public high school.

To satisfy Uncle William Creech's "cravin'," the school offers its boys and girls many opportunities to learn, from the time the rising bell rings at a quarter after six in the morning until the "lights out" bell at nine in the evening.

"I have got a great deal of good from Pine Mountain School," Andy Boggs wrote at the end of the school year. "My health is fully two thirds better. When I came I could only multiply by two, and now I can multiply by any number I wish to, and can also find the area and perimeter of anything. I have also learned manners at the eating table and other places."

Andy has learned something in the classroom. And he has been taught quite as much outside the classroom as in it. His education from acquaintance with the physical equipment alone is extraordinary. The reader of this magazine takes for granted much that is an entirely new experience to

Andy: bath tubs and flush toilets, electric lights, a chapel organ, books on shelves and tables, single beds with clean sheets and blankets — this last especially phenomenal to children who have slept four in a bed, covered only with a worn quilt. Just to stay at Pine Mountain school with its gracious buildings and fine appointments is a part of Andy's education.

It is impossible to measure the effect of peaceful community living. The student government association, the co-op group (who manage a small store on the cooperative plan), the nonsectarian religious organizations, daily life in a place where differences of opinion are resolved without force and without rancor—all these are of especial value in a section of the



Photographs from the author

Above: Pine Mountain students on their way to the daily chapel service; below: The school dining room, where Andy Boggs "learned manners at the eating table"

country noted for hot tempers and lasting enmities.

Several years ago, when feuding was fiercer in the mountains than it is today, a troubled boy came seeking admission. He carried a gun over his shoulder, for someone had shot and killed his brother. Should he avenge his brother's death?

"Maw says I have a bound to," he told the director, "but if I do I cain't git to come to the school. Most likely I will git in the pen for killin' a man, or if I don't I'll be afeard of bein' laywayed every time I step out. I allowed you fellers could help me to know what was right." The school did "help" him, and so ended one feud when it had scarcely begun.

Even today some of the students suffer from feuds that still rankle in the back-country sections, and from the consequences of quick tempers not held in leash. Stephen Hollin's father was shot by a man who was working with him in a lumber camp. The killer was brought to trial, but his only punishment was to be sent back to Georgia, whence he had come. It seems that Stephen's father had called him a name. But there are no feuds at the school, and there is remarkably little name calling.

Working Together

When Uncle William Creech gave his acres to the school, it was his opinion that "hit's better for folks's char-ac-ters to larn 'em to do things with their hands." The work program at Pine Mountain "larns 'em." The boys and girls, under direction, run the school farm and dairy, make furniture, keep the buildings clean and in good repair, do the printing and mimeographing, act as nurses' aides in the school infirmary, prepare and serve excellent meals, and can vegetables for winter use.

Three thousand quarts of beans! In the early July morning a dozen boys take great baskets into the green fields, and soon start bringing in the beans. Behind the Laurel House kitchen, after the breakfast dishes are put away, people begin to gather—girls and boys, members of the staff, chance visitors. Knife in hand, pan in lap, they sit on split-bottom chairs or on the grass beneath the trees. Snip, snip, snip.

"In Scarlet Town where I was born," someone sings, "there was a fair maid dwellin'," and everyone hums in answer, "Her name was

Barbry Allen." Then come "Frog Went Courtin'," and "Sourwood Mountain," and the poignantly beautiful "Jesus Walked This Lonesome Valley." The sun is in the tree tops now. Snip, snip, snip; and still the baskets full of beans come in from the fields. Beans and beans. Dinner and more beans.

"The summer I stayed with my Aunt Arletta up on Big Bear Creek"

"When my folks was livin' over Red Horse Branch ways, my sister Rosa Lee says"

"Well, my granddad ust to have a ol' b'ar trap he made hisse'f, and one day"

The sun is dropping slowly into the lower branches of the trees, and the thick shade inches to the east. The boys are all in from the fields, and the baskets and crates are almost empty. "Mr. Benjamin! Mr. Benjamin! Can we-all go in swimmin. Mr. Benjamin?"

The large, kindly man is H. M. Benjamin, the director of the school. "As soon as we've cleaned up," he promises, and there is a scraping of chairs, a clatter of pans, a flurry of brooms over the grass and the stone flagging.

Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin have been here all day, snipping beans and singing mountain ballads and telling stories with the boys and girls. The stories that they tell are of China. For twenty years they were in Ningpo under the Foreign Board of the Northern Baptist Convention, teaching in a mission school and organizing various community projects of an educational, medical, and social nature. When in 1940 they returned to the United States—on a furlough, they supposed—the war kept them here, and they were put in charge of an Oklahoma school for Indians. In the fall of 1944 they came to Pine Mountain.

"Let's see how the canning is going on," says Mr. Benjamin, and brushes the ends of beans off his lap. Inside the steaming kitchen Mr. Dodd is screwing the top on the big pressure canner.

"That makes three hundred and fifty jars today," he tells the director. Each jar holds two quarts, and some have already been put away on the top shelves of the store room.

Mr. Dodd, a graduate of Berea College, is the academic head of the school. In his spare time, when he isn't teaching a class or planning the

academic program—or canning beans—he is interviewing prospective students in their far-away homes, or refereeing a ball game, or conducting a folk dance, or playing the pipe organ of the Pine Mountain chapel. The people in charge of the school apply to themselves the precept of Uncle William Creech that work is very good for folks's char-ac-ters.

Saving the Soil

As an instance, we may look at the farm program—a program that "larns" not only the students but the people of the little communities for miles around. The soil of the hills is worn out, almost sterile. There is little bottom land; the farmer folk near Pine Mountain have gardens on the sides of steep hills where the rate of erosion is high. Cows are usually pastured along the road, and are likely to be milked beside the barnyard gate or on the dusty highway, wherever the farmer's wife may find them. At the school, however, the cows come from pasture to a clean, airy stable; they are milked by boys (*not* by girls) in clean uniforms, and the milk is pasteurized.

The school farm has the only bull within a radius of ten miles, and he is pure bred. Cows from the nearby settlements—nearly every family has a cow—are brought to be bred. The stock, Ayreshire, thrives in this rugged land, for it is native to mountainous country.

There are pure-bred hogs, too, and a boar. Under the direction of the up-to-date young farm manager, once a Pine Mountain student himself, the boys butcher the hogs and cut up the meat. Under his direction also, they keep the farm machinery in repair, and plant and harvest the crops.

"You got right smart corn," the neighbors say. "Ain't never seed such corn's you got." They admire the cover crops, too. To keep the soil from wearing away, the boys of the school sow rye and crimson clover and hairy vetch after they have harvested the beans and tomatoes. The neighbors knew nothing about these crops until they saw them at the school. They had thought it inevitable that a patch of ground would have to be abandoned after a few years. Now many of them are sowing cover crops and conserving the soil.

The school has the economic welfare of the mountain folk very much

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Health Insurance as Miners Know It

Sanitation, Medicine and Housing Enter Into a Significant Federal Report

MICHAEL M. DAVIS

DEATH COMES TO ONE IN EVERY FOUR hundred soft coal miners every year in a mine accident. One in every eight is injured—and miners' injuries are not pin pricks. Multiply these units by 400,000 and every year you have 50,000 damaged men and 1,000 to be buried. If you were a miner's wife, these facts would not be statistics. They would be the shadow of death over your home.

Disease as well as danger hangs heavy over the miner's family. Hard work for both miner and wife, exposure on the job and in leaky houses, foul water and other insanitation bring an overweight of sickness upon men, women, and children.

Coal miners have lived through long and bloody battles to gain better wages and a strong union, but the United Mine Workers have yet to win the fight against insecurity of work. Although they have obtained much higher wage rates, there have been only nine years out of the last twenty-five when miners have had as many as two hundred days of work a year. The United Mine Workers have so far been too absorbed in fighting for the miner's living to fight much for two basic needs of the miner's life—housing and health.

When the U. S. Department of the Interior took over most of the mines a year ago, the labor contract which the federal Coal Mines Administration (under the Department of the Interior) negotiated with the United Mine Workers included a pledge that the Coal Mines Administrator would make "a comprehensive survey and study of the hospital and medical facilities, medical treatment, sanitary and housing conditions in the coal mining areas."

Now comes a 310-page report,*

*"A Medical Survey of the Bituminous-Coal Industry." Report of the Coal Mines Administration. U. S. Government Printing Office. \$1.75.



heavy with coated paper, but lightened by over 200 photographs which make the official document a graphic story. Through the steep valleys of the Appalachians from Pennsylvania to Alabama; through the flatter coal lands of the Central States; among the Rocky Mountain mine areas in Colorado, Utah, and states north and south; on to distant Washington—the survey field teams went through mines and homes, looked at wash-houses and privies, town planning and schools, queried employers, miners, doctors, hospital people, local officials.

Rear Admiral Joel T. Boone of the Navy Medical Corps directed the survey. Each field team had a navy physician, an engineer, a welfare and recreation officer, and a clerk. They in-

HEALTH—TODAY & TOMORROW

—A series by the chairman, Committee on Research in Medical Economics; associate editor, *Survey Graphic*.

spected 260 mines—a small fraction of the 2,350 then in federal possession—carefully selected to represent all types of mining conditions. Their excellent report challenges miners and their union, the coal companies and their associations, the physicians and their medical societies, national and state governments—to face facts, do fresh thinking, make new starts to solve long festering problems.

Housing

More than half the houses are company-owned. If you have a lease, it is usually drawn so you can be put out five days after the company fires you. Semifeudal customs persist that started in days when ground was first broken for mining. The miner extracts and loads more and more coal with machinery, but his wife often has to go a hundred feet outdoors to dip water for drinking, cooking, washing, and for the miner's own bath in a wash tub. And the water may be from a well or stream that gets the drainage from the privies.

Mining is a hard, dirty job. Yet less than half of all mines provided wash-houses for the men. Some states have laws requiring them. In an America advertised as the land of bathrooms, only 10 percent of company-owned houses have any. Houses owned by miners themselves show a much higher rating—31 percent, but even this is below the figure for all non-farm homes in the nation—40 percent.

Taking housing as a whole, only 35 percent of the company-owned houses are rated "adequate" as to site, structure, and repair. The figure for houses owned by miners themselves is double that. A few large coal companies show an outstanding picture of well built houses, safe water supply, good sanitation, and attractive layout of the site. In the Middle West, where the traditions of the Appalachian valleys do not hold, there are few "company camps" and much better housing conditions. But 70 percent of our soft coal comes out of the Appalachians. Here the general picture is grim. Low rents are charged, but even so the survey estimates that some companies have made a profit on wretched dwellings.

The report thinks the union should take steps to modernize leases (even at higher rents), compel repairs, encourage home ownership, and enforce and improve the laws requiring wash-houses, pure water, and sanitation. Some companies will resist.

The state and national governments have a large share of the responsibility. As to public health services, for example, the report declares that "coal-mining communities are not receiving a proportionate share of the funds now being spent." Coal miners have not demanded public health services, coal mine operators have not encouraged and arranged for them, physicians associated with coal mines, says the survey, have been indifferent to them.

A Century of Health Insurance

In the medical care of the sick and injured, physicians have not been indifferent, for that is what most of them have been trained for. Doctors have gone to practice in coal mining areas no less isolated and far less salubrious than many rural areas which doctors have shunned. Hospitals of a sort have been located within reach of all miners. Miners have had doctors and hospitals because they have had health insurance. The hazards

of the industry—highest of all industries in its accident severity rate—made the coal mine operators appreciate the necessity of locally available doctors, especially since from the beginning they could, and did, make the miners pay for them. The prepayment plans in the coal industry long antedate workmen's compensation laws. These laws enforced the employers' responsibility and gave him a loophole too, as we shall see.

Health insurance under nongovernmental auspices has had a tryout in the bituminous coal industry for almost a century, and on a large scale during the last thirty years. This health insurance has been practically compulsory, though not by law. Custom based on prior necessity, industrial fiat enforcing custom, make almost all miners and their families members of health insurance plans wherever these are organized. Seventy-eight years ago, a Scotsman visiting eastern coal mines reported an "off-take" from the pay envelope of \$1 a month for a doctor. Now the check-off of from \$1.50 to \$3.00 a month for a family, about two thirds that for a single man, goes for the general doctor, an equivalent amount for hospitalization and professional services in the hospital. "No check-off, no job."

In the older mine regions of the East, such health insurance is almost

universal, except when the mines are within striking distance of a city. In the Central states and the West, it is found when the mines are isolated. Altogether, 70 percent of the miners and their families pay their doctors and hospitals through health insurance. Says the report:

... it was apparent to the navy medical officers that the concept of a prepayment system for medical care was acceptable to all parties and that abandonment of the principles of prepayment would not only be resisted, but would be undesirable.

Typically the company collects the check-off and turns it over to a doctor, who agrees—usually without any written contract—to supply general medical services at his office or in the miners' homes, to them and their families. Usually the company chooses the doctor. Likewise, the hospital check-off is commonly paid over to a hospital, selected by the employer, or to a doctor who owns a hospital. Of the 154 different medical plans investigated by the survey, a doctor got the check-off in five sixths of the cases; the company ran the plan directly and hired doctors in one twelfth, and the union ran or shared in the running of a plan only in the remaining fraction.

In the hospital plans, the picture is similar. The great majority of the hospitals are organized for profit, and



Photos from U. S. Department of the Interior
"Disease as well as danger hangs heavy" over the miner and the miner's family

are owned by doctors or business interests or both. The union or non-profit hospital insurance associations account for only about a fifth of the hospital plans.

Health insurance in soft coal mines began in paternalism, sometimes benevolent. The passage of workmen's compensation laws, starting a few years before the first World War, supplied an unfortunate but powerful incentive to make health insurance profitable to the coal companies. For under these laws, the employer is responsible for medical and surgical care of industrial accidents. If the company, through its control over the doctors and hospitals of its selection, can make the check-offs stretch to cover industrial accidents as well as all other medical care, the company is making money.

Effects of Commercialization

Complaints against this practice are of long standing. The union, some doctors, the West Virginia and other state medical associations, and several outside investigating bodies, have voiced complaints. The present study presents evidence of the existence of this evil.

There are other troubles. Except in a few mines, and in some union-sponsored and other nonprofit plans, the medical services are not complete. Venereal diseases and obstetrical cases

are commonly excluded. Miners must pay extra for such care. The report rightly calls such exclusions medically indefensible.

The quality of care usually is only what an isolated doctor can give. Despite the frequency of serious accidents, few doctors and hospitals are equipped to deal promptly and effectively with surgical shock. Specialists' services are commonly unavailable except in some hospital cases. Some doctors are reported to have up-to-date offices, but the quarters of many are ill-equipped or slovenly. There is no professional supervision over what the doctors do or how they do it. A large proportion of the hospitals are small proprietary institutions falling below standard in one or more physical and professional requirements.

The expense to the miners is not adequately brought out in this survey, which recommends further study. From \$3 to \$6 a month for the combined check-off, makes from \$36 to \$72 a year for each family. The wide variations in charges seem more influenced by custom and local circumstances than by any reasoned analysis of services and costs. To these figures must be added from \$10 to \$20 a year — perhaps an average of \$15 — which the miner pays to get services not provided (or not provided to his satisfaction) by the insurance system.

For from \$50 to \$90 a family a

year, plus equitable payments from the employer for care of the industrial accidents and diseases for which he is legally responsible, really adequate medical service and hospitalization could be made available in these areas. Reform is not a question of more money; it is a question of spending money effectively.

Everyone in the industry accepts the idea of health insurance, but complaints about the present system come from all sides. There are complaints from miners about the doctors and from doctors about their patients. Miners and their local unions protest against the company's selection and control of their doctors. Companies that say they have tried to improve the services complain that "their motives are misunderstood." The report calls upon the medical profession and the United Mine Workers to take more initiative than they have in the past, and upon management to share intelligently in replanning and improving the system.

A Problem for Sextants

A system which was never made but which grew should not be attacked in a mood of recrimination, but should be approached — as Admiral Boone's survey approaches it — as a problem of engineering. The underlying evil is the commercialization of health services. In health service, competition may level down as well as up. The basic principle for sound organization of health insurance is that control of the money, and of policies which concern spending the money, shall be in the hands of the people who pay it. This principle has been tested out all over the western world, and now is rarely violated except in certain plans in the USA.

With this principle go two correlatives: that purely professional matters shall be fully in the hands of the professions; that under no circumstances should control of health insurance spending be in the hands of persons or groups that derive financial gain from the spending.

The report well points out that if a number of independent health insurance doctors in an area organized as a group, they could have far better facilities, could include specialists, and have medical supervision. Re-planning by areas instead of by local company units is one necessary and practical procedure. The doctors would

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The slow-moving stream that runs between the rows of houses as in this company-camp community has become the disposal place for trash and garbage

A Reporter's Report on the Nation

HARRY HANSEN

JOHN GUNTHER'S "INSIDE U. S. A." is a phenomenon of American journalism. Packed with a tremendous amount of personal observation of the forty-eight states, information and points of view gleaned from interviews with political and business leaders, it throbs with a human pulse. For behind these mountains of fact stands the author.

Like Burton Holmes, clarifying the architecture of the Italian Renaissance with slides and a pointer, Mr. Gunther is taking the reader on a personally conducted tour. Eager, interested, ready at any moment to explain exactly what he knows and where he got it, Mr. Gunther is really a member of the party, answering questions that crop up in your mind as you read, and making statistics dance a rigadon before your eyes.

This brings to a head our current insistence on informality in journalistic writing. The authority who talked down to us is no longer welcome; he may find work in seminars, or lecture before students who have to take him, but for popular purposes he is useless. John Gunther represents the modern inquiring reporter. In the more formal writing of the nineteenth century the most interesting material was often found in footnotes. In today's writing this is incorporated in the text.

How He Works

Mr. Gunther has gathered his information from everywhere. He declares that nine tenths of the book is the result of evidence picked up by his own eyes and ears. He has done a one-man job: "I employed no professional researchers whatever." With this explicit description of his methods and sources, his book becomes a model for young journalists.

It is intensely contemporary. Many of the books mentioned are recent: "Strange Fruit," "New World A-Coming," "Detroit Is My Own Home Town." Many of the newspaper and magazine references are a New Yorker's reading: Walter Winchell, *Time*, *Life*, *Fortune*, *PM*, *The New York Times*, *The New Yorker*. Mr. Gunther

collected so much information on his trips that he has reserved Washington, D. C., for a volume by itself, in which he intends to do a more thorough job of analyzing personalities and political parties.

The trained newspaperman is well represented by John Gunther. To me he is an excellent example of the decency, fairness, and human sympathy of the newspaperman. Working every day in this atmosphere, I have no sympathy with those who make sweeping generalizations of dishonesty and falsification. In many such attacks I recognize political maneuvering.

Mr. Gunther is an honest reporter, a social critic by personal investigation, rather than by academic study. He is a liberal-minded gradualist who will be found always on the side of social betterment, but is not likely to become a party worker. He is an effective prod to the middle class, because he is one of them. He is interested in the men who run politics, rather than politics as an abstraction, and his attitude is Jeffersonian. His point of view on extremists is free from anxiety and fear:

Communists, no matter how they are belabored by right-wing fanatics, represent no authentic indigenous American force, and the Fascists, though inextricably involved with the enemies of the United States, are a minor irritating scum at best. The fate of this country is . . . no more dependent on the one than on the other; Union Square counts for as little nationally as the yelpings of such scavengers in the bankrupt as Father Coughlin or Gerald L. K. Smith.

Therefore "Inside U. S. A." (Harper, \$5) abounds in portraits of political leaders of the two major parties, with close-ups of O'Dwyer, Hague, La Guardia, Saltonstall, Tobin, Dewey, Lausch, Arnall, Stassen, and many others; with lively accounts of how political machines work and industries handle labor problems; with special admiration for the federal accomplishments at TVA, Grand Coulee, Bonneville, and hopes for the MVA, which politicians and

utilities are fighting in the face of the Missouri river's incredible ravages to soil. Mr. Gunther brings up strong arguments for conserving resources with better planning by presenting the picture; he does not have to raise his voice.

Facts and Theses

Since his object is to find out who runs the USA—by community and state—and what makes the country tick, he does not have to select facts to fit a thesis. In writing about two great newspapers, the *Kansas City Star* and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, he remarks that the first, now owned entirely by working members of its staff, has become "progressively more conservative, because the editorial employes naturally come to take a front-office view," whereas the *Post-Dispatch*, "baronial in management" is "probably the most effective liberal newspaper in the United States." This leads Mr. Gunther to remark: "This is no country in which to make loose generalizations about the influence of property on politics, or vice versa."

When John Gunther came to the study of the Negro, he did not have to make the exhaustive inquiry of Gunnar Myrdal to understand the issues and their origin. As a native American he knew the attitude white people take, but he had made no investigation in the South. There "the grim enormousness of the problem" impressed him.

He collected information from men and from books (Myrdal was one of his authorities), but also he had personal experiences that brought the matter home to him. For instance, Dr. Ira de Augustine Reid of Atlanta "could not even meet me in my hotel room. He parked his car outside, contrived in some manner to send a message up, and waited on the street."

In thus explaining how individuals, white and black, live and think in the South, Mr. Gunther is once more using the personal approach, the suggestion of "put yourself in his place," which is always a potent argument. But he can present statistics in an

(All Books ordered through Survey Associates, Inc., will be postpaid)

effective manner, too. The useful chart of information about the states gives not only the number of Negroes in each state but the number of lynchings from 1882 through 1944.

Mr. Gunther's discussion of how whites treat individual Negroes, and how men of both races feel about their uneasy relationship is like an exchange of views in an informal gathering; this helps give the book its liveliness and attractiveness. The tenor of remarks by those consulted in the South is bafflement rather than resentment; the author quotes them without letting their tempers rise.

He makes good use of unexpected sidelights: that many Negroes resented Lillian Smith's "Strange Fruit" because no college-educated Negro girl "should do anything so disgraceful as have an affair with a white boy"; that there are 55,000 Negro college graduates in the United States but "most southern whites have never seen one"; that "at a recent Atlanta [union] meeting a speaker addressed a Negro as 'mister' by mistake and simply added 'I mean brother.' There were no protests one way or the other."

The author is fair to the South and to the southern whites, but his conclusions run against them: whatever the South has done about this, it is not enough. Even admitting that many Negroes are not as capable as many white employes—a courageous statement for any writer to make in the face of current feeling—Mr. Gunther sees more education inevitable if our democracy is to survive.

Mr. Gunther's discussion, informal, agreeable, allowing both sides to give their views, becomes an element in general education. It will reach thousands who would never find the path to Myrdal's two volumes.

For Wholesome Democracy

He has some healthy, hopeful conclusions to offer and is convinced that "the long-run mood of this country is progressive." It is still the land of self-made men, and this applies especially to politicians. He finds that the propertied class is still the dominant one—"I do not mean 'big' property necessarily, though that certainly counts. I mean property in the sense of a banker's loan large and small, a widow's trust fund, a professor's house, a student's jalopy, a workman's tools."

The greatest danger to democracy,

he thinks, may reside in the professional politicians, whose incompetence, plus a financial depression, may cause a breakdown. But he has found "a splendid but disconcertingly small procession of able and useful citizens" in the public eye. He considers the Negro problem at present insoluble, though capable of amelioration. He believes the United States is less affected by the split between right and left than other countries, but he thinks the capitalist economy will need constant help from the government.

"The next New Deal will make the last New Deal look mild. Because, in plain fact, no matter how butressed up and artificially stimulated and massaged, the free enterprise philosophy is not working well enough; it is not sufficient." And Mr. Gunther lays the bogey of government interference by adding, "There is no group in this country that does not benefit from some sort of government enterprise." The country is still "lousy with greatness" and with great opportunities; it needs continuing education and political maturity on the part of the little man.

To John Gunther the United States

SMALL TOWN, by Granville Hicks. Macmillan, \$3.

BAKER BROWNELL

THIS IS A BOOK ABOUT ONE OF THE little places of the world. Because it is well done, it is also a book about all little places in the world and about the human beings in them. It is written from the inside and clearly is one of the best books on the small town in American literature.

A New York intellectual, distinguished as a critic and novelist, gets fed up with the pretense, pressures, and hullabaloo of urban careerism and chucks it all for a little country town. Though an intellectual with Communist connections, he sits tight, helps in the war effort, becomes a school trustee, a member of the volunteer fire department, a co-founder of the public library, and in general makes a place for himself and his family in the life and good will of the little town. After eleven years he still lives there. He intends to stay.

In New York Granville Hicks had sought in communism the answer to the social injustices that he saw all about him. Then in 1939, when he

is an exciting place. His attitude toward it is constructive. He is not the uncritical booster, but the informed observer and commentator. There are men and matters that he does not like, but he gives them their day in court.

His sense of fairness is shown in his comment on the *Chicago Tribune*, an appraisal that gets closer to the truth than the attacks of embittered enemies. One reason for this is that John Gunther himself is midwestern in origin; to have grown up in the nation's breadbasket has definite advantages for a man who tries to judge the United States as a whole. Some of the chapters on western states are among the best, notably the Pacific Northwest, Montana, and Minnesota, but the book is uneven, as witness the treatment of Iowa and Maryland.

But it would be invidious for me to attempt to pick faults in a work that should be judged for its temper, its object, and its general usefulness. It will go to many hundreds of thousands of Americans by virtue of its choice by the Book of the Month Club, and its effect, I am sure, will be stimulating and wholesome for the cause of liberal democracy.

could no longer stomach the hypocrisy, authoritarianism, and the subordination of ends to means in the Communist party, he resigned. In the small town he learned to seek what neither communism nor urban capitalism could give, a measure of human freedom and equality, and a just distribution of the benefits arising from the resources of modern technology and materials.

Freedom, equality, and the classless society, at least to a reasonable degree, he found. But he did not find the diffusion of the benefits of modern invention and intellect. He found instead a community largely drained of its youth and wealth by its urban neighbors, disintegrating under the pressures of modern instruments. The book is this question: How can we find a way of life where the true community, the folk, and free men can live without repudiating the advantages of modern technological and administrative techniques? It is not so easy as some facile intellectuals of the great cities seem to think.

"Small Town" tells how Hicks was cast out of the belly of the New York whale upon the open beach of human

life. It tells of his successful struggle to be human, to live with ordinary human beings and take a significant part in their comings and goings. In a world where intellect becomes more and more recessive, arrogant, and isolated from the common human stuff which alone gives it significance, Granville Hicks' success is important.

This common human stuff, or "folk," is found in the small community. Only as formulated in the small community can its essential values survive. The book turns about the modern dilemma of *mind* and *folk*, their relationship, their conflict and the sterility of the one without the other. The Apollonian and the Dionysian strains of art and action are in our culture segregated from each other. We have found no way to join them to bring about the birth, as Nietzsche says, of the tragic arts. We have the tragedy indeed, some thirty years of it, but not as yet the resolution of that tragedy in a spiritual formulation.

THE CARTHAGINIAN PEACE — OR THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF MR. KEYNES, by Etienne Mantoux. Oxford University Press. \$4.50.

J. B. CONDLIFFE

WHEN J. M. KEYNES IN 1919 PUBLISHED his "Economic Consequences of the Peace," he established himself as an oracle, almost a prophet, of world renown. The book quickly became a best seller in many languages. Its authority was derived from its author's reputation as a scientific economist; but it was in fact a political tract. As such it had unexpected repercussions. It played some part in the defeat of Woodrow Wilson and the rejection of the League by the United States Senate. It encouraged German resistance to reparation claims. In France it encouraged the Maginot mentality; and it persuaded a whole generation of economists, particularly in the English-speaking countries, that the reparation claims were uncollectable, unjust, and even immoral. It contributed largely also to the legend that the Treaty of Versailles was a cruel and vindictive instrument and the inevitable cause of future wars.

The numerous experts of the United States Peace Delegation, including many of the greatest academic and financial figures of the time, labored in vain to correct these impressions. The brilliantly written, impressionistic sketches at the beginning

of Keynes' book, reinforced by an array of statistical and economic arguments that few could check, proved irresistible. Actually the sketches were unfair and unfounded. Keynes was present only once at a meeting of the Big Four.

Now comes a cool, painstaking analysis of the economic argument, and particularly of the forecasts, made by Mr. Keynes. The author was a young Frenchman, son of a distinguished economic historian. He was concerned to show that the second world war, in which he was soon to lose his life, was not caused by the Treaty of Versailles, but was in fact the result of yielding to the forces of leniency so eloquently pleaded in 1919 by Mr. Keynes.

Before the book was published, both the young author and the great man whose work he had criticised were dead. There was nothing personal in Etienne Mantoux's criticism. He was concerned with a philosophy, not with a man. Indeed, he was at pains to show that the man had changed his philosophy. Not the least interesting part of his penetrating analysis is the demonstration that the economic views expressed by J. M. Keynes in 1919 can be most easily refuted by applying to them the economic theories developed by Lord Keynes after 1931.

The animus of Mantoux's criticism does not lie in the economic, but in the political, field. It is more valid and more important today than it was when he formulated it. Already great economists are pleading the German cause again. From his grave in Bavaria, Etienne Mantoux sends a warning message, not, indeed, against reconciliation or rehabilitation; but against underestimation of the recuperative powers of a great militarist people.

The essence of his warning is that the decisions to be taken, even in regard to economic policy, are political. Germany is at the moment defeated and utterly demoralised. So was the Germany of which Keynes wrote in 1919. Mantoux maintains that there was then, as there is now, no valid reason why in due course the German people should not pay reparation for at least part of the damage their leaders, with their eager consent and co-operation, inflicted on their neighbors.

German productivity will revive, as it did between the wars. Means could be found both to prevent that pro-

ductivity going again into rearmament and to ensure that part of it goes to relieve the victims of German aggression. The inflation in Germany after the last war was in large part a fraudulent bankruptcy.

There will be many who, like this reviewer, knew Etienne Mantoux in his student days and will now read his political testament with an acute sense of personal grief. France and the world have suffered in the loss of so fine and so balanced a mind; but his early death will not have been altogether in vain if those who are now shaping the world will take time to read and ponder the bitter lesson which he learned in his generation.

A FREE AND RESPONSIBLE PRESS—A General Report on Mass Communication: Newspapers, Radio, Motion Pictures, Magazines, and Books, by the Commission on Freedom of the Press, with a Foreword by Robert M. Hutchins. University of Chicago Press. \$2.

HENRY CHRISTMAN

IN 1944, WITH \$200,000 FROM HENRY R. Luce of Time, Inc., and \$15,000 from the Encyclopedia Britannica Inc., the Commission on Freedom of the Press, headed by Robert H. Hutchins of the University of Chicago, set out to answer the question: "Is freedom of the press in danger?" Now the commission makes its report: "Yes . . . freedom of the press is in danger," and the owners of the press—newspapers, radio, magazines, motion pictures—are responsible.

The commission concluded that the press, mainly in the hands of gigantic business units, has failed to meet the needs of society and has ignored its responsibility; has failed to offer a truly diversified forum, essential to a healthy democratic life; has failed to represent accurately the constituent groups and major goals of our society. And if the press continues to engage in practices which society condemns, society will inevitably undertake to regulate or control it. The commission says:

The press is not free if those who operate it behave as though their position conferred on them the privilege of being deaf to ideas which the process of free speech has brought to public attention.

Mr. Hutchins states the problem in an introduction to the report:

The commission knows that one dreadful curse of contemporary life is the terrifying flood of words with which

the agencies of mass communication threaten to inundate the citizen. Anybody with nothing to say can say it by mass communication if he has a knowing press agent . . . or an active pressure group behind him, whereas even with such advantages, anybody with something to say has a hard time getting it said by mass communication if it runs counter to the ideas of owners, editors, opposing pressure groups, or popular prejudice.

The commission rightly insists that freedom of the press can remain a right of those who publish, only if it incorporates into itself the right of the citizen and the public interest. Persisting and distorting pressures—financial, popular, clerical, institutional—must be known and counter-balanced. Further:

The press must, if it is to be wholly free, know and overcome any bias incident to its own economic position, its concentration, and its pyramidal organization. . . . It must be accountable to society for meeting the public need and for maintaining the rights of citizens and the almost forgotten rights of speakers who have no press. . . . Freedom of the press for the coming period can only continue as an accountable freedom. Its moral right will be conditioned on its acceptance of this accountability. Its legal right will stand unaltered as its moral duty is performed.

The press must assume, what it has not in the past, the responsibility for furnishing society a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which gives them meaning and for providing a method of presenting and clarifying the goals and values of society. "It is no longer enough to report *the fact* truthfully. It is now necessary to report *the truth about the fact*."

Much of the report is devoted to analysis of the performance of the press in terms of society's need and of effective use of technological development. While the commission believes correction of the present abuses rests largely with the press and in mobilized elements of society acting directly on the press, it outlines a thirteen-point program of government, press, and public action. The program is not startling or revolutionary, and yet it is almost certain to be stubbornly opposed by the press.

The commission has turned out a sound and calmly reasoned report. The press will find it difficult to successfully dodge its vigorous challenge.

I am sure a great many newspapers would not welcome an independent agency that would investigate "instances of press lying, with particular reference to persistent misrepresentation of the data required for judging public issues."

GERMAN YOUTH: BOND OR FREE,
by Howard Becker. Oxford University Press. \$4.

HANS ROSENHAUPT

AT A TIME WHEN OUR POLICY IN Germany may determine the course of European history for generations to come, a calm, well-informed answer to the question "German Youth, Bond or Free?" would be welcome indeed. Unfortunately this book does not provide the answer.

In his foreword the author states that his "undertone of approval" of the Roamers in an earlier statement should be eliminated. But instead of eliminating *all* undertones, he substitutes an undertone of disapproval because, in retrospect, he sees in the old Youth Movement of the early part of the century only the forerunner of the Hitler Youth. As a result of this obvious bias, important elements of the later movement have been ignored, or are mentioned only in passing:

—the German national need for "belonging" and the failure of the Wilhelmian era to impart such a feeling to a certain sector of youth;

—the marginal character of all youth which emphasized this need;

—the predominantly materialistic

philosophy of pre- and postwar Germany, in protest to which the movement arose and flourished;

—Nietzsche's influence mainly through his *Zarathustra*;

—positive values in the Youth Hostel movement;

—Socialist, Catholic and Liberal Youth groups under the Weimar Republic;

—the smallness of the earlier groups, a lack of central direction as compared to the mass character and centralized control of the Hitler Youth—a decisive point because here quantity, in a Hegelian sense, turned into quality.

The book fails to mention: Hermann Popert's *Helmut Haringa*, the movement's unofficial bible; Gerda Eichbaum's study on the crisis of modern youth as reflected in literature; Fritz Klatt's study on the significance of the movement. He seems unaware of the outstanding roles in the early days of the movement of such men as William Jansen, Eugen Diederichs, Walter Hammer, and Knud Ahlborn. He makes no reference to Hans Kohn's weighed and informative account in the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences.

It is reassuring to learn that Howard Becker, professor of sociology at the University of Wisconsin, regards Freud as "a very great psychologist indeed," but it must be a shock to the faithful to find this admission followed by the profound query: "But is he infallible?" He refers to the birth

June Reviewers

Rose H. Alschuler: *A Chicagoan; wartime Chairman, National Commission for Young Children; co-author, "Painting and Personality"*

Baker Brownell: *Professor of Philosophy, Northwestern University*

Henry Christman: *Special Editor, December Survey Graphic, "The Right of All People to Know"*

J. B. Condliffe: *Professor of Economics, University of California*

Harry Hansen: *Literary Editor, New York World-Telegram; Associate Editor, Survey Graphic*

Alain Locke: *Professor of Philosophy, Howard University; Contributing Editor, Survey Graphic*

Hans Rosenhaupt: *Born in Germany; graduate of the University of Berne (Switzerland); Director, Rocky Mountain School of Languages, Colorado College*

Seymour N. Siegel: *Director of Programs, Municipal Broadcasting System, New York City*

P. Alston Waring: *Bucks County, Pa., farmer; co-author (with Clinton Golden), "Soil and Steel"*

of the "tragically misshapen and malnourished German Republic," and makes the startling observation that Hitler changed the German Youth Movement by reflecting it in curved mirrors "patterned after his own warped and twisted soul."

The most questionable parts of the book are three sequences in which the author attempts to create a social atmosphere by character and milieu sketches which are as "typically German" as the Hotel Bismarck in Chicago. The motif of the Lindentree, used so magnificently in Thomas Mann's "Magic Mountain," becomes, in Becker's hands, a shallow, syrupy theme reminiscent of antimacassars, red velvet tassels, and plaster casts. The portrait of a German officer after World War II lacks the one statement which any German officer of the type portrayed would have made: that the Western Powers, allied with Germany, would soon have to face the Russian colossus.

The book does not gain in stature by its references to military security, the OSS, of which the author was a member, and the author's exalted military rank. "For better or for worse," so he concludes, "this is the voice of Howard Becker warbling his native woodnotes wild." Personally, I prefer the State Department's less native but more realistic, less wild but more responsible, notes on German Youth Activities, as outlined in the Department of State's Bulletin of February 16, 1947.

THE PLEASURE IS MINE, by Sara L. Hart. Valentine Newman. \$5.

ROSE H. ALSCHULER

BECAUSE SARA HART HAS PLAYED A vital part in the development of one of our large American cities, her autobiography, is in essence a piece about America quite as much as it is the record of a fine American citizen.

While she was working with Jane Addams, Julia Lathrop, and Judge Mary Bartelme, she was helping make some of the best of Chicago's social fabric. As the wife of a leading industrialist, her story of the forging of one of the first and most effective labor-management protocols is of high interest and has direct bearing on present day industrial situations. As we move through the chapters of Sara Hart's life and book, we find continuous evidence of vision turned into action.

The story of her long years of loyal conscientious service, freely given, lifts approbrium from the term "volunteer workers." Those who have worked with Sara Hart realize she has always known that professional standards are not a method of procedure unique to paid workers but are rather a matter of what each worker demands of himself.

Mrs. Hart came to realize that work within limited organizations was not enough. National and local welfare demanded participation in politics and work toward better legislation. To both of these she brought her characteristic vigor and effectiveness.

"The Pleasure is Mine" is written with style and integrity, and it is more than a personal history. It is a good chronicle that reflects a period, the growth of a city, and the expanding place of women in our particular culture.

PROPHETS AND PEOPLES: Studies in Nineteenth Century Nationalism, by Hans Kohn. Macmillan. \$2.50.

FIVE LECTURES ON MEN OF THE NINETEENTH century who spoke for their peoples, delivered at Northwestern University, are now incorporated in a book. The five men, chosen because they "helped to shape the age of nationalism," are John Stuart Mill, Michelet, Mazzini, Treitschke, and Dostoevsky. Each reflects a national idea and contributes to the elements that we recognize as national characteristics, in the opinion of Hans Kohn.

In his covering essay, the author stresses the diversity of influences in national thinking and declares that while great voices of former ages—such as Aquinas, Erasmus, and Voltaire—spoke for Christendom or Europe, and Bentham, Rousseau, and Kant spoke for mankind, thinkers of the nineteenth century became concerned with national backgrounds, attitudes, and aspirations. Only Mill was free from the illusion of a nation with a mission.

The five essays are analyses of the thinking and influence of the leaders, with special reference to their place in the national framework. Mr. Kohn believes that Mill was most effective in expressing the rational and individual liberty of the English: "His work and the progress of time combined in changing the creed of a fighting sect into a representative representation of the national mind."

Michelet, through the difficult years of the early nineteenth century, associated nationalism with the best aspirations of the French people and emphasized it as an expression of democracy. Mazzini, in addition to fighting for the unity of Italian nationality, had "unity of mankind" as an ultimate objective. Treitschke, one of Mr. Kohn's "bad nationalists," prepared the way for Bismarck and the dominant Prussian state, whereas Dostoevsky was a "God-seeker" like Ivan Karamazov; "but the God of whom he spoke was the Russian god, the religion which he meant was nationalism."

Perhaps the last two essays are the most important for the elucidation of the author's point of view, for these men have not been studied as exhaustively as the others. Dostoevsky's national feeling was "excessive" and did not represent the attitude of the intellectuals of his time.

The aims of Treitschke and Dostoevsky had much in common, especially in the opposition to western civilization, which Mr. Kohn identifies with the best in democracy and liberalism. Their narrow views had great influence in determining the character of two national states, both of which have subordinated the individual to national aims. The true spirit of political and social freedom resides, according to Mr. Kohn, with the English-speaking peoples.

H.H.

THE WALLACES OF IOWA, by Russell Lord. Houghton Mifflin. \$5.

P. ALSTON WARING

"THE WALLACES OF IOWA" IS A biography of a family—and the history of an agricultural era. Perhaps its special interest lies in the fact that here is a farm family with its roots in the Corn Belt and with a record of first-rate agricultural achievement. Moreover, the technique of writing about more than one man affords an opportunity to depict a long epoch in American farm life, and one suspects that Mr. Lord is as much interested in the turbulent and changing background of rural society adjusting to a dominant industrialism, as he is in his three main characters.

This is a long chronicle. It has a certain felicity and ease of style, but it is important to know what the author is about. In his panoramic picture of American agriculture he is

certainly not merely setting the background for the biography of a single man. The story is of a family and it is peopled with the many men who shaped the agriculture, not only of Iowa cornlands, but the nation—from the days of the long depression which brought on the Populist Movement, through the prosperous years of Theodore Roosevelt, and culminating in the complex days of the New Deal.

To be sure, the greater share of the book is devoted to Henry A. Wallace, and Mr. Lord brings together many facts and an abundance of anecdote to throw light on the complexity of his era. In the light of the controversial character of Franklin D. Roosevelt's Secretary of Agriculture and Vice-President, this part of the story is of special interest. However, being the most recent history, it is perhaps the least objective, and in some ways "Young Henry" is not etched as sharply in the narrative as either his grandfather (Uncle Henry), or his father, the first Wallace Secretary of Agriculture.

The portrait of "Uncle Henry" is the most successful in the book. He was apparently a captivating person with an Irish heart and a Scotch conscience, who preached the Gospel in his young manhood, and good agriculture through *The Iowa Homestead* and *Wallaces' Farmer* during all his middle and later years. Uncle Henry set the pattern of progressivism in this cornland family. He fought for fairer freight rates and against monopoly, and his was one of the most vigorous voices in the agrarian world of his day.

If Mr. Lord's character portrayal is uneven, his portrait of a family is highly successful. Perhaps he has been aided by the close knit character of this Wallace clan with its strong loyalties and principles and possessed, as it seems to be, of a sense of genetic continuity. It is not at all strange that as farmers and teachers they turned to science and to plant and animal breeding, and left a record of achievement in the field of genetics.

In fact, here is a record of the unfolding pattern of a family and the agriculture of which it is a part of an expression. This is the book's strength and chief value. In the farming environment in which these men have lived as farmers, journalists, scientists, and public servants they emerge with real stature. In writing of them, Mr. Lord had done a service

in illuminating further the farm situation of our time. Though the story is but a segment of the whole, it is a vital segment. Moreover, it is entirely right in our urban world to have pointed up for us, as sharply as this book does, some of our deeply rooted rural values.

THE PEOPLE LOOK AT RADIO, by Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Harry Field. University of North Carolina Press. \$2.50.

SEYMOUR N. SIEGEL

DURING THE YEAR JUST PASSED, THE commercial radio program, which is the backbone of the American system of broadcasting, has been given a going-over, the like of which has never been witnessed in the history of the twenty-five-year-old industry.

The Federal Communications Commission started the ball rolling in the spring with the publication of the so-called "Blue Book." This was an attempt to compare the promise made by certain broadcasters in their application for a coveted station license with their actual performance. It endeavored to set a standard of public service responsibility of all broadcast licensees.

"The People Look at Radio" is a distillation of a survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Denver. The collection and tabulation of the data was done by the Center; the detailed analysis was performed by the director of the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University. While Mr. Lazarsfeld and the late Harry Field received their financial support in the preparation of the report from the National Association of Broadcasters, which is the trade organization of American radio stations, they had a completely free hand in its preparation.

The fundamental conclusion that might be drawn is that radio's critics are an extremely small portion of the population. Apparently, the vast majority of radio listeners in the United States are happy about the fare they receive. Questionnaires indicated their approval of radio broadcasting in a comparative survey of the job that this medium was performing with the job that newspapers, churches, schools, and local government were doing. Twenty-eight percent voted in the "excellent" column, with churches placing second and local municipal government last.

Sixty-two percent of the people apparently have no objection to the present commercial advertising practices. Thirty-five percent would prefer no advertising; and 3 percent had no opinion. The authors conclude that approximately one third of the American people "have a really negative feeling toward commercials." This is based on the fact that 74 percent of all listeners are either actively opposed or indifferent to radio commercials.

Almost half of the people interviewed claim an important way in which they make use of radio is for the purpose of listening occasionally to some serious or educational program. More than a quarter of the people interviewed would like more classical music on the air.

The survey in general shows in a variety of ways that people are apparently satisfied with what American radio does for them. They say radio is fine; they want it to become even more so.

The appendices provide an interesting statistical compilation showing attitudes broken down according to sex, age, and education.

The book is an honest attempt to evaluate the medium, and makes worthwhile reading for both the average listener and, especially, broadcasters in whose hands the future of programming rests.

THERE WAS ONCE A SLAVE, by Shirley Graham, Messner. \$3.

ALAIN LOCKE

THE LIFE STORY OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS is as moving a one as exists in the annals of American biography. It combines the typical American success theme with the drama of the almost insuperable obstacles of chattel slavery, and for good measure adds the epic background of the anti-slavery movement and the historical drama of the Civil War. We witness a fugitive slave, illiterate until young manhood, become a nationally and internationally known antislavery orator, writer, and journalist, sharing the stage of the Abolitionist movement with Garrison, Phillips, Sumner and Henry Ward Beecher. Later he becomes an intimate friend and counselor of John Brown, Lincoln, and the statesmen of the early civil rights period of Reconstruction.

A storyteller could hardly ask for more. When such materials come to the hand of a skilled narrator like

Shirley Graham, the result is sure-fire vitality and human appeal. Now this significant story, known only to a few, will be known to thousands—justification in itself for the prize award in the Julian Messner manuscript contest for the “best book combating intolerance in America.”

Under these circumstances it is hardly pertinent to expect a definitive biography, such as must someday be written; nor is it fair to complain, except in passing, about the over-dramatization of the melodrama inherent in the story.

What is as important as the tale in its own historical setting is the contemporary import of its moral issues of human equality and social justice, so perennially vital to democracy and so crucially involved in America's past and present treatment of the Negro. For that reason Douglass, as the uncompromising champion of equal rights and militant example of the constant struggle for them, becomes the most symbolic figure in the Negro's history in America, and will remain so, certainly as long as full democracy in race relations has not been achieved.

GREENVILLE

(Continued from page 349)

not objectively understood by southern people. It contributes to their excitability in such cases.

The fact is that the whole American economy, the whole American nation, the whole American morality is involved in these incidents so symptomatic of a deep, paralyzing political and emotional duality. We believe in freedom, but do we believe in people? Millions of Americans do not believe that millions of other Americans are ready, fit, deserving of the full freedoms and opportunities which each individual asks of the “American tradition.”

This is fission of the spirit, as dangerous as fission of uranium atoms. In this spiritual sphere, we have ourselves to blame, and we have ourselves to cure. No other nation is involved here, no conference table is required or could settle this issue for us. We face ourselves. We are the enemy.

Every day we spread the evidence of this duality around us; every news broadcast is freighted with it; it is spelled out in the headlines of every daily newspaper; it glows in the slick

and plausible writing of our magazines; it rises in conversation from our own unresolved thinking.

Living in troubled times, we lack objectivity about ourselves, and perhaps a majority of us are hopelessly blind to this evidence of our own inconsistencies about the things we actually believe in and live by as Americans. But we have written a record of this thing for history in box-car letters.

Here, for example, are the lead paragraphs from two stories on the front page of the *New Orleans States* for May 22, not conceived in relation to one another, but bespeaking a deep, ironic involvement:

Washington, (AP)—Attorney General Tom Clark said today “a positive and demanding need has arisen in our country for emphasizing the blessings of the American heritage.”

To meet it, he outlined to a White House gathering of prominent citizens from all parts of the nation plans for sending a “Freedom Train” across the United States.

It will bear the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, the Emancipation Proclamation, and other treasured historical documents to be viewed by citizens in every section.

Greenville, S. C., (AP)—Twenty-eight white men were acquitted at their mass murder trial last night of charges that they lynched a twenty-three-year-old Negro . . .

NATIONAL SHADOW

(Continued from page 332)

for whom there appears to be no place in modern industry unless he is unusually skilled—surely is worthy of adequate provision for himself and his dependents until such time as we can solve the problem of utilizing his capacities.

A second concept must underlie our social planning in the next few years. The war temporarily halted an economic trend which since the turn of the century has become more and more serious in its consequences. The increasing application of science to industry and the resulting introduction of mechanical labor saving devices at an ever accelerating rate, has forced more and more older workers out of industry. The call is for the speed and alertness of youth rather than the judgment and experience of age. That is the reason why

older workers have found it difficult to obtain employment in this period of reconversion—with young veterans called in to take their places.

This is a complex question; its solution requires the cooperation of government, industry, and labor. But until such time as a solution is found, we must at least have an adequate system of public assistance in the United States as a buffer against this phase of technological unemployment through age.

The problem is bound to become more severe if we have a postwar depression. In the ensuing struggle of business enterprises to keep afloat by the reduction of costs, older men and women will be the first to be fired, the least likely to be rehired.

Third and finally, we should not regard these large expenditures on public assistance as economic waste. The very mechanization of production which has created the problem will become a burden instead of a blessing if the purchasing power of such people and their households flattens out permanently.

To put it the other way round, a system of public assistance, by helping to maintain consumption, keeps business going—which in turn yields the taxes to support the system.

In this light, the development and maintenance of an adequate public assistance program in the U. S. is by no means an economic waste—but an assurance of actual basic stability.

ARE WE IN FOR DEPRESSION?

(Continued from page 329)

if the market for existing capacity is shrinking, it is too much to expect more plant to be built.

With this picture of today's economy, the question of what political, union, and business leaders propose to do about it arises.

Few had more than a pious hope that the situation would be corrected by current presidential pleas to business leaders to reduce prices voluntarily. A former Social Security Board economist, now in private enterprise, jibed at the President's pleas by terming them “jawbone control” while a broker, predicting that the peak of boom prices would prove to have

passed in early April, said the Executive had a "King Canute complex."

Asked what he thought should be done, an Administration adviser close to the President discounted the possibility of any action that would really prevent recession. I got the impression, in fact, that he thought such a set-back was a necessary forerunner to popular revolt against what he called congressional heedlessness of coming trouble. He said:

Don't forget that ninety-three southern Democrats in the House joined the Republicans in supporting the Hartley bill.

What we need are measures to broaden the effects of the minimum wage law, raise the minimum wage to around 70 cents, get ready with a public works program, a housing program, tax cuts graduated so as to give new purchasing power to the lower income groups.

What we get, however, are tax cuts which benefit higher income brackets most, antilabor bills whose effect will be to further reduce real and money wages, a cold shoulder to the housing program.

He thought that the gradual development of depression phenomena such as unemployment, bankruptcies, and falling production would afford enough time for action. "Even the 1929 depression took some three years fully to mature," he said. "That's plenty of time in which to halt the trend, and those are circumstances which are politically much more favorable to such corrective action."

In his Economic Report to Congress, the President also took the view that "fortunately, we have time in which to plan deliberately and wisely. . . ." In this Report, he made a series of general proposals (see box, page 327). Prepared by the Council of Economic Advisers, the Report is put before a joint committee of Congress, which then submits specific legislation to meet the problems posed in the report. But an economist close to Mr. Truman told me: "Since January, the Congress has taken no steps to implement a single one of the recommendations, which have been repeated in special messages."

But labor's attitude is very different. "No measures to stop price rises will stop the recession now," AFL's Boris Shishkin told me, "not even reinstatement of price control, if that were even remotely possible." But given a mounting public sentiment for some action, labor hopes

that government will once again intervene decisively in the national economy with an antideflationary minimum wage policy, consumer credit control, tax reductions for low income groups, public works, and, if necessary, work relief. Similar in content are the programs put forward by the Progressive Citizens of America and the Americans for Democratic action.

Perhaps the most cynical view was one in *Barron's* last September:

An armament boom is the only ultimate major alternative now visible to a decline in business until it falls within a range of fluctuations around a "normal" composed of replacement demand plus slow natural growth. Such an armament program in the long run appears inevitable, if we don't want national suicide.

Storm Warnings

Whatever the alternatives are, the signs of approaching recession are clearly in the air. Storm warnings are running up all over the nation. Declining steadily from their peak high in May 1946, the prices of common stocks broke sharply in October, rallied until early February, and then fell sharply again to October's lows. If such a movement of stock prices does not presage a business recession, the event will be the first in American history.

Meanwhile, the AFL reports "unemployment rampant in women's apparel, luxury and some other soft goods lines." The Greater New York CIO, as well as some CIO international unions, are calling "emergency conferences on unemployment and layoffs, because the situation is so serious." Last March General Omar N. Bradley, director of the Veteran's Administration, told the House appropriations committee that there were 1,500,000 veterans unemployed, against 934,000, on December 31, 1946.

Sometime in the not too distant future a depression of an extent and duration impossible to predict, is waiting for a people who fought through a long and bitter war for something quite different. If we do nothing now, it is bound to overtake a paralyzed Administration, an indifferent Congress, and some 140,000,000 Americans. How the American people react to events will determine the duration of that paralysis and indifference, and the outcome of the crisis.

Most of the adult population of our country nourishes a bitter and vivid

memory of the 1929-1933 catastrophe. Expressive of the determination of the American people not to experience again the ironic paradox of "poverty in the midst of plenty" are the objectives proposed in the Full Employment Act of 1946. Yet those objectives cannot be realized, unless consumers, farmers, labor unions, and business men who have a stake in a prosperous America join hands to insure to all Americans that freedom from want and fear for which we fought a world war.

MINERS AND HEALTH

(Continued from page 355)

benefit thereby as well as the miners. This policy would also result in fewer, larger, better hospital units.

Certain national and statewide policies must be established by authority sufficient to make such re-planning practicable, but the operating area should generally be a certain local service area smaller than a state. Non-profit associations should administer medical-hospital plans in each area. Only as responsibility is placed locally will miners and their leaders learn what they should and should not demand of their hospitals and doctors. The plans should be open to the community as well as to miners.

The Krug-Lewis Agreement, signed May 29, 1946 by the Secretary of the Interior and the president of the United Mine Workers, provided that the "Medical and Hospital Fund," accumulated from existing and future payment by the miners, is to be administered by a board of trustees to be appointed by the president of the UMW. Here is exemplified the above-stated principle of control by those who pay the bills and receive the services. (See "That Welfare Fund" by Beulah Amidon, *Survey Graphic*, June 1946.)

A suggestion is made by the report that "an outstanding and recognized leader of the civilian medical profession" shall be one of these trustees. This impresses me as less important than the creation of a strong professional advisory board, including physicians of varied experience in special and general practice, in science, and in administration. In other words, the best organization of a health insurance plan is similar to that

of our best nonprofit hospitals.

The attempt to reconstitute the coal mining health insurance system will take brains to plan and power to effectuate. Much power will be required, for a strong network of self-interest must be broken. It remains to be seen how far the powers of government will have to be exercised in order to achieve the needed ends. Yet clearly the next steps are for those most immediately concerned—doctors, coal companies, and above all, the miners themselves.

EXILES ON CYPRUS

(Continued from page 338)

"They looked at my sister and said, 'She's too beautiful to live.' I saw her driven into the fiery furnace. My brother too. . . ."

Everything is in the past tense—everything except for the romances springing up in the hair-width shadows of the barbed wire, and the newly married couples making shift in the already overcrowded tents. By April, there were six hundred pregnant wives in Cyprus and one hundred babies had been born there. They are determined in Cyprus, as in the DP camps in Germany, to rebuild the Jewish people and the Jewish home. Meanwhile, the "group" is sovereign.

There are three categories of individuals who can get certificates to Palestine out of their turn: pregnant women in their ninth month; sick people whose illnesses require the more developed services of the Hadassah Medical Organization in Palestine; those who are about to die and who are granted the peace of death on holy soil. I was making the rounds with the doctor at the Military Base Hospital when he told a pale, exhausted looking patient that he would be sent to Palestine the next week, ahead of his appointed time. The man shook his head sadly and said, "Doctor, how can I go without my children? I cannot leave them. I will not go without them."

He turned to me and told me how he had picked up "his" children, thirty-nine of them, in the forests of Poland. He wandered there, seeking little ones who otherwise would have perished. His search had spanned hundreds of miles and he had found them huddled in poverty-stricken "homes" or bombed-out ruins. "They

are mine," he cried, "my children. I cannot—I will not leave them!"

At this hospital at Nicosia in Central Cyprus one sees the best relations between the army and the refugees. I found the chief British medical officers, helpless though they were in matters of major policy, eager to cooperate as far as they could in improving conditions in the camps. For instance, they assured me that they would make it possible for the children to go swimming when the summer comes, though "for reasons of security" they must erect a barbed wire along the path to the sea.

Health and Hopes

The general health in the camps is good except for the threat of undetected tuberculosis. Under the army system of examination, it would take twenty years to finish screening the camp for TB. However, Hadassah is sending from Palestine a mass radiography unit for which the British army will supply the personnel.

The mental health of the refugees will be the subject of a special study by a psychiatric unit of the JDC.

It is clear that these survivors of extraordinary physical and emotional trials are of the sturdiest stock. Nevertheless, especially among the young people, a large number have painfully stunted bodies. The faces are the faces of old people on children's bodies and I felt as though I were looking into a distorting mirror. Probably these old-young children will never look quite normal. But there are some others, beautiful ones, many of very tender age. Some have parents still alive "somewhere in Europe"—parents who placed their children in the hands of strangers on the trek from shattered homes to the hope of Palestine.

Two days later, I visited the reception camp at Caraolos, where immigrants are brought direct from the ships for a quarantine period varying from ten days to a month, depending on the pressure of additional arrivals. Subhuman is the only word to describe conditions there. The overcrowded canvas tents are so close to each other that one has to step over the ropes in order to move about. There is no floor except the earth.

In one of the few permanent structures, I saw in one tiny room four beds a few inches above the floor, used not by four persons but by four families. The inmates, who had ar-

rived on the steamer "Moledeth" less than a week before, were still exhausted from their journey. A woman was lying there listlessly, her young child beside her, too weak to get out into the fresh air. I spoke to her.

"Where do you come from?"

"From a camp near Rome."

"Was it as bad as this where you came from?"

"No, it was much better."

"Are you sorry you came?"

"No."

"Would you have come if you had known you were going to Cyprus and not to Palestine?"

"We hoped to get to Palestine. But we knew we were going to Cyprus. I am not sorry we came."

Time has lost its meaning for these people. They may have to wait in Cyprus in that detention camp for six months, a year, a year and a half, perhaps two years. They are not sorry because they feel they are that much nearer their goal.

Too many have lost confidence in our civilization. But I did not find one among the many people to whom I spoke who was not fired with determination to go to Palestine—and only to Palestine. When I spoke to them I seemed to hear the echo of reports that had come to us from the Jewish DP's in Europe: "Palestine or death!"

The listlessness that comes over those who must spend their days merely waiting carries an explosive charge. The greatest need in the Cyprus camps is some provision for constructive occupation for the thousands of able-bodied young people.

The danger inherent in empty hours and the demoralization that comes from utter idleness menace the moral, mental, and physical health of the human beings in these camps. This was so profoundly impressed upon me that when I returned to Palestine I urged JDC and Hadassah to undertake an active program of rehabilitation in Cyprus, patterned on Youth Aliyah in Palestine (see "The Youngest Pioneers" by Marian G. Greenberg, *Survey Graphic*, March 1940).

As things stand, camp services occupy less than 8 percent of the population. Those so engaged receive supplementary food and clothing. I wanted to tip the young man who waited at my table but this he proudly refused, saying, "I am so happy to have some work to do." If materials

were available hundreds of the refugees could sew—and clothing is sorely needed. But there are only a few needles, fewer sewing machines, and no cloth. If they had simple tools, they could turn the empty cans in which the army supplies come into serving dishes, cups, trays, and similar articles. As it is, the lucky few who have scissors do make handsome bowls from the tin cans, and Sabbath lamps used in the camps.

Among the *Maapilim* of Cyprus there is intelligence of a high order, along with artistic talent and a willingness to forget the past. Above all, there is the eagerness to work. The most popular pursuit among Palestine-minded young people is, of course, farming; but agricultural training is well nigh impossible in Cyprus because of the lack of water. The refugees make pathetic attempts to till the soil, scratching it with their bare hands, smoothing it, then decorating the earth patches with stones at the door of their Quonset huts.

Arts, crafts, and needle industries would flourish. Skill is here, the raw material is lacking. The teaching will be easy.

Footholds for the Future

Once a satisfactory program of productive work has been established in these camps the barbed wire could come down. It should come down. Looking through it at Larnaca, Jewish refugees see German prisoners-of-war going freely along the road back and forth to their work. One cannot ask less for discharged soldiers and partisans who fought for the Allies in World War II.

The community of Cyprus stands to gain much from a controlled economic activity among those who wait to enter Palestine. This waiting period should not be one of imprisonment, but a period of preparation for their future life in which the good names not only of Britain but of the United States and the United Nations are at stake.

But while it is good sense to set in motion whatever will palliate or prepare, the only enduring answer is the deliverance of these people from their postwar bondage through transferring to Palestine first the children, next the youth, and then in rapid succession the older refugees.

They will not go empty handed nor carry merely bitter herbs. Rather, out of the ordeal of these hard years,

they—and their like in the DP camps of Europe—will bring the tempering experience of human suffering; and because of what has sustained them, they will bring the courage and fortitude, the zest and determination of pioneers.

"They who sow in tears shall reap in joy." It is time for the fulfillment of the ancient promise.

JOB INVENTORY (Continued from page 334)

employ special help for short periods. Obviously if the inventory was to be made, we had to have large scale community participation. After canvassing the situation and the existing sources of occupational data we reached an agreement with the War Manpower Commission under which that agency assumed most of the technical job. A firm of management engineers offered to donate the full time services of one man and of others as needed. They also agreed to guarantee publication of the report.

The Occupational Planning Committee appointed several functional committees to handle special problems, and a technical committee assumed major responsibility for working out the sampling procedure, for analyzing the data, and for organizing the report.

But this was only the staff organization. The community at large had to recognize the desirability of the inventory, and we had to have the active cooperation of employers if we were to secure information about their plants. Eighteen civic agencies agreed to sponsor the project.

The Chamber of Commerce wrote a letter to all its members urging cooperation. Addresses were made to luncheon clubs to explain the purpose and method. One of these and the Advertising Club offered to send telegrams to their members to impress on them the importance of the undertaking. The daily papers carried news stories and editorials. The AFL and the CIO were represented on the committees and explained the purposes of the inventory to their member unions.

The cost in dollars cannot be fixed accurately, but it was estimated at something over \$29,000. The expenses were met by the committee, by the U. S. Employment Service, the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Trundle Engineering Company, and

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by the Cleveland and the Beaumont Foundations. Some 850 employers spent from one hour to a day assembling the needed information.

This account of how we made the inventory has more than antiquarian interest. It was an educative process by which a large number of people learned the value of an occupational inventory. It resulted in an offer from the Ohio State Employment Service to repeat the extended survey of employment by industry this year and to include the employers' forecasts of their anticipated labor force during the next year.

It is probable that in 1947 or 1948 the Employment Service will repeat the detailed inventory of occupations, from which a check of the accuracy of the patterns can be made. It is the hope of the Occupational Planning Committee that after this re-check of occupations, successive inventories will be made at intervals of three to five years. Such checks will in time establish the rate of change of occupational patterns and will provide continuing information for the practical use of industry, schools and colleges, guidance and employment agencies, libraries, and government.

A HEART AND CRAVIN'
(Continued from page 352)

at heart; and since their well-being depends partly upon the soil, the Pine Mountain farm manager is especially interested in their problems. He is studying and experimenting in order to meet the change that is surely coming.

At one time a farmer could make a living in these hills; there was plenty of wild game in the old days, and the hogs could graze at will. Today even the lumber companies fence out the hogs, and the "free range" up and down the dirt roads is extremely slenderizing. Wild game has long since disappeared. And there is no room on the steep, forested hillsides for the farmer to spread out.

Most mountain farms are no longer self-sustaining; the men have jobs in the mine or the lumber camp.

But what of the inevitable time when there will be more men than jobs? What then will become of the farmer who cannot live off his farm? Something new must come out of the hills—something that can be raised in

good quantity for marketing.

Is it fruit? Then the farmers will need to be educated. At present they are loath to spend money on spraying, and likely to forget it, anyway.

Is it dairying? There is too little land for pasture.

Is it poultry? A possibility, surely, for the city of Harlan and the nearby coal camps consume many carloads of eggs, nearly all from outside the county.

These problems of the entire community are studied not only by the farm manager but by every member of the faculty. The boys and girls consider them in economics and sociology classes, and the co-op group discusses them.

Health and Hookworms

In other ways, too, the school and community are brought together. The little hospital, staffed by a doctor, two registered nurses, and several nurses' aides, serves an area of 300 square miles. Often patients even come from far outside this area; and every week young "Dr. Elizabeth" herself drives the jeep down the bed of the creek to hold a clinic in a distant mission schoolhouse.

For ten dollars a year a man may have the service of the doctor, the nurses, and the hospital for his entire family. Even the Holiness folk, who aver in their meetings that they got no use for e'er a doctor 'cause they cure by pra'er, subscribe to this service. For expectant mothers, twenty dollars covers prenatal examinations, delivery, and ten days' stay in the hospital after the birth of the child.

But Lillie Brown worried because her husband, Columbus, wouldn't do a bit of work, and was drunk pre-nigh the hull time. Franklin, aged thirteen, was supposed to stay at home and mind the least-uns. Calvin and Benjamin, aged eleven and twelve, worked for a lumber company; from their earnings the family clothed themselves and ate their bread. The least-uns were little girls—twins five years old and a girl of three whose mentality was that of an infant. From a distance of twenty miles, with no means of communication, the mother could not tell what the chillern was doin' in her absence, nor who was mindin' them. So the nurse sent someone to bring the very least-un to the hospital to stay, and then Lillie felt more comfortable. Usually, however, there is a capable eldest daugh-

ter to care for the family, or a neighbor, or one of the kinfolk.

One of the most important medical services is getting rid of intestinal parasites, or worms. These worms are present in the fecal matter of animals and humans, and are taken into the body through the soles of the feet. Because the women go to the barnyard barefoot to milk the cows and feed the pigs, they often have worms.

The Pine Mountain Health Service tests and treats children in the district schools as well as patients who come to the hospital for other reasons. The nurse does her best to educate them, telling them sternly that they must wear shoes in the barnyard if they wear them nowhere else. But education is difficult in the face of a scarcity of shoes.

It is difficult also because many mountain people believe that worms develop from hairs of animals. If a person fondles the cat or the dog and inadvertently swallows a hair, the hair becomes a worm in his stomach. Some maintain that they have actually seen a hair turn into a worm—right before their eyes. Still, on the whole, Pine Mountain gets results.

Consider, for example the case of Henry and Mayline Craddock, who came to the hospital recently. They were puny, their mother said. Indeed they were, so pale that they were yellow, their blood looking like dirty dishwater, hemoglobin testing 20, and Mayline out of her head for lack of good red corpuscles. Mayline was given a transfusion without further ado. Both were "wormed" and given a tonic. A few weeks later Mayline was going to school looking like any other normal girl, and wearing shoes—the only member of the family to do so. Henry, aged fifteen, was working for a lumber company. The hemoglobin of both children tested 80.

The students at Pine Mountain School have a hand in this medical service, for the nurses' aides serve in the hospital and accompany Dr. Elizabeth on her visits.

A much larger number of students take part in community service of a different sort. For the entire junior class, the study of sociology is coordinated with a program of community visits once a week. The class is divided into two groups. One group goes to all the district schools within a radius of five or six miles, to teach the children handicrafts, ballads, games, and folk dances.

The other group goes to many cabins for many miles around—to chop wood for a woman with small children, to clean house and cook for an elderly couple, to read to a blind man, to bring back word if anyone is ill or in need. A girl who has had experience as a nurses' aide is very welcome in a home where there is sickness. "She's a diadem," the grateful mother is likely to say, "a diadem among them that follers carin' for the sick."

Just to visit these isolated homes is to do a service. "Ain't ne'er a soul come by since you-all was here last week," said Granny Turner. Granny lived six miles from the school, and the girls did not know how to reach her home. But her grandson, a freshman, gave directions:

You go down the road yere quite a fur piece till you git to a path goin' off to the left. Foller hit till you git to the big oak tree, and turn to your left agin. A piece further, you come to a fork. Take the right-hand fork, and when you git to the creek you turn down hit. Her cabin is the fust one right down yonder—about a mile or two down the holler.

The boy who brings books is greeted with cheers, or the mountain equivalent of cheers. Traveling on horseback, the "book boy" may ride for miles up the creeks—Axhandle, Bear Branch, Turkey Fork, Big Laurel. Said Mrs. Day:

Since you been comin' my Sara's turrible to read. They hain't nothin' she cain't read less'n hit's somethin' in a furrin' tongue and she could read hit too, but I don't reckon she could tell what hit would mean.

The Greatest Change

So these boys and girls are working for understanding and for the betterment of mountain communities; and the greatest change is wrought upon the boys and girls themselves. Pine Mountain students have better manners, more maturity, and a deeper sense of responsibility than students of the same age in many of the best preparatory schools of the East. Part of their *savoir faire* is ingrained by centuries of mountain living. A mountain boy talks with a visitor on terms of equality, without embarrassment. A mountain man would not hesitate to invite the President of the United States to his cabin.

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are fostered at the school: No elbows rest on the table at mealtime. When a pitcher of milk is emptied, someone asks, "May I fill it?" and when the main course has been finished, "May I clear the table?" To this graciousness of speech is added graciousness of appearance.

Cleanliness must be learned by some whose homes have been so far from the water supply that washing bodies or clothing was a luxury. In the home economics classes the girls learn to sew, and presently they make their own dresses. A natural grace of carriage is increased by evenings of folk dancing—English and Danish country dances and the square dances of their great-great-grandparents here in the mountains. Students who are naturally intelligent but who have been retarded by poor schooling make rapid strides in their classes. The fact that many of them work eight hours a day throughout the summer to earn their tuition indicates an uncommon eagerness to learn. A visitor at Pine Mountain School has the impression of a group of boys and girls unusually attractive, unusually well bred,

unusually mature.

Some of them stay in the mountains after they have been graduated. A few boys return home, take a job in the mine or the lumber camp, build a small cabin, and buy a cow, two pigs, and a few chickens. Some of the girls marry and go to live beside a shallow creek in a lonesome valley. The mountain regions are better for their return. Already it can be seen that the standard of living is higher in homes where there are Pine Mountain graduates than in the rest of the community.

But many go out of the mountains and never come back except to visit. "I don't want the school to be a benefit just for this neighborhood, but for the whole state and nation, and for the folks acrost the sea, if they can git any benefit from hit," Uncle William Creech told the trustees.

Almost anywhere in the state or in the nation you are likely to meet a Pine Mountain graduate. Prepared in the classroom, some go on to college; trained in the shop, the boys find good positions in industry. Many girls, after their experience in the

(In answering advertisements please mention SURVEY GRAPHIC)

school infirmary, enter a nurses' training school.

During World War II, Pine Mountain boys and girls were scattered over the whole world. A Pine Mountain girl went to faraway Egypt—one of the few women doctors chosen by that government for reconstruction work. So it has been brought about that the school reaches beyond its neighborhood, and that even the folks across the sea can get some benefit out of it, as Uncle William hoped.

SISU

(Continued from page 348)

were supplying extra food to 25,000 malnourished children in 268 schools in 22 communes in Finnish Lapland. This program ended as soon as the harvest began to come in and at its close, through a special gift, three pieces of candy bought in Sweden were given to each child. The supply had to go around evenly among the schools. "It was a nightmare counting it out," said Mary Barclay, "but caused the greatest joy and excitement. For months afterward, people came in to tell us how much it meant to them."

Last summer, two cooperative work camps were operated by the Quakers, and a third by the *Internationelle Arbeitslag*.

They built homes for the families of two war widows and two war invalids, laid foundations for nine houses; and gave help to a local sawmill, to farmers at haying time, and to day care centers at the camps operated by the Friends. I talked with Finnish students who were more than enthusiastic about this Scandinavian venture in international friendship.

The Shadow of Sigfrid Sirenus

There has never been a happier combination than the American Friends Service Committee and the Finnish Settlement Federation. Their collaboration has been permeated by the spirit of the founder of the Finnish settlement movement. Not only has Sigfrid Sirenus often stayed at Rovaniemi with the Quakers, but in 1945 he traveled over Lapland with Douglas Steere, exploring the field for work there. Full of hope, he believes that the brotherhood of man can be achieved through understanding—person to person—crossing all lines, economic, political, and social.

In my last talk with him, his grey-blue eyes shone when my questions turned his thoughts back to the time of his beginnings. He was greyer as to hair and thinner in figure and face than when I saw him twenty years ago, but while those heavy years have left their traces, the lines are essentially cheerful ones, denoting an inner radiance and faith in his fellow men.

His presence gives a lift to any occasion. His own grandchildren greet his entrance with a shout, and settlement children rally about him.

With all his countrywide interests, *Kalliola* settlement in Helsinki remains a lengthened shadow of the man who started it. Its staff, volunteers and membership, represent many different groups; and it uses its Workingman's Institute as a tool to enlist interest among students and ministers.

The *Kalliola* building is again in excellent shape. The cost of repairs and redecorating after the blast was met by a mortgage. It has pleasant rooms, a residence or hostel for students and workers, as well as offices and an apartment for its present head worker, the Reverend Armas Tolsa.

Helsinki has a second settlement, *Toimela*, a Swedish center in another part of the city. While its head worker is of the Swedish Finns, it has both groups represented. A main feature is a club, which manages a group of gardens on the outskirts of the town. These plots mean an addition to the food supply, especially for families where there are many children, for to these are allotted the most land.

Besides young people's groups and children's clubs at *Kalliola*, there are an orchestra, a large chorus, and a big English club which welcomes any visitor from England or America. The adults have their own organization, and through an interpreter, I listened to representatives of various groups present their points of view with spirit and a fine sense of fellowship.

Fitly enough, *Sisu* was the name of my plane back to Helsinki. The landing field at Kemi where we took off was just an open field. Buildings and hangars were masses of charred rubbish and twisted iron. The plane itself was old; seat belts lacking or without fastenings. I wondered if it would arrive. It did and it didn't; for instead of landing at Hyvynka, the nearest field to Helsinki, we came down at Vaasa in a remote part of the country. I managed to get to the

town and took a night train. There was no sleeper but seventeen hours later it brought me to the capital—an epitome of the difficulties Finland faces in working its way out.

There are some Finns who undoubtedly would welcome closer relations with Russia. For others, uncertainty as to the future is what makes them so anxious for contacts with the West. The packages that have come from the United States have stood to them for excitement in a dull world, food in a hungry one, and warm clothes in freezing weather. But letters? A chance to write back, a chance to hear of a different world, to get one's mind outside the bitter fight to exist—that is what letters mean. What is more, they sustain *sisu* in the long pull for an independent existence.

Most of all, the Finns welcome the traveler who comes to see and understand and to tell of what still seems to them the land of promise. For America symbolizes in a special way their enduring hunger for freedom. Governor Hannula of Rovaniemi gave me a rough translation of a folk song which expresses the yearning:

I'll load all my things
On the small ship Hankoniemi
Because Finland is not able to give
Livelihood for a poor mother's child.
The land is black, the sea is wet,
The sky is blue and smoky grey.
But right from America my own
Sweetheart's song is heard.
They are golden waves that wash the
coasts of America
And the American girls walk around in
silk and satin.

Nevertheless, Finnish loyalty and love of country animate their intense desire to hold fast their independence and national integrity. *Suomi* is the name for Finland and here is a song I heard in every English class.

"Soumi"

Hear, oh, hear, the splendid singing
Through the halls of Vaino ringing,
It is Suomi's song.
Hear what whispering firs are telling,
Hear the rushing rapids swelling,
It is Suomi's song;
It is Suomi's song.

Everywhere a voice is calling,
Everywhere its tones are falling,
It is Suomi's song!
Hast thou but a heart, oh brother,
Hear in grief and joy no other
Than thy Suomi's song!
Than thy Suomi's song!

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CASE WORKER needed (Medical Social Worker preferred) by Home for the Aged. Psychiatric case work supervision and psychiatric consultation. Excellent salary standards. Social Service Department of The Montefiore Home, 3151 Mayfield Road, Cleveland Heights 18, Ohio.

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CASEWORKER in Medical Social Service Department, voluntary hospital 12 miles from New York City. Must be graduate accredited School of Social Work with Master's Degree and Medical Social field work or experience. 8555 Survey.

PSYCHIATRIC SOCIAL WORKER to work in Child Guidance Clinic. State qualifications and salary expected. Write Racine Welfare Council, 308 5th Street, Racine, Wisconsin.

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Write Director, Jewish Social Service Bureau, 127 N. W. Second Street, Miami 36, Fla.

CASEWORKERS—Catholic Family and Child Care Agency has two staff vacancies. Salary in accordance with professional training and experience. Opportunity for advancement. At least one year's graduate training required. Catholic Welfare Bureau, 855 South Figueroa Street, Los Angeles 14, California.

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MEDICAL SOCIAL WORKER I—PSYCHIATRIC SOCIAL WORKER:—Wisconsin. Initial salary \$244.52 per month. Annual salary increments. Completion of a postgraduate course in accredited school for medical social or psychiatric social work. Annuity and Retirement System for those who qualify therefor. Request formal application from the Milwaukee County Civil Service Commission, Room 206, Courthouse, Milwaukee 3, Wisconsin.

CASEWORK SUPERVISOR desired by Dade County Chapter, ARC, Miami, Florida. Minimum requirements include MSS from recognized school, at least 3 years supervisory experience in agency handling family casework program. Salary range from \$3300 to \$4200, to be determined by qualifications and experience. In event applicant meets requirements Chapter will pay costs of employment interview. Dade County Chapter, ARC, Miami, Florida.

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CASEWORKERS—Catholic Family and Child Care Agency has two staff vacancies. Salary according to professional training and experience. Opportunity for advancement. Must have graduate training. Catholic Charities, 418 N. 25th Street, Omaha, Nebraska.

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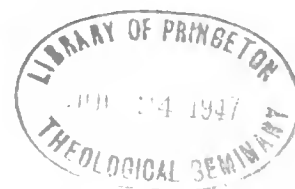
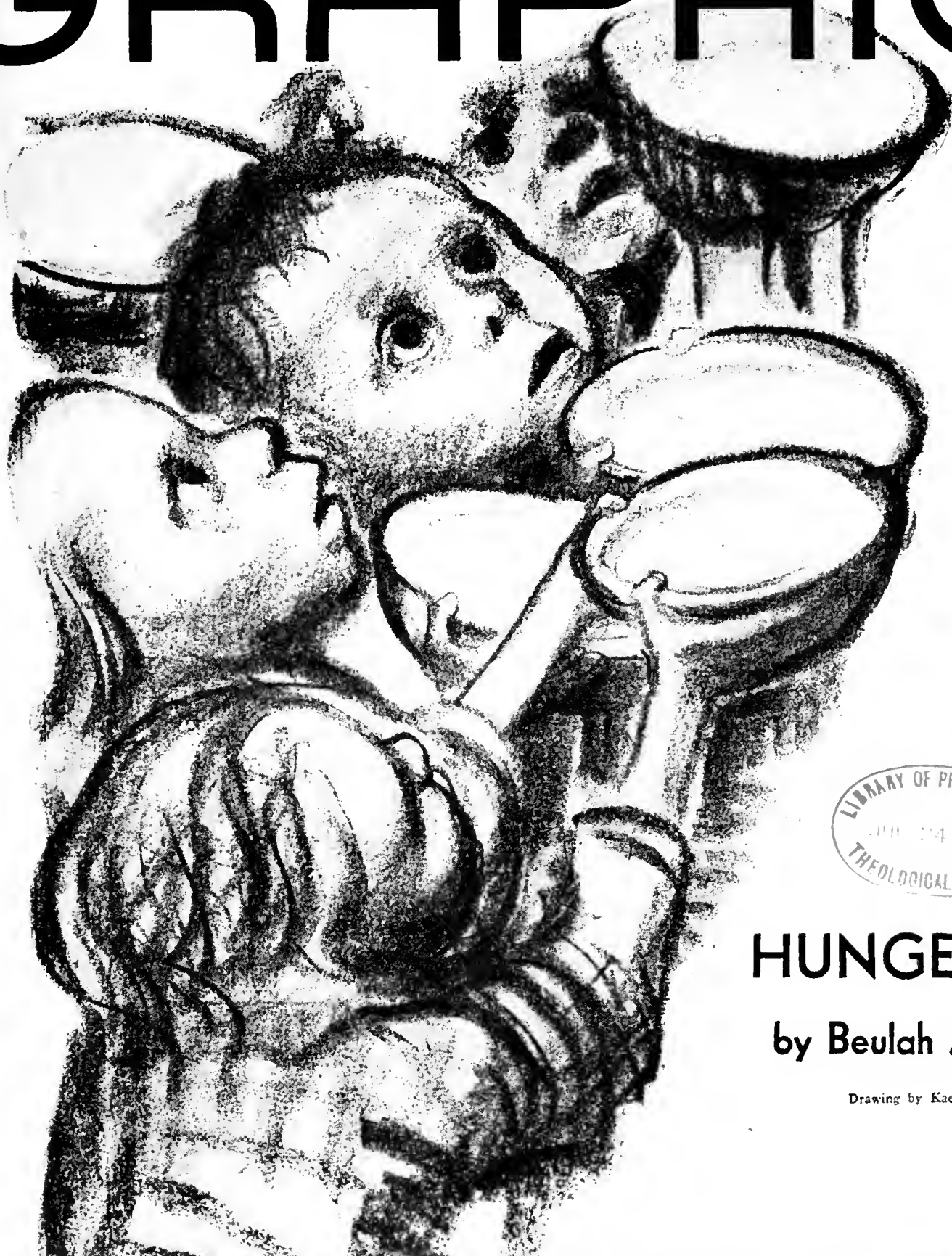
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GRAPHIC



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by Beulah Amidon

Drawing by Kaethe Kollwitz

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INDIA—GOING ITS OWN WAY

By Albert Mayer

From the point at which he leaves off in the number you are now reading, Mr. Mayer continues his first hand observations and astute opinions of the world's newest—and most exciting adventure in self-government.

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Among Ourselves

FOURTH OF JULY SENTIMENTS—ORATORICAL and editorial—have included on the whole a great deal of making the eagle scream, waving the bloody shirt and twisting the lion's tail, along with the nobler inspirations. Caution is in order.

Nevertheless, while patriotism is in season, a thought for the times turns up in the Harvard speech of Secretary of State Marshall—not the national policy statement which appears, indeed, to have scored as a constructive pronouncement, but the dedication of American hearts to a responsibility for the future of mankind.

The Secretary's Fourth of July sentiments, as of the Fifth of June, in the fullness of their sober optimism, are herewith passed along as altogether worth rereading and pondering:

"It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace.

"Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist. Such assistance, I am convinced, must not be on a piecemeal basis as various crises develop. Any assistance that this government may render in the future should provide a cure rather than a mere palliative. . . .

"An essential part of any successful action on the part of the United States is an understanding on the part of the people of America of the character of the problem and the remedies to be applied. Political passion and prejudice should have no part. With foresight, and a willingness on the part of our people to face up to the vast responsibility which history has clearly placed upon our country, the difficulties I have outlined can and will be overcome."

A Colored School

A flowering quince, white drift on plum,
Pale peachblown pink, live oak new green,
And in between

A school—a daisy chain, a hum
Of children's voices coming from
Its single room—

Its springtime windows all abloom
With bright pretentious paper flags—
And rags.

Mary March
Mountainville, N. Y.

THIS CARTOON BY HERBLOCK IN *The Washington Post* deserves well over the 10,000 word valuation of the Chinese proverb. Offhand, it looks like the best cartoon

Survey Graphic for July 1947

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Herblock in *The Washington Post*
"OOPS!"

on a social theme to cross the desk last month. *Survey Graphic* invites other cartoonists to send contributions—sorry, gentlemen, but not on a per-word basis!

"GERMANY'S CHILDREN ARE STARVING" is the title Kaethe Kollwitz gave to the drawing reproduced this month on our cover. It is used by permission from a collection of the great German artist's work published by H. Bittner and Company, New York, 1946.

ALTHOUGH THE RECOMPENSE OF CONTROVERSY is too slight to justify the pleasure of it, *Survey Graphic* this time cannot forbear using an answer at hand in reply to reported harsh words from Representative John Bell Williams of Mississippi.

A well-meaning friend, favorably impressed by our January issue on race
(Continued on page 407)

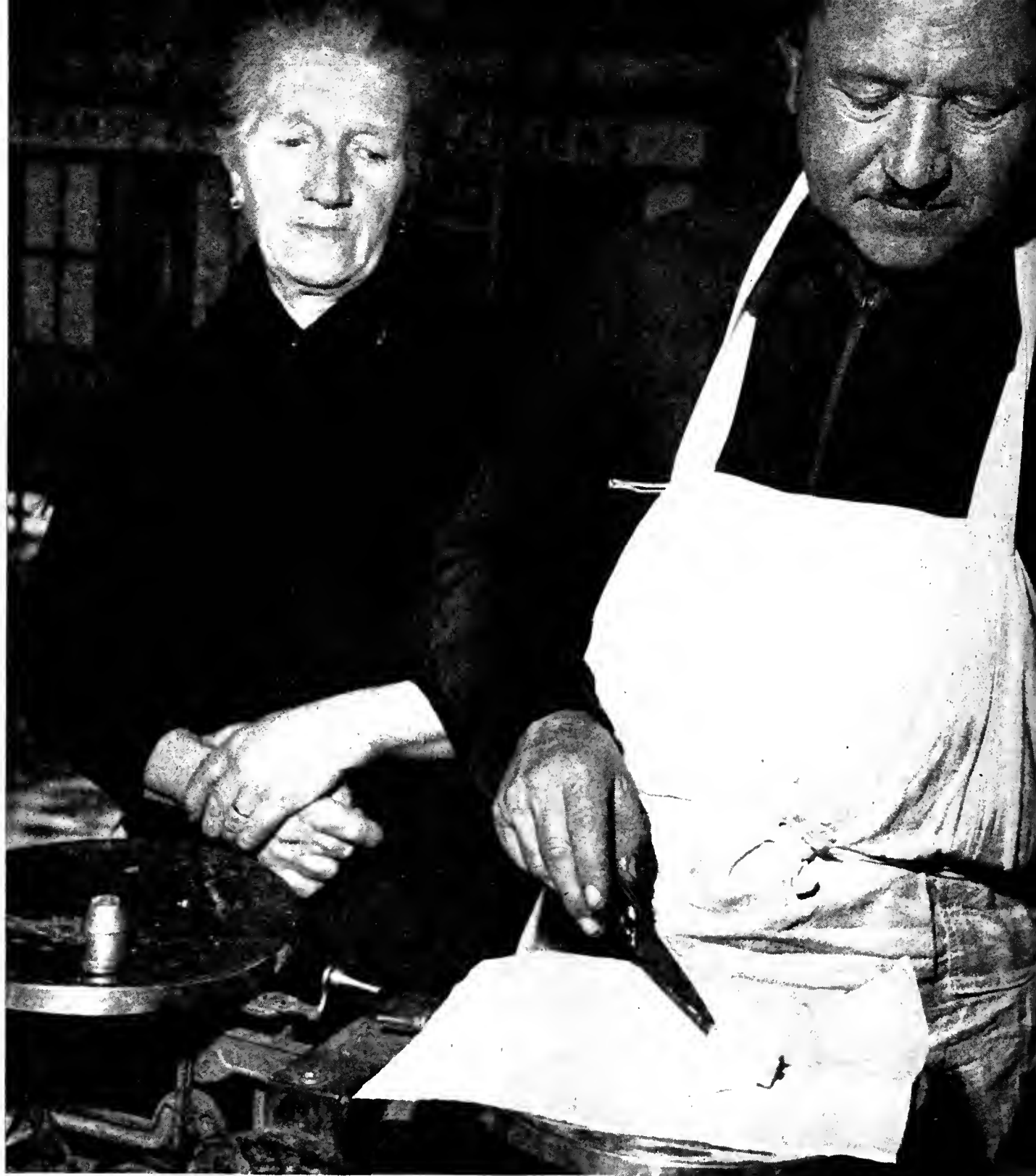


Photo from Europe

. . . Behind the complicated tables of figures are the "eyes of hungry children, the anguish of their helpless parents," says Beulah Amidon in "Hunger." More eloquent than pages of statistics is the resigned patience with which this French *grand'mère* waits while the farmer-dealer doles out her family's meager month's ration of butter.



Hunger

Most of the earth's population today can think of nothing beyond their desperate need for food—and their children's. How can the hungry be fed?

BEULAH AMIDON

OVERSHADOWING ALL THE FEARS AND uncertainties of the postwar period is the fact that millions of men, women, and children are hungry—too hungry to work or to hope, dying of starvation or of the diseases that ravage the undernourished. This is why no problem in the world today is so urgent as that of food.

Grim statistics gathered by the Department of Agriculture, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the International Emergency Food Council (successor to the wartime Combined Food Board), the private relief agencies, all tell the same story—and it is a story that has meaning only if behind the figures of "critical shortages," "diet deficiencies," "low caloric consumption," one sees human beings and their desperate need.

"This Aching for Food"

American households today feel the pressure of high prices, but thousands of them receive letters from friends or acquaintances overseas which give glimpses of the real thing—what it is like to be hungry. Here, for example, is part of a letter written by a young Viennese. She is the wife of a science teacher, who was sentenced to death by the Nazis, and escaped "by a miracle." She says:

As my husband is working in the laboratory and with his books from morning till night and sometimes during the night, he needs better food. It is hard for him to make progress in his work, because it is difficult to think clearly when he has never enough to eat, or the kind of food he should eat.

—By an associate editor of *Survey Graphic*, whose review of the most urgent problem of the day is based on reports from many American and international agencies, and on interviews with key people at Lake Success and in Washington.

You can scarcely imagine what this life is like. It seems stupid always to write and think and talk about food. But that is the subject that cannot be put aside. Even for a scholar, it becomes the important subject. It crowds everything and twists all other thoughts and feelings and all hopes and plans until they are not normal. Perhaps this is the hardest thing, to see people changed in all their nature and to see your own nature changed by this aching for food.

The U. S. Children's Bureau recently released an article by an Austrian pediatrician who came to this country on an UNRRA fellowship. Telling "What It Is Like to Starve," Dr. Avelheid Wawerka wrote:

Hunger is numbing. You are sitting at your desk with a patient, and suddenly you find you cannot keep your attention on what the child's mother is saying. You sit there until your strength creeps back and then you work a little longer. Or you are standing up and suddenly you have to sit down.

It is pitiful to see the old. . . . When they walk they stay near the wall and press their hands against it for support. They move like ghosts. . . .

The hunger is worse than the cold. You can do something about the cold. You can find something else to put over the shoulders or wrap around the feet. Or you can go to bed and stay there. You can wait the cold out, for there is

a beginning and an end to cold, but there is no end to hunger. . . .

You see the children grow thinner, day by day. . . . You gag when you eat your food, knowing that your children are hungry. . . .

What has caused this worldwide food shortage? Where is it most acute? What is being done about it? What more must be done if hungry millions are to be saved from impaired health or slow death?

Why We Face a Food Crisis

To many Americans it comes as something of a shock to realize that the war and the postwar dislocations have served only to intensify the world's need for more food. Yet there never has been a time, in recorded history or in the long dim mists before history began, when the human race as a whole had enough to eat. The world food survey, issued by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations shortly before the Copenhagen conference last year, showed that "about half the world's population was seriously undernourished in the years before the war, about one sixth was eating at a marginal level, and somewhat less than a third was enjoying high-calorie diets."

The 40-page report included data from 70 countries, whose people make up 90 percent of the world's population.

The prewar consumption figures for the years 1935-38 revealed that average calories per person per day ranged from 3,200 in New Zealand to 1,900 in Korea. In general, the high-calorie

areas in those years included North America, Oceania, the USSR, much of Europe, three countries in Asia, part of the Middle East, and parts of Africa and South America. In the low-calorie areas were most of Asia, parts of the Middle East, all of Central America, and probably parts of South America and Africa not covered by the survey. The report stated:

It is evident that about half the world's population was subsisting before the war at a level of food consumption which was not high enough to maintain normal health, allow for normal growth of children, or furnish enough energy for normal work.

The effect of the World War was to intensify food shortages in the hungry lands, and to shift many areas in fighting zones into the "intermediate" and "low-calorie" columns. And today "low-calorie" means 1,700, 1,500 a day—even less. The devastation of war, the ruthless looting by the Germans and their allies, the slaughter of livestock, the lack of farm machinery and fertilizers, have curtailed production in all the former war theaters. Added to this reduced capacity to produce are disruption of transportation, lack of manpower, breakdown of public facilities, political and economic upheavals.

Finally, there was a major error in the assumption by international authorities that the second world war was an approximate duplicate of the first, and the conclusion, in consequence, that the course of events would follow the 1920-21 pattern.

In May 1946, at the Special Meeting on Urgent Food Problems, there was a moderate sense of optimism over the food phase of world recovery. D. A. FitzGerald, secretary general of the International Emergency Food Council, wrote in his report to the fourth meeting of the council in late May of this year, "The prevailing opinion [in the spring of 1946] was that most of our difficulties would be over when the 1946 crops were harvested and those left would certainly disappear with the 1947 harvest."

As Mr. FitzGerald proceeded to point out, World War II was literally a world war—its predecessor was not. The major effect of the earlier war on the Far East was "to dam up food supplies which flowed onto the market as soon as shipping became available." But this time much of the Far East was a war theater, while in Europe far more territory was involved, and

the destruction was greater. Because this vast difference was not clearly seen when hostilities ended, "we have not properly husbanded our available supplies. . . . We have not devoted sufficient energy and resources to rehabilitating food production because we assumed the recovery would be automatic and immediate as it was in 1920 and 1921."

That, in brief, is why, two years after the end of hostilities, the world faces a food crisis which Mr. FitzGerald summarized thus in May 1947:

An end-season deficit of well over a million tons in the quantity of cereals needed to maintain current rations and minimum working stocks;

—export supplies of fats and oils only 60 percent of prewar, and of rice less than 30 percent of prewar;

—sugar production still more than 10 percent off from prewar;

—meat production down 8 to 10 percent for the world generally, and in Europe 40 percent;

—smaller supplies of many other foods;

—but 5 to 10 percent more people to be fed.

What Mr. FitzGerald refers to as failure "to husband available supplies," was more simply stated for me by Nathan Koenig, Department of Agriculture official. "What the world is up against is this," he said. "If a hungry man sees food, he eats. The 1946 crop was eaten a lot faster than was justified by the world situation." Farmers and their families consumed what they raised, hoarded it against "hard times," failed to respond to pleas or demands that they make their surplus available to hungry town dwellers. This was due in part, of course, to the extreme shortage of needed goods the farmer could buy if he sold his produce. "And except in drouth or flood, you don't see an emaciated farm family—in any country," Mr. Koenig observed.

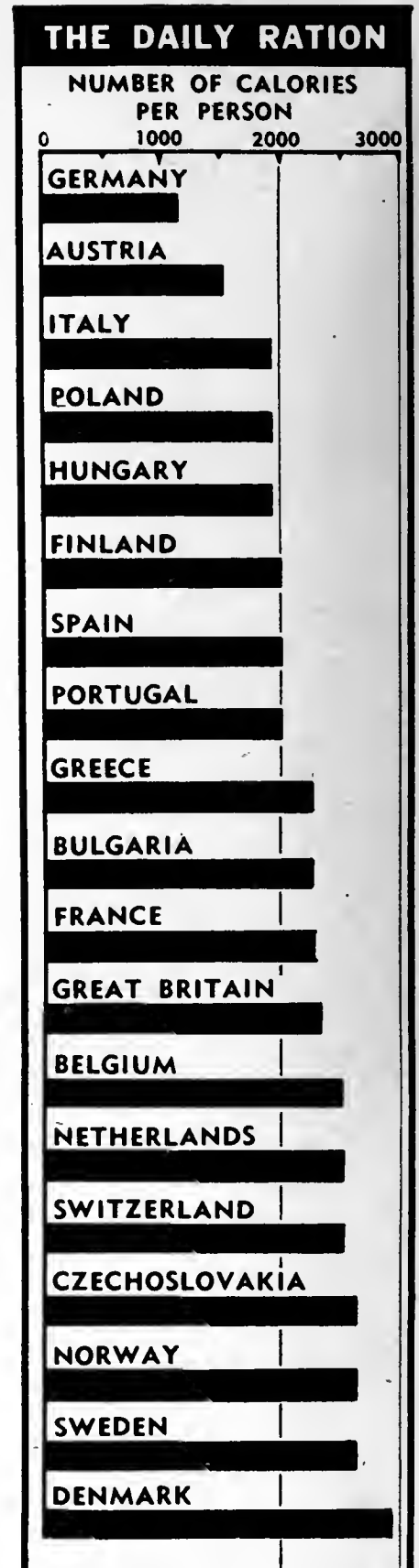
But that, as he and many other experts are quick to state, is only part of the story, and the simplest, most obvious part. Larger factors are:

—shortage of fertilizer, tools, and farm machinery;

—lack of consumer goods which the producer can purchase if he sells what he and his family do not consume;

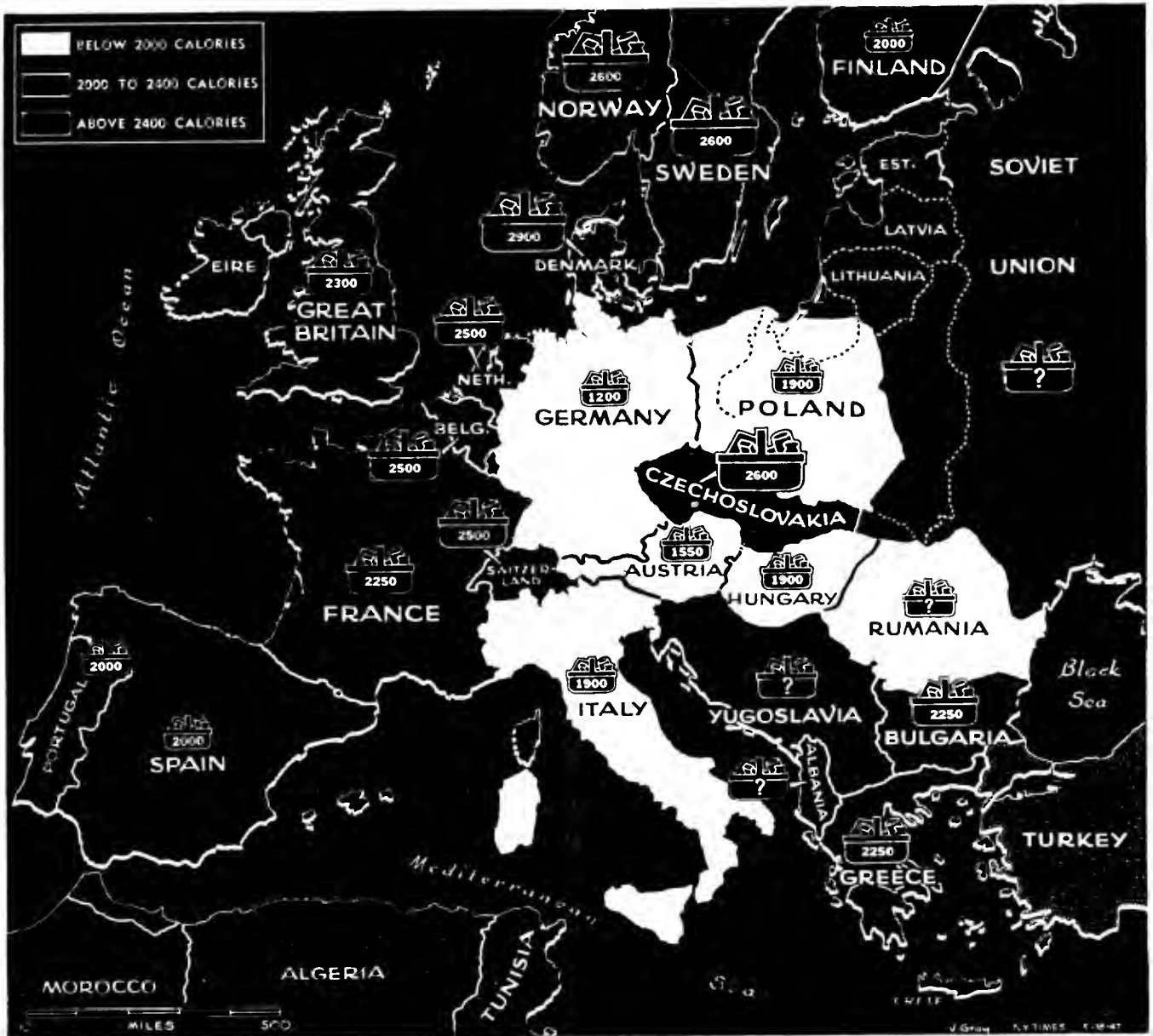
—the devious operations of the black market.

Still more significant are the large, complex problems of credit, of inter-



national relations, and, paradoxically, of possible food surpluses.

The fertilizer shortage in Europe is part of a vicious circle: coal miners are so weakened from undernourishment that they cannot maintain normal output. Hence there is not



Map and chart, courtesy *The New York Times*

Figures on this map, taken from American and British sources, represent estimated average daily caloric consumption, for town dwellers, of rationed and unrationed foods together. They are to be compared with the required minimum—2,250—set by nutritionists; also with the present American average daily per capita consumption (including waste) of 3,800. Reliable figures are lacking for Albania, Rumania, the USSR, and Yugoslavia. Reports indicate that Rumania is at a starvation level, the others in the 2,000-2,400 category.

enough coal for the fertilizer plants or steel mills (of which some fertilizers are by-products). As a result, food production is below normal, and the miner's ration is further cut.

In his testimony on the Administration's \$350,000,000 relief bill, when it was pending in Congress in late April, Herbert Hoover charged that 'we, including our Allies, have been as busy as bees destroying the capacity to manufacture fertilizer.' German nitrogen and phosphoric acid plants, he stated, are being razed because they could be converted to munitions manufacture.

Today, the world's total nitrogen production of 2,600,000 tons is 1,000,000 tons short of the world demand.

And without fertilizers, the over-worked soil of Europe and the Orient yields a meager harvest of substandard grain and fruit.

Some Complicating Factors

The complexity of the food situation, the impossibility of dealing with it apart from fertilizer, manpower, transportation, and other needs, was shown me in a test tube sample, so to speak, by an American Red Cross worker recently returned from Czechoslovakia. He said: "We were trying to do something for a little rural community. They'd had a poor crop and were scraping the bottom of the bin. The reason they had a poor crop was because they lacked both

seed and fertilizers." He went on:

For years, the men had gone into the forests every winter to chop trees. This was the way they earned the cash to buy fertilizers and seed for their farms. But because they had no shoes, they could not go into the woods in the winter of 1945-46. Therefore they had no money for seed and fertilizer, and so they and their children were starving.

And what will become of them? Still no shoes—still no wood chopping—still no fertilizer and seed. So they aren't going to harvest any more this summer than they did last.

What is the outlook for the world's food supply?

In Europe and Great Britain, the severe winter of 1946-47 and the

spring floods probably mean lower production this year than last. How seriously the crops were damaged, how much of the harvest can be collected, how equitably it can be distributed, remain to be seen. It seems clear, however, that there will be no more food from these areas than there was last year; there may not be as much.

Meanwhile, soaring black market prices undermine the effectiveness of government attempts to control and ration available supplies. In many European cities food above starvation levels is available only at prices that no one but travelers can pay. These for example, were prices prevailing in Vienna in early June according to a returned Red Cross worker:

- butter, legal price \$.37 per kilo—
black market, \$30;
- sugar, legal price \$.30 per kilo—
black market, \$30;
- pork, legal price \$.30 per kilo—
black market, \$37.

And it was only on the black market that these items, and many more at comparable prices, were available at all.

Cereals—East and West

In the Far East, political unrest is hindering food production. Indo-China, Burma, Korea, the East Indies are virtually marking time, awaiting fundamental political decisions.

In China, some regions suffer famine, as they have for centuries; in others (notably Manchuria) a mounting food surplus is rumored. Inadequate transportation, disrupted by years of international and civil war, prevents the distribution of available food. UNRRA was able to land food stocks at Chinese ports, but moving supplies inland was another matter.

Because of the shortage of rice, the Orient is levying on the rest of the world for wholly unprecedented grain shipments. The lack of 6,000,000 tons of rice formerly produced there can only partly be made up by grains grown chiefly in this country, Canada, and Argentina. Australia, after three successive crop failures, can do little.

Further, Oriental and European countries are trying to replace the food values of 2,000,000 tons of fat and sugar with cereals. To get the same caloric value, this calls for 4,000,000 tons of cereals. It also means, of course, an unbalanced diet and a de-

crease in health and energy for the people who eat it.

World cereal production last year, except rice, was almost at prewar levels. But because of these abnormal needs, the demand was 12,000,000 tons in excess of production, according to the figures of the International Emergency Food Council. The demand on the 1947 harvest will be above, rather than below, the 1946 figure.

The four chief food exporting countries are the United States, Canada, Australia, and Argentina. The crop outlook in Australia is uncertain, and that continent's stocks are dangerously low.

What Argentina can or will do toward easing food shortages elsewhere is complicated by political considerations.

In Canada and the United States, the prospect is for a bumper wheat crop. The June 10 crop report of the U. S. Department of Agriculture forecast a wheat harvest of 1,409,000,000 bushels—254,000,000 more than last year's record crop, and almost double the prewar average. But the outlook for some other crops, particularly corn and other livestock feed, is less encouraging. Last year both the USA and Argentina had peak corn crops. This season, because of abnormally wet, cold weather in May, nearly 25 percent of the expected corn acreage of the USA was not sown by June 1, the last hopeful date for planting in most of the cornbelt. The same weather kept down the acreage of oats, and also of soybeans, a source of vegetable oil and of protein livestock feed.

Corn is classed as the nation's most important crop, since it provides the bulk of feed for meat, milk, and poultry products. A short corn crop would force reductions in the production of these foods. It would also divert to livestock feeding cereals which otherwise could be exported for human consumption.

Charity Is Not Enough

Both private agencies and governmental bodies are playing parts in the effort to alleviate hunger and forestall famine.

Outstanding among the private agencies are the indefatigable Quakers and Unitarians, the Jewish organizations ministering particularly to the displaced and homeless, the World Church Service, Inc., the War Relief Service of the National Catholic Wel-

fare Conference, the Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe, Inc., and the many national bodies, such as Greek Relief, United China Relief, and so on. Hundreds of thousands of food parcels have reached hard-pressed families overseas through these channels of good will.

But voluntary efforts, however devoted, cannot feed the world's hungry today. The resources of even the most widely supported private agencies are inadequate to the need.

An illustration is the experience of the American Red Cross in the Moldavian famine in March 1947. This Rumanian province had had a two-year drouth. It was also under Russian pressure to reduce living standards to those of the adjoining province of Bessarabia, which the USSR had taken over. When the food shortage had reached famine proportions and Moldavians were literally dying of hunger, General Schuyler of the Allied Control Commission sent urgent appeals through the State Department for food. It was clear that there would be a gap of several weeks before the Rumanian government could make the necessary purchase of cereals.

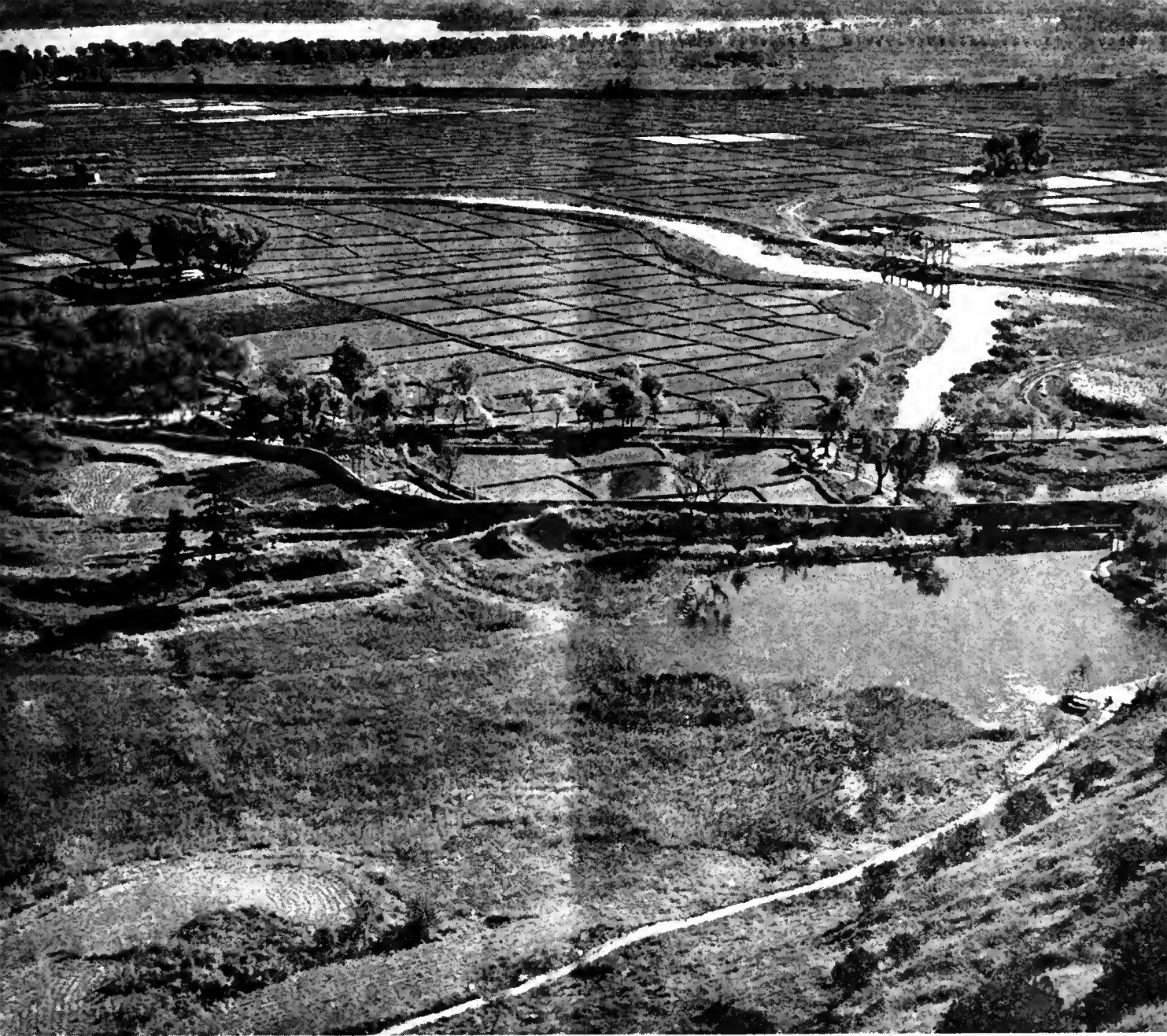
President Truman appealed to the ARC to "do something." It responded by purchasing from the army a shipload of ten-in-one rations then at sea and the ship was diverted to Constanta. Each parcel contained food for five persons for two weeks.

There were at that time 3,800,000 people in Moldavia who did not have enough to eat. The ARC fed 900,000 for two weeks, at a cost of \$3,500,000. A Red Cross worker, recently back from Europe, told me, "All we could do was hold the line for a little while until the governments could get something worked out."

But here is a dramatic indication of the task the world confronts. If it cost \$3,500,000 to tide 900,000 people over a two weeks' emergency, what figure will measure the task of maintaining the 30,000,000 hungry children of Europe until the shattered economy of that continent is functioning again—children who need not only food, but also clothes, shoes, medical care, schooling, if there is to be any future for them and their homelands?

UNRRA wound up its merciful international service on June 30. The American Red Cross is "getting out of mass relief," concentrating on

(Continued on page 411)



Food for China

PEARL S. BUCK

(From the third of six film strips on China produced by Telefilm, New York, and presented by the East and West Association.)

WHEN I think about food in China, I have a sense of warm pleasure. Chinese food is good, Chinese cooking is a great art. Chinese people eat to live, but they also eat to enjoy, and this is true from the simplest family meal to the rich man's feast of thirty and forty dishes.

But let us start at the beginning. Food comes, of course, from the land. Because food is so highly appreciated in China the farmer has had a high position, traditionally, in Chinese society. The feeling of the farmer for his land is profound. No one sells land willingly. The family divides the farm through inheritance, but seldom except under necessity, by sale. Inheritance has divided the land into tiny plots and farms in China look like gardens and are

tended as carefully, so great is love of the land.

Generations of the same family upon the same land have developed good farm practices, considering the lack of scientific knowledge. All waste, animal and human, has been returned to the land. Sometimes silt is used from rivers and canals, and the soil of China is fertile after thousands of years.

Yet there is hunger in China, for too few have money for food. And when there are floods and famines, there is no food even for those who can afford it. Every year, somewhere in the vastness of China, there are refugees from war or disaster. These refugees from hunger go usually to big cities and they build themselves shacks of reeds and mats. They beg or try to get a little work.



Press Association

I never see children hungry and homeless, being given doles of rice soup and millet and salted vegetables, whether by rich Chinese or Americans, without being angry. They could be fed properly, were we willing to think of food in terms of world dis-

tribution—and not as charity. Refugee children scavenge food, in the refuse of the streets and along roadsides. Whatever happens, the Chinese child remains undaunted. The spirit that animated all of China during the war is inherent in China's children.

GNRRA



Acme



Aeme

The people are impoverished. Their rightful earnings are wrested from them by greedy landlords and exorbitant taxes. But perhaps the greatest single reason for famine is the lack of transportation. Grain

is often transported on the backs of men. Meantime China's farmers grow food, as they have done for thousands of years, for a population greater than any other on earth.



Paolo Guillemette, Pictures



Often divided, union labor is grimly united against the Act

The Labor Act —What it Leaves of New Deal Gains

Maneuver and struggle of six bitter months, unsurpassed in congressional history, now confront labor and industry, public and courts, with a host of unanswered questions.

LOUIS STARK

THE LABOR RELATIONS ACT OF 1947 is now law, after a six month congressional debate almost without parallel.

As a result, organized labor faces a momentous crisis, probably one of the most important in its turbulent history.

Never has labor had so much to gain by taking the right road, or to lose by taking the wrong. Whatever course it takes is fraught with dangers, for its task is threefold: (1) to win public opinion to its viewpoint that the law is one-sided, unworkable, and even unconstitutional; (2) to seek congressional amendment; (3) to press for favorable interpretation from the courts.

The drama that attended enactment of the new law may, in the future, when history casts its perspective on the results, show clearly the nature of the forces that led to the outcome, assessing each factor.

At present the observer may merely look back at the developments since January and trace the course of public policy which closed a chapter in industrial history when on June 23 the Senate joined with the House and overrode one of the sharpest Presidential vetoes ever written, making the Taft-Hartley bill law.

In *Survey Graphic* for April, John

A. Fitch summarized the conflict in the Congress as exemplified in a sheaf of outstanding labor regulatory proposals. As the session advanced, it became more and more clear that the sentiment of Congress favored stringent measures.

For a short time there was some hesitation in both houses on the question—should there be one bill or several? Representative Fred A. Hartley, Jr., New Jersey Republican, proponent of a drastic bill, led the fight for an omnibus measure. He won his point without much difficulty in the House. In the Senate, however, Senators Irving M. Ives of New York, and Wayne L. Morse of Oregon, both Republicans, opposed an all-inclusive measure.

They each argued that an omnibus bill was likely to contain too much, that it was putting all the eggs

—By a member of the Washington Bureau of *The New York Times*.

Mr. Stark has represented his paper at the capital since 1933, specializing both before and after going to Washington in the news of industrial relations and labor legislation.

Among many recognitions of his competence he has received an honorary LL.D. from Reed College (1937) and a Pulitzer prize (1942).

in one basket and that if the various proposals were split up into four bills President Truman would surely sign some—and half a loaf would be better than no bread at all.

The Omnibus Ride

But this view was countered by Senator Robert A. Taft, Republican, of Ohio, chairman of the Labor Committee. He said that if the President were offered four bills he could “pick and choose” and actually “dictate” the sort of legislation a Republican-dominated Congress would enact. Senator Ives was won over to the omnibus bill when he scored several major victories in the Senate debate as to particular provisions.

What part did the Democrats play in this process? There was such a deep cleavage in their ranks—most of the southern Democrats lining up with the Republicans—that they threw away the opportunity of making the labor debate an effective party issue for the future. Instead, they made the bill a bi-partisan measure, a fact which the Republicans have emphasized at strategic moments.

When the Hartley omnibus bill—the most drastic labor act since before 1935—passed the House on April 17 by vote of 308 to 107, it was revealed that 93 Democrats had joined with

215 Republicans in rolling up the huge majority. Only 84 Democrats stood up with 23 Republicans to be counted against it.

But this vote was put in the shade by the lower chamber's overwhelming action on the joint conference bill later—which it passed on June 4 by 320 to 79. Finally, for overriding the President's veto, the vote was 331 to 83.

At the outset, some Republicans wanted a bill so "tough" as to compel a veto by the President. Thus, the labor issue would have bulked large in the 1948 campaign. For a time, at least, the pressure of some business groups was along this line, too. But the "moderates" won, taking the line that it would be better to get what they considered a "middle of the road" measure than none at all.

Pickwickian Moderation

As it finally came from the House the Hartley bill was "moderate" in a very Pickwickian sense. Actually, from the labor relations viewpoint, it was an extreme measure, for it abolished the National Labor Relations Board, banned industrywide bargaining, permitted private employers to sue unions for triple damages, made unions liable under anti-trust laws, and included an unenforceable clause calling for summary expulsion from unions not only of Communist party members, but of party-line followers. The standard by which to detect fellow-travelers was not disclosed.

Then came the several weeks of sharp debate in the Senate. There it became clear that the extreme provisions of the House bill would probably mean defeat and they were thrown out or considerably modified. The result was that on May 13 the Senate passed a Taft-Ball bill by a vote of 68 to 24, enough to override a veto. Twenty-one Democrats joined the 47 Republicans in favoring the measure.

When the Senate, on June 6, adopted the later conference report the vote was 54 to 17. Absenteeism accounted for the diminished vote. Final roll call in the Senate as in the House increased the original strength, overriding the veto 68 to 25.

Meantime the American Federation of Labor, for the first time in its history, had raised a fund of \$1,500,000 for newspaper advertising to state its case. This was supplemented by

radio programs from Hollywood and elsewhere, seeking to dramatize the issues embodied in the so-called (Taft-Hartley) "slave-labor bill." The Congress of Industrial Organizations depended on newspaper releases, union agitation, and lobbying. To the mind of many independent observers, however, organized labor's appeal to reject all the measures was discounted by failure to offer a program of its own.

When the bills went to the joint conference, some members of Congress felt that the work of ironing out the two bills, so a united product could be agreed upon, would be the usual 50-50 compromise. Instead, it turned out to be a firm struggle by Senator Taft against embodying in the conference bill the most extreme sections of the Hartley bill.

Senator Taft's stand and his clever public relations during the joint conference gave the impression that the Senate conferees were for "moderation." The Ohio Republican, from day to day, gave to the press enough news regarding changes in both bills—always playing up the idea that even a single "extreme" provision would evoke a Presidential veto—so that finally it seemed that only the Senate had a "middle of the road" policy. It was noteworthy that Mr. Taft did not make public the language of the committee changes until the very end.

The Joint Conference Report

When, finally, on May 30, the full text of the conference report was published, it was revealed for the first time how far the Senate conferees had gone to meet the House measure and how far the House had retreated.

Indeed, the new product included so many substantive and procedural changes that it became a far more restrictive measure than the Senate bill had been. How voluminous were the changes in conference may be judged by the fact that out of forty important provisions in the Senate version, twenty-five were added to or amended by the conference committee. The majority were important sections which, though apparently technical, went to the roots of the problems of labor and management.

Representative Hartley gave the "pitch" when, on June 4, discussing the conference report in the House, he described the concessions his side had made to the Senate Committee and then added:

I call your attention to what is left in the bill because I think you are going to find there is more in this bill than may meet the eye and may have been heretofore presented to you.

The joint product omitted the ban on industrywide bargaining. Inclusion of this point, it was feared, would assure a veto. It outlawed the closed shop, as did the House bill, and placed such restrictions on the union shop as to make it valueless. For example, a union could request the union shop (one where the employer could hire anyone, but the employe must join the union later) only if approved by a majority of those eligible to vote, not a majority of those voting, which is the usual practice.

Even if a union wins a union shop, it is deprived of its authority to call for an employe's discharge if he commits a grave offense and is ousted from the union. A union may call for his discharge only if he fails to pay his dues. Obviously aimed at abuses by union leaders against members, the bill permits spies and stool pigeons to remain at work though ejected by the union. The cure would seem to be as bad as the disease.

The closed and union shops have an historical origin. Extreme anti-union discrimination which led to this form of union security has, to a great extent, disappeared. Nevertheless, there are employers who find that the closed or the union shop carries with it certain union responsibilities which they wish to continue.

The House would have completely separated the administrative from the judicial functions of the NLRB after abolishing the board and creating a new body. The joint measure, while falling short of this proposal, made changes which embodied its disadvantages.

NLRB—New Version

The conference measure retained the present NLRB, adding two members to the three, but stripping it completely of all authority over the administration of unfair labor practice complaints. This function is turned over to a General Counsel (nominated by the President) who, it appears, will be actually "half of the board."

An indication of the General Counsel's authority must be inferred from the fact that the new measure has set up certain unfair practices by labor to balance the unfair practices by employers written into the National

Labor Relations (Wagner) Act of 1935. He may reject or accept complaints by labor and industry with no restraint from the board or anyone else. He has charge of the regional offices of the board, its field staff and their procedures.

The "separation of the administration from the judicial functions" of the board is the sort of cliché that has grown with repetition. Every quasi-judicial federal or state agency has both functions. The near-complete separation, as in this instance, while making the NLRB solely a court, wrests from it normal administrative duties inherent in similar agencies such as the Federal Trade Commission and the Federal Communications Commission.

Failure by labor to set up adequate machinery for adjusting jurisdictional disputes led Congress to take a hand in this vexing problem. The law turns over to the NLRB the delicate task of deciding which union shall do the disputed work. The board is hardly equipped for this task. Even if it were, it would inevitably arouse the ire of the unions against which its decisions are directed—not an enviable position for such a body. Then too, employers also may not like the idea of a board allocating work to one group or another. The alternative in the Senate bill, allowing the NLRB to turn jurisdictional questions over to an arbitrator, was squelched.

Certain types of secondary boycotts and jurisdictional disputes are classed as unfair labor practices. Suits may be brought to end these practices. The measure, however, also permits third parties to sue unions even though they are not direct employers. "Whoever shall be injured" may sue. This may lead to a plethora of actions against unions.

A ban on "featherbedding" has its points, but many union practices alleged to be of this type arose from the need for protecting the health and safety of workers. In considering this provision, one runs into "speed-up" and "stretch-out" practices. Would it not have been better to leave these matters to collective bargaining?

To refuse to bargain is made an unfair labor practice. The Wagner act limited such refusals to employers. Now it is applied to employees. There can be no objection to this provision since unions presumably are formed for bargaining purposes. This section was inserted solely to

cover those few cases in which the unions throw down an ultimatum on the table with a "take it or leave it" attitude.

Mediation Services

Nor can any exception be taken to the section calling for use of federal mediation services (now separated from the Labor Department). A sixty-day notice is required to terminate an agreement, to allow time for the new service to intervene.

If, however, the sixty-day notice results in the filing of strike notices, it may run into difficulties. A strike notice before mediation may exacerbate a dispute. If a cooling-off period is provided it should come after, not before, mediation.

The sixty-day cooling-off period (before contract termination) holds that employees violating it lose their status as employees. Suppose an employer provokes a violation of this section by discriminatory action? He may, of course, be charged with an unfair labor practice, which will take six months or a year to adjudicate. The employee, however, will lose his status under the act at once and court immediate discharge.

Removing the Conciliation Service from the Department of Labor was a step dictated partly by the desire to keep it "neutral" as between employers and employees. Industry spokesmen in some cases felt that the service could not be "neutral" so long as it remained under the Secretary of Labor.

To the extent that the new section provides definite procedures for mediation, hitherto lacking, it may serve well. On the other hand, such procedures were well under way in the present Service under Edgar L. Warren, Conciliation Chief. Part of the pressure for severance from the Department of Labor resulted from a grudge against Mr. Warren by a member of the House Appropriations Committee.

While unions are required to file with the Secretary of Labor the data covering salaries of their principal officers, the amount of dues and initiation fees and certain details of their internal operations, the data are not to be made public, and this would not appear to involve undue hardship. However, the unions vigorously protested this provision.

A "free speech" section states that an employer may not be held culpable

if his expressions "contain no threat of reprisal or force or promise of benefit." Does this mean that an employer's statements cannot be used as an illegal intention if taken in connection with his act, such as firing some employes after making a speech to them?

A long awaited reform refers to a minority union which has lost an election, the new provision forbidding its going on strike to compel an employer to violate the law by refusing to deal with the duly certified union.

The Right to Strike?

Nowhere in the measure is the right to strike prevented but in certain respects it is circumscribed.

Where strikes may affect health and safety they are deferred eighty days, pending continuance of an injunction sworn out by the Attorney General. (This was written with John L. Lewis in mind. His coal contract with the government is due to expire on July 1.) At the end of this period the employes may strike. The next to final step in the elaborate machinery provided for such disputes would place the dispute back in the hands of the President, who would have originally requested the Attorney General to go to court. And finally the President would pass it on to Congress for some possible emergency action.

This type of cumbersome "buck-passing" is hardly good labor relations and offers no solution for disputes.

It sounds reasonable to say that it shall be an unfair labor practice for unions or their agents to restrain or coerce employes in their organizational rights. The danger is that this would result in endless litigation, for nowhere is there a definition of coercion. If coercion means physical assaults or threats, state laws may be used to deal with them. There would seem to be no reason to make the federal government a local law enforcement agency. This is hardly likely to improve labor-management relations.

The measure changes the test of agency in labor disputes established by the Norris-LaGuardia anti-injunction act, which provides that no member or officer of a union may be held liable for unlawful acts of others in the union except on clear proof of authorization or ratification of such acts. The Taft-Hartley law



Photos from European

Some of the 60,000 who jammed New York's Madison Square Garden to protest the labor bill and demand a veto

says that while employers and unions are to be bound by the acts of their agents, the actual authorization or subsequent ratification would not be controlling when the question of agency is determined.

Does this mean a return to the days when unions, through *ex parte* affidavits, were held liable for the unauthorized acts of individuals?

Unfortunately, in too many places in the act, the emphasis in the measure is on court action. For instance, either party may sue for breaking contracts. During the conference committee's discussions, it was brought out that many contracts now contain clauses voluntarily subscribed to by the parties, establishing an umpire to decide the question of contract violation.

The umpires merely settle questions arising over the interpretation of contracts. The proposal was rejected because of the unreasoning fear of one of the House conferees who mistakenly thought it might lead to compulsory arbitration. Law suits such as those contemplated here and elsewhere in the measure, will not improve collective bargaining. Incidentally, the referee proposal was made by President Truman, in his message to Congress on January 6, 1947.

It may be three years, possibly longer, before labor and management know the significance of the act.

It makes so many changes in the Wagner act that the nation may well see a repetition of the earlier court tests which probed the meaning of nearly every phrase of the 1935 law during its first five years. Some points are still being litigated.

Truth and Consequences

If, as seems likely, the NLRB's processes are made extremely cumbersome, the unions may be tempted to turn their backs on the law and return to their "economic weapon," the strike.

Congressional "intent" is extremely important to the courts. It figures in almost every important test before the U. S. Supreme Court. The closing discussions in Congress, on the conferees' reports, disclosed certain interpretations which would seem to go further than their joint product.

It is interesting to contrast the Taft-Hartley Act with the recent report of the Massachusetts Committee on Labor Relations.

That committee of nine, including three labor representatives, considered the same problems that came before

Congress. Its report was unanimous. Among its recommendations were:

1. The closed shop, the union shop, and maintenance-of-membership should be matters for collective bargaining. They should not be outlawed.

2. Strikes and lockouts affecting public health and safety should be subject to certain procedures which virtually ban them but which would seem to clear the way for peaceful adjustment.

3. The law need not be amended to ban intimidation in union organizing but if it is intimidation for an employer to threaten a worker with loss of a job if he joins a union, it should be intimidation for a union to threaten loss of a job if he refuses to join.

4. Unions, as well as employers, should be compelled to bargain.

5. Opposition is expressed to amending the law respecting free speech for employers since the Supreme Court has already assured employers they have this freedom.

6. The use of strikes, picketing, and boycott in jurisdictional disputes is discountenanced.

The Committee for Economic Development, in a report proposing
(Continued on page 410)



A hope and a symbol, St. Paul's rises scarred but whole above London's wartime devastation

Here Britain Stands

Notes on life under Britain's Labor Government, faced with realization of crisis and a demand for peacetime heroism matching that of battle.

S. K. RATCLIFFE

THE YEAR 1947 HAS BROUGHT SWIFT and merciless awakening for the peoples of Britain and the wider Commonwealth. As recently as six months ago the terrific truth that Britain was face to face with the crisis of her destiny was known only to a small minority in England and elsewhere.

In this momentous and present shock there are at least two features which, if surprising to an Englishman, may well seem almost inexplicable to Americans. The first is not the event itself, but the suddenness with which it came to be recognized and admitted. The second is the fact that the Labor Party did not come near to facing the reality publicly until the statements of the leaders at the Margate annual conference were broadcast. That was late in May.

—Since his first American lecture engagement—in Pittsburgh in 1914—S. K. Ratcliffe has become known to many thousands of Americans as an authoritative (and well-beloved) illuminator of world events.

His editorial career began years ago in India on *The Statesman*, leading English daily of Calcutta. He returned to England as editorial writer for the *London Daily News*, later traveled as special correspondent for *The Spectator*.

In the U. S. at the beginning of World War II, he went back to England in 1942, where he spoke to hundreds of military camps and factory groups on America, and spent nearly two years as chief editorial writer on *The Glasgow Herald*.

Now he is back in the U. S. once more; and *Survey Graphic* is happy to present an old friend who has not appeared in our pages since 1939.

We are obliged to assume that the government was thoroughly informed as to the situation which had to be confronted by the beginning of 1947, but the Minister of Fuel and Power was not the only member who had gambled on the chances of a mild winter. And when the worst weather of the century struck the land, the British people awoke slowly to the fact that coal shortage and cuts in electricity were only the external symptoms of a deep and desolating malady.

As these lines are being written, Pope Pius XII is reminding the world that the democratic governments on all sides encouraged the peoples to believe that freedom of prosperity for all peoples would begin to arrive with the ending of the war. The British government was not so daring as all

that. But it is true that far too many prominent men had talked irresponsibly about a coming age of plenty, and the record will show that one temptation which faces all democratic politicians—namely, to withhold unpleasant facts as long as possible—was not successfully resisted by all of Mr. Attlee's colleagues.

The first question that asks itself in this connection has reference to the measure of direct responsibility resting upon the government — not for the critical condition of affairs, but for the common unawareness and complacency. Could they, for instance, when the loan agreement in the United States was signed, have foreseen that within twelve months the exhaustion of American credits would be almost within sight? Could they be expected to forecast the general decline in production?

They were, of course, under no illusion about coal. The export of Britain's only raw material ceased at the outbreak of war, and it could not be resumed when the fighting ceased. With coal, said one member of the government, we could buy almost everything we needed, but there was no coal to spare. On the contrary, with a condition of full employment in the country never before known in peacetime, and a perilously depleted labor force, the mines were not providing nearly enough for home consumption; and before the bitter winter drew to a close the British people had come to understand that a severe shortage of the essential fuel will have to be endured for an indefinite time to come.

Plain Facts Needed

It is not difficult, now, to see that both wisdom and policy would have been served if some months earlier the nation had been given in plain terms all the salient facts concerning the economic outlook that were set forth in the famous White Paper of February 1947.

During the intervening months the conditions dealt with in that government statement have been amply discussed the world over. The overwhelming cost of the second World War absorbed the vast reserves of wealth which Britain had commanded for generations. The world's greatest creditor country is now the world's greatest debtor. She is owing on a huge scale not only to the United States but also to the free British

Dominions, Canada and Australia, and, ironical though it must sound, to India for several billions of dollars.

The wondrous reservoir of foreign investment, for a hundred years and more the most impressive example of international capitalism, has disappeared. The multilateral structure of world commerce, in which the British played the leading part and to which her economy was marvellously adjusted, now lies in ruins, while Britain remains dependent upon the outside world for raw materials and up-to-date machinery, for the luxuries (films, tobacco, and so on) which a modern people regards as necessities, and for a far larger percentage of food than any other modern country has ever had to import. A population of 45,000,000, in a land of rigorously limited resources, cannot maintain a tolerable everyday standard of living unless its old trade balance is restored. Therefore the government demands the expansion of exports to the level of 140 percent of the total achieved ten years ago; and onlookers cannot see how this demand is to be met.

Here, then, is the core of the national difficulty which, actually for the first time, was explained by cabinet ministers at the recent annual conference of the Labor Party. The disclosures fell upon the delegates with leaden weight, and who can wonder?

If the American reader feels that the implacable realities ought not to have been half-hidden at any time, we cannot disagree with him. Yet it is fair to throw out a reminder about two relevant points which may be urged in mitigation. First, the American public, having undergone one of the severest ordeals of economic depression in the modern age, is itself well acquainted with prominent public men who have no passion for candor in times of adversity. Second, the British people have been called upon to endure the hardships of war and postwar continuously through eight years; consequently we could hardly expect them to resent the sound of soothing words from their leaders, even to the eleventh hour.

The Labor Party conference at Margate is the outstanding political event of the year thus far; and before coming to the general picture of Britain it may be well to consider this meeting, in relation particularly to the Cabinet and its standing.

A Labor Government is in theory

more directly dependent than a Conservative Government upon its organized supporters. This is obvious enough, for no other political party contains a dominant element which can be compared with the trade unions. Roughly speaking, the party chiefs can never be free from anxiety before the annual convention, for the rebel element is always vocal, and invariably it includes some men of exceptional knowledge and debating quality, who gain support whenever they arraign the government for cowardice or for being false to party principles and promises. However, while it is always known that a rebel minority cannot press an attack upon any major policy, the vexatious point is that no one can tell in advance how far the outburst of dissentient feeling may go.

Details of Party Politics

The situation this year seemed to promise no little drama, in which certain contradictions were discernible. The delegates, for instance, were provided with plenty of complaints against the Minister of Fuel, but Mr. Shinwell could feel secure, if only because the attacks upon him since the first coal stoppages had come in furious terms from the Conservative side.

The Food Ministry, again, touches every household in the land. It is the object of grumbles without end, and they start often enough in the homes of the workers. But John Strachey happens to be head of a department which has established and maintained a degree of equality in distribution never excelled in any country. He knew that neither the shortage of meat nor rationing of bread can be laid to his charge, and he, like Shinwell, is helped by the sniping of the low Tory press.

There is a manifest irony, however, in the position of the Ministry of Health. Aneurin Bevan, long a belligerent insurgent, is not able to claim that the housing record of his department is anything like satisfactory, but the shoe now is on the other foot. He had to call upon the resources of his Welsh oratory in making the best of it and, doubtless to his own surprise, he was given at the conference a striking endorsement, after having promised the delegates that by 1950 the supply of new houses would be abundant.

As everyone, however, is aware,

the dangers threatening ministers in charge of domestic departments are relatively trivial. At every Labor conference the heavy assault is made upon the Foreign Secretary, and it is invariably without positive result. The foreign policy to which Ernest Bevin is committed (continuity in the Foreign Office is inescapable, despite the denunciations heard now and again, generally from labor intellectuals) arouses the most impassioned attacks, and these resound through the press of the world. But Bevin emerges unscathed.

There is no cause for surprise in his parliamentary victories, for in the House of Commons the support of the opposition is automatic. It is his recurrent successes in party conference that testify to the great strength of his position. There the rebels are in force and the guerilla leaders are primed. Hostile resolutions mention Greece and Spain, Russia, Palestine; but the upshot is always the same. Bevin is never without a formidable equipment of facts and—in striking contrast to his earlier manner—he can inflict upon the party conference the ninety-minute reading of a memorandum, which not one in ten of the delegates would dare to challenge in detail. And then as a matter of course, the vote in his support is overwhelming, although everyone is aware that the critics have not been shaken; on the morrow they will be at it again.

Bevin—the Pivot

There is no disputing the decisive fact. Bevin is the pivotal figure in the government; and his opponents are aware that if he were dispossessed the office would be filled by a Minister who would not be any nearer to the radical Left.

Margate afforded convincing evidence of the government's unimpaired strength. The Executive made an effective display of ability and was able once again to show that in power of speech and in personal resource, the leading half dozen men are unexcelled. Moreover, the nation does not forget that these were all tested as members of the wartime coalition. Clement Attlee, Ernest Bevin, Herbert Morrison, Hugh Dalton, Stafford Cripps were not minor colleagues of Winston Churchill. They were equal members of his team, and all alike went through the hard drill of departmental authority.

I recognize, however, that this short list of names brings us up against a serious problem of tomorrow. The leadership of Britain, as of many countries today, is elderly; and as a consequence, well in advance of the next election, the horizon is being scanned for the coming men. It would not be denied, I think, that there is no member of the younger group who, so far, has announced himself or been hailed by his fellows, as a candidate for the highest place.

Where Are the Young Men?

What we have is a battalion of able and energetic men with plenty of talent for public life. They comprise a large variety of technical experience, an unusual definiteness in theory as in knowledge, and a devotion to causes not inferior to that which distinguished the Liberals of the last generation. They are making the House of Commons more lively and effective than it was of old, although the new rules and practices introduced by the government have decidedly reduced the opportunities of the debating chamber.

No one of the younger men is thought of as a potential master of Parliament; and when, at the same time, we note the diminished power of the platform, we can see that the chances of a political leader's coming up in the old way are almost negligible. Further, there is the fact, not easy for Americans to realize, that a system of strict broadcasting control makes the radio of no account as a political force except during a national election campaign.

There are two particular points here to bear in mind. First, the British political system offers a wide field for talent, alike in the civil service and in political office, to men of public spirit who wish to serve the nation and are without personal ambition. Such men have never been as numerous among us, or as well trained, as they are today. And second, British practice allows of a quick change in the standing held by a man of parts whenever he bears the mark of being dangerous to the established group. As Beatrice Webb used to say, such a man is not crushed; he is embraced.

The most striking illustration of this is Sir Stafford Cripps. Ten years ago he was more than a rebel—he was an outcast from the Labor Party. It was Mr. Churchill who first took his

measure, while deciding to try him in an impossible task. Today this very exceptional man not only is esteemed as an invaluable member of the government, but holds a special position in the country as the only statesman who, without effort or self-consciousness, can strike the spiritual note.

A Stafford Cripps, like a John Strachey or a Phillip Noel-Baker—now the Secretary of State for Air—can graduate with ease into the inner governing class, but we touch a different question when we turn to the varied group of Labor critics who in the present Parliament have led the assault on Bevin, and otherwise have made the headlines. Richard Crossman of the *New Statesman & Nation* and K. Zilliacus are the most conspicuous. They and their companions look now like insurgents to the end of the chapter. But in our crazy world it is impossible to forecast any career, since in politics anything is possible.

Bevan—Enigma

I have left to the last the case of one politician whose future, in the view of many observers, is most enigmatic of all. When building his government two years ago, Mr. Attlee made only one venture into the unknown. For the Minister of Health he chose Aneurin Bevan, a Welsh agitator and rhetorician without a day's experience in administration. It could have been argued that a Labor Prime Minister would be foolish to leave out a man of this type, one of unmistakable personal force. But Mr. Attlee caused surprise by entrusting him with a threefold office of the highest importance. The Health Ministry comprises the whole field of local government, and holds the chief responsibility for housing.

Each of these is a full time ministerial job, yet Mr. Bevan was required to design and initiate a complete national medical service, the most comprehensive scheme of the kind in the world. This is now law. It has involved a long and angry conflict between the Ministry and the doctors, strongly organized as always. The new organization of the hospitals is already being shaped; it will come into operation next year. But medical care for the entire national community must take many years to develop; and housing under public authority is hampered, far more than in a

America, by lack of needed material.

One may, however, safely predict that if, by the date of the next general election, the Ministry of Health has achieved the dual success of establishing a national medical plan and carrying forward the rehousing of the people far enough for, say, 5,000,000 families to be made fairly comfortable, the political career of Aneurin Bevan will not be in doubt.

One statement made by the Prime Minister at the party conference has been widely noticed. It was to the effect that a slackening in the policy of nationalization is to be looked for as the result of the economic crisis. This is all the more significant because amidst the worst troubles of last winter Mr. Attlee declared that the government had no intention of holding its hand. The Labor Cabinet, of course, is socialist. The outside world has been keenly interested in its program of nationalization, and most of all by the speed and energy of its legislation.

Now, political victories, as we know, are won through the bias of the uncertain mass, a shifting of the middle vote. No informed supporter of the Atlee government would contend that the large majority of 1945 was to be read as evidence that the British electorate had been converted to socialism, or was ready for the nationalization of the major industries.

Advancing Nationalization

But we may take for granted that public opinion had been educated by the hard facts to look for immediate action in certain departments. This expectation has not been disappointed. The record of the first two years is remarkable, and the suggestion of a pause in the process is an opportunity for inquiring whether the legislative advance to date is of a kind to justify the fears that are entertained by so many people, especially in the USA.

First came the coal mines, that long continued tragedy of British industrial history. Here there was virtually no controversy. The problem of the mines hung darkly over the nation at the end of the first World War, as readers of Josephine Roche's impressive articles in the *Survey Graphic* have lately been reminded. A settlement was long overdue. The famous Sankey report pointed to it close upon thirty years ago. All parties were afraid that coal mining must be made a national service; a conservative gov-



British coal miners. The courage and determination of her workers is as essential to England's postwar recovery as they were to her military victory

ernment had already taken the first steps. No postwar cabinet, whatever its political color, could have hesitated over a bill to nationalize the mines and, as the debates showed, the Labor Government could have carried a measure more drastic than the Shinwell Act in its clauses concerning re-equipment and miners' welfare.

There followed the Bank of England Act, which makes no material difference that the ordinary citizen can detect in the status or management of a famous national institution. The change is a matter of form, and the powerful joint-stock banks remain untouched.

The national health service I have already noted.

And before Parliament, this year, is another measure of first class importance, the Transport bill, which covers the railroads and canals and the main highway lines, passenger and freight. As regards readiness for transfer to public authority, the railroad question was almost level with that of the mines. For nearly a hundred years the best of the British lines offered an enviable investment and in management they were unsurpassed. But times have changed, and transport conditions with them.

Before the second war, British railroads were engaged in a losing struggle, and when peace returned there was no dispute in regard to one essential matter. Company ownership

could not undertake the enormous task of re-equipment and the rebuilding of stations which, to the extent of almost a hundred percent, were far below a minimum modern standard. Public ownership, it was explained, was the only answer for the railroads, and the canals go without saying.

But there was, and could be, no similar agreement in respect of road transport. The bus and haulage business is extraordinarily brisk; the companies are prosperous, their publicity is effective and they are able to mobilize local opinion in defense of their independence. The government's reply to their pressure is largely concerned with the facts of competition. Road transport, it is said, is so powerful a force that nationalization of the railroads alone would prove an impossible governmental bargain.

Limits to Bureaucracy

This completes the list of nationalization measures to date, with electricity to come, and iron and steel as a possibility, although on present evidence no more than that. The complexity of the steel industry makes the government's hesitation easy to understand; and there is also the increasing difficulty of recruiting executive personnel, to say nothing of the recoil at the ever-widening compass of government authority. These factors stiffen the traditional dislike of bureaucratic interference—a sentiment

no less powerful in England than in the United States.

We recognize that nationalization is a word of menace for many Americans and that public ownership, even in a country which enjoys the thrill of the TVA and the Grand Coulee, can be made no less to sound like the doom of enterprise and initiative. But in Europe, in the better managed countries, national railroads have existed almost from the beginning. The incessant convulsions of the American coal fields have certainly raised the question of public ownership of the mines.

In Canada, the issue of transport and hydroelectric power as public service is taken as settled in the affirmative by even the conservatives of Ontario and Quebec. And as for Britain, if nationalization has gone too fast and far, the Labor Government appears calm in facing that issue at the next general election.

The Need for Food

I turn now to general conditions in Britain—particularly to the problem of food. The success of the rationing system has never been seriously questioned. The nation has been kept going steadily under the strains of eight years, and the British people could make the astonishing claim throughout the war that their Food Minister, Lord Woolton, was assured of their entire confidence. More important even than this, the official reports indicated that the health of the people, and especially of the young, was being wonderfully maintained. Despite the daily struggle for supplies which bears so heavily upon housewives, there was undoubtedly a widespread feeling that austerity, though a severe trial for everybody, was not permanently lowering the national physique.

To this common assumption, however, a shock was recently administered by Dr. Franklin Bicknell, who asserted in a medical journal that the whole nation was running down, through inadequate nutrition. The British people, he said, were undergoing slow progressive starvation. Dr. Bicknell had not acted irresponsibly. Indeed, there is reason to believe that public authority was behind him, and the worldwide publicity given his article appeared to support this view. Its obvious purpose was to arouse the multitude to the necessity of increasing home production of food, and also, we may guess, to stimulate



Photos from Central Feature News

A veteran of the wartime Women's Land Army—one of a generation which never has known the luxuries and amenities her parents took for granted

the government in the direction of larger meat imports, to be paid for by a stricter limitation of non-essentials.

The British people today are much better fed than the people of any continental country which was in the war. It is certain, nevertheless, that all manual workers, together with the working multitude of young men and women, are in need of more, and more varied, food. The latest medical opinion reaching me is that the younger generation shows in irritability and dissatisfaction the serious effects of long continued shortage and strain. The available diet is not enough for them. It is admitted that the government cannot be indifferent. Incidentally, it might portend a large defection in the vote for labor.

We can find the public health statistics, until the present year, a partial answer to Dr. Bicknell's alarms. And, in the spectacle of the children, we may see an extraordinary proof that the prevailing conditions are not by

any means damaging to all alike. In town and country today, the children of Britain make a wonderful and convincing show.

Signs of Health and Vigor

My own recent experience has not been restricted to the London area. I have been working in Glasgow, and thus for the first time have come to know the vital community of Clydeside. There is full employment throughout this congested industrial region. Workers in shipyards, mines, and factories are all earning well. There are no fears of a slump. But the social background is depressing; the facts of overcrowding are of the worst. Yet the streets are rivers of vigorous and happy young life. If you say that this implies a contradiction to what has just been said, I admit it. But there is the plain fact.

Glasgow is a city of greystone blocks. Here, as in Edinburgh, the
(Continued on page 414)

Men Living Together

MERWIN GRAUBART

HOW LONG DID WE LIVE TOGETHER? I can't remember. But I can tell you how far we lived together. We lived together from the bloodstained woods of Bastogne, Belgium, to the sluggish Danube, east of Linz, Austria. We lived in holes that we dug in the earth. There were four of us.

Just why four men so different in so many ways should band together is difficult to understand. Probably we were just thrown together by circumstances at first. Then our common misery made us tolerate one another, and finally we understood and liked each other.

We represented a good cross section of what constitutes America. One was a widower with a child, one was married and had no children. The other two were single. One was a Catholic, one a Protestant, another a Jew, the fourth, an atheist. We were a southern Republican, a Democrat, a liberal, a radical. Two were college men; one was a high school graduate and the fourth could hardly write his name. We were soldiers on a strange continent and our destiny, but rarely expressed, was to survive as comfortably as possible.

We were members of a highly mobile unit and in a war of rapid maneuver, we changed locations frequently. Yet our home was always the same—in the earth.

The Homes We Dug

A geologist will tell you that the earth consists of so much granite, sandstone, limestone, and so on. From behind a pick or shovel, we could vouch that the surface was hard; the blisters on our hands and the sweat of our backs testified to that. We also knew that the earth could be a quagmire when it rained. Yet, for all the earth's heartlessness, we knew that it had compassion. It protected you from the strafing of enemy planes and the bursting shrapnel.

Every time we hit a bivouac area, we dug our new home. It would take six to eight hours to dig deep enough and wide enough to house the four of us. And then we would make a ceiling for our home with tarp, branches, and heavy logs. It was never high enough to stand in.

We threw our bed rolls into the

—As a member of an armored division of General Patton's Third Army, Merwin Graubart lived the material of this article. He is now with the Veterans Division of the New York City Department of Welfare and is also doing graduate work at the New York School of Social Work.

hole, one alongside the other. We slept that way and we lived that way. We knew who snored, who dreamed, who slept soundly, and who had insomnia. What little each of us had, belonged to all of us. Ours was a communal state and definitely not competitive. Our only competition took place on a chess board, a game which three of us shared. We played by candlelight and it helped alleviate war's sodden companion—boredom.

We knew each other's problems, hopes, aspirations—and eccentricities. We quarreled, laughed, talked together. We were frightened together.

Our home had rules, simple ones. We recognized that we must fold our bed rolls before we crawled out, else no one could get in. We knew that we had to take off our overcoats before entering the hole, as there was no room inside to perform this function. We put the hand grenades in a separate little hole and did not leave them lying around loose.

Yet our homes were comfortable in their way. We always found some German alcohol to burn for heat inside the hole. It was smokeless and odorless, and it was worth the risk of stealing it. It was commonly understood that we would have coffee on our Coleman stove at all hours.

We washed one another's clothes in gasoline, and one ingenious soul solved the drying problem by placing all wet clothing over the exhaust pipe of the truck and starting the motor. It was a wonderful invention and quickly copied by all our company.

We were a separate group. When one of us went out for mail call, the mailman knew that all of us lived in the same home and distributed our mail accordingly. We were very proud of our group and took care of one another. We furnished hot and cold water for the member with the frozen feet. We took off our own shoes so that he might have the dry

ones. We took care of our own sick. We made him soup, gave him extra blankets, tried to cheer him up.

Each of us contributed something. Luke was the best cook that ever lived. He could take a pure Aryan chicken and boil it in a muddy pot, making it taste like the southern fried which he boasted so much about. "Horizontal" Hill blossomed forth as one of the most industrious of men in our little communal state. One of us provided light by running a wire from the electric generator.

Four to a World

Thus we lived across a thousand miles of war-torn Europe—four of us—from one hole to another. Yet, what the war had created, the peace destroyed. With the peace, we went back to the more comfortable way of living. We each lived in separate homes. We would pass and say "hello" but no more than that. The intimacies of stress were replaced by the casualness of peace.

It is perhaps quite fitting now to take stock of how we lived two years ago. All of us have returned to our respective homes and we have lost contact. Perspective has been achieved.

What were we four? Not a family, because we were not of the same blood, religion, or even background.

It is difficult to defend the small numeral of four as a community, but there is no other word for us. We were as communal as any society of men could be. We had that common interest in survival which is inherent in all human beings. In order to survive as comfortably as possible, we banded together, cooperated, and understood one another. It was the most democratic of communities; it approached almost complete anarchy and yet operated successfully. There were no bosses. We merely worked together. We implicitly realized that each of us had distinct rights and duties toward the other. Our society was utilitarian in the strictest sense. We were recognized as a distinct group by our fellows, our ethnic and communal rights were respected.

We were a community in the truest sense of the word, for we enjoyed democracy without competition. We lived together.

India Emerges

Glimpses backstage, as the footlights of history play on a tremendous drama of incipient self-rule.

ALBERT MAYER

IN THE MIDST OF THE THRILLING AND spectacular events in India, Americans should know more of the matrix of life and problems out of which these spring. What are some of the problems; what the proposals to meet them; what are the chances of their being well solved?

During two visits there—the first, for two years in the Army Engineers (1943-45), the second, for five months as Planning and Development Adviser to the United Provinces government (1946-47)—I have had a chance to see and to participate in the process. At the start, it was only after some time had elapsed that I began to feel at home in India; but during my last visit, I was glad to be accepted as a co-worker rather than just as a foreign adviser.

One thing that struck me forcibly, once the initial strangeness had worn off, was the number of points of general similarity between their problems and ours—both present and past. For India is a new frontier, a country on the threshold, and it arouses the zeal of the pioneer in any American there to share in their new pioneering. After a century and a half of British rule, the Indians are trying to work out a system of self-government—just as we did. From our present stability and strength we may look down on their efforts as blundering, forgetful that at the start, under the Articles of Confederation in the 1780's, Americans blundered along and seemed ready to fly to pieces until our United States Constitution was devised.

Devotion in Leadership

They may seem inept from here, but not when you meet and get to know able and devoted national leaders like Nehru, Patel, Azad. This holds for less known provincial leaders and obscure local leaders, as well. You rapidly abandon your preconceptions when you see them working patiently and persistently; when you have to squeeze in meetings with them at eight in the morning or eleven at night; and even more, when you experience their quick under-

"The old order changeth, yielding place to new...." England's prophet-poet had a kingdom, not an empire, in mind in minting this line for "The Passing of Arthur." But Tennyson knew well the British bent for trial and error—for creative compromise in meeting change half way. Witness the shift from War Cabinet to Labor Government since V-E Day; the sequence of Cripps, Wavell, Mountbatten in overtures for unharnessing imperial control. With acceptance now by Hindus and Moslems, it is for the peoples of India in the next twelve months to choose between unity and division; and ultimately between dominion status and independence.

Meanwhile forward-looking forces—social and economic—have been at work. Their potentialities caught the imagination of this American architect, town and rural planner. (See "Americans in India," Albert Mayer, *Survey Graphic*, March 1947.) In July, Mr. Mayer returns there on a third visit to carry to a new stage his constructive service in North Central India and Bombay.

standing of the essence of your professional reports. Of course, there are plenty of time-servers and demagogues there as here; but let me give some instances of what I mean.

Last fall, at the outset of my planning and development work, I reported to Jawaharlal Nehru before I went into the field. He had me stop at Delhi for three days, personally listing the people he thought I should see, and arranging for appointments. Some four months later, I reported to him again just before I left India. During the interval he had not been able to keep abreast of my work in the United Provinces but in a two hour interview he grasped the essence of both report and recommendations, and next day took action on them. This in the midst of just about a thousand problems of far greater importance.

My work had fallen in the sphere of Dr. Katju, Minister of Development for the United Provinces. Except for my final two weeks, he had

been in America on a food mission during my whole stay. Immediately on his return, he called for all my reports, then he called for me, then he asked that my recommendations be put into budget form, and they were forthwith passed by the Cabinet, presented to the Legislature. Fairly fast action!

Education for All

Unfortunately, the stratum of this grade of character and ability is extremely thin—much too thin—but remember, as an index, that India's literacy level is only 11 per cent. Hence, they are trying desperately to solve another first class pioneering problem by pushing universal education as rapidly as possible. This has a very high priority, for there is general recognition that every branch of progress—political, economic, social, moral—depends upon it.

The problem is twofold—quantity and quality. For even such Indian education as there has been in the past was warped by its purpose—to train clerks and government servants. There has been an almost complete lack of training in self-reliance and know-how and action, as against memorizing and book learning. Yet the principles of progressive education are more universally accepted among Indian leaders than is true here and their effort is to jump from this old-fashioned system to a modern one, based on learning by doing.

There are literally hundreds of local, individual instances of educational pioneering in the recent past, but these are no more than guideposts in the vastness of India. Missionaries, American and British, are responsible for numbers of them; many have been founded and conducted by Indians themselves. In any long range program this kind of education is indispensable, if development plans are to be more than paper.

So I spent some weeks in appraising such nuclei as existed for the training of local leaders. Some of the best were conducted under Dhiren Mazumdar, an energetic, selfless disciple

of Gandhi. The bulk of the work must be done in villages, most of which are not yet on an all-weather highway system. To reach the center where Mazumdar himself was active, I had to go four miles out from the nearest railroad station by elephant. He was training young men and women to be village workers and leaders, doing an inspiring job in an absurdly inadequate shack and with the simplest equipment. Not in appearance, but in essence, it reminded me of the little red schoolhouse.

The poet Tagore founded the University of Santiniketan in Bengal, and its associated rural-life institution, Sriniketan, is now presided over by his son. Under him, Dr. Brahmachari is conducting a leadership school for young boys, selected from the surrounding countryside, who receive an eight-year training. It is a delight to see them at work, boys fully as alert as any I have seen anywhere. In truth, Indian children as a whole are unusually lively and bright. It is only as they grow up that they become dull, resigned, defeated.

But there are too few Mazumdars and Brahmacharis in India; far too few first class teachers and too few people who can train them—to say nothing of lack of buildings and equipment. The attempt is being made to remedy this shortage of schooling at a feverish pace, buildings or no buildings—inside mud walls or in bamboo shacks, when nothing else is available.

As usual with Gandhi in any problem of vital concern to Indian life, the Mahatma has worked out a method of “basic education” which seeks to make a vast program economically feasible in a country very poor in developed resources and in potential taxes. His system is based on making use of the results of “learning through doing,” selling the products of progressive education to help carry it on.

There are too many facets in this struggle for education on all fronts—technical, scientific, vocational, social, administrative, elementary, adult—to give even an outline here. Taken together, they exemplify the intense and widespread effort to lift the progress of a country from an early eighteenth century level to that of the twentieth century—and to telescope this into one third or one fifth the time it has usually taken in other countries.

It is probably safe to say that more

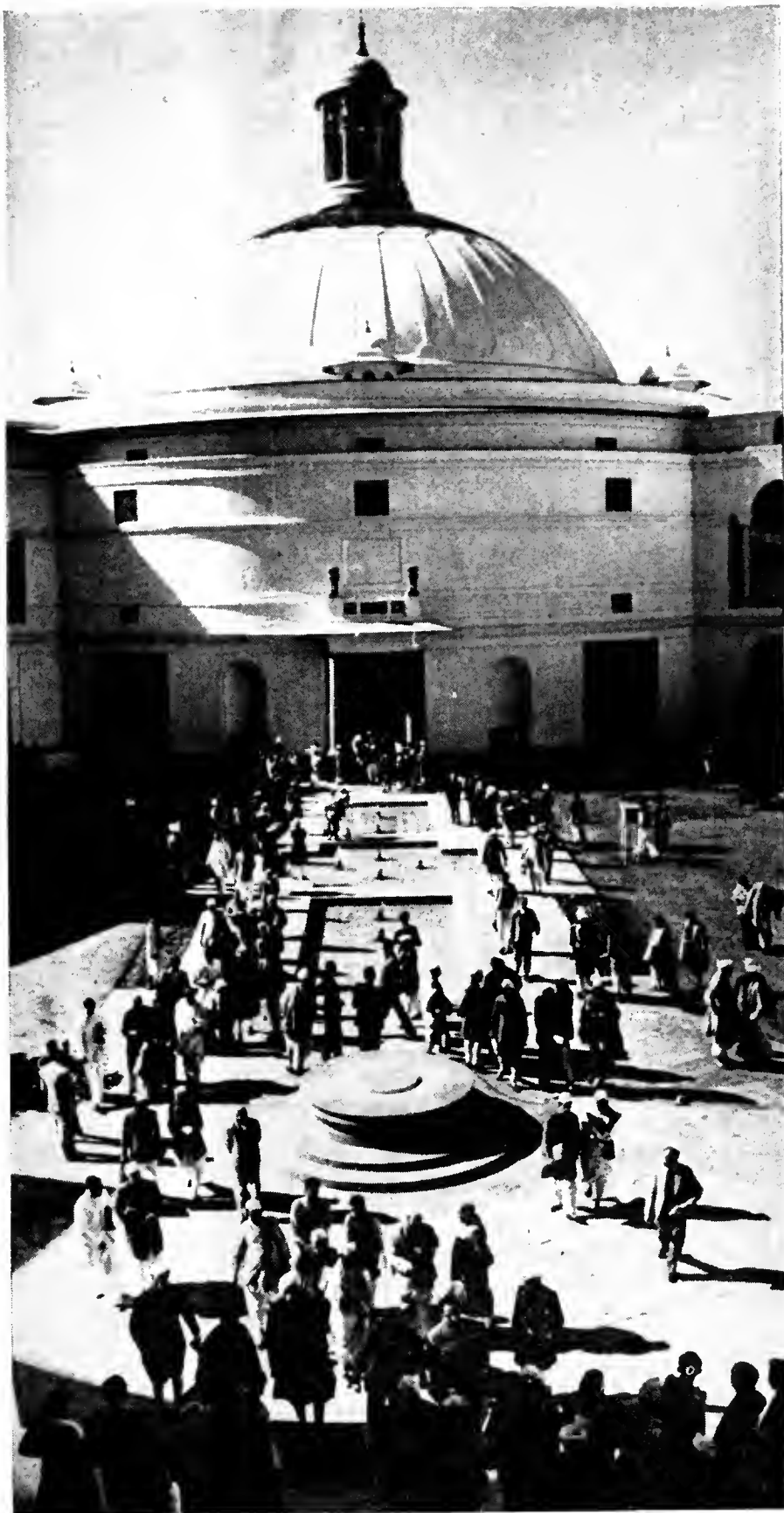


Photo from European

The Council House Library in New Delhi, where on January 22, 1947, Jawaharlal Nehru announced that the Constituent Assembly had unanimously passed a resolution declaring India an Independent Sovereign Republic. Viscount Mountbatten, Viceroy of India, is now winding up his affairs, hurrying to leave the country where on January 1, 1877, his great-grandmother Victoria was proclaimed Empress, with the Maharaja Sindia wishing “that your sovereignty and power may remain steadfast forever.”

news of India and more of its main political and religious highlights have been brought out in American newspapers in the last six months than in the previous hundred years. This is not to say that we have that much more insight into what is going on or a sense of sympathetic participation in the birth pangs of a subcontinent. The fact is that the news as it comes through tends to increase the impression of strangeness, reinforce our usual superior feeling toward foreigners, and leave us with a mad vision of a political three-ring circus.

The Close-up Texture of Life

The challenge facing anyone who, in some degree, has shared in these events and has had intimate contact with the people and their problems, is that of bringing them into focus for his fellow Americans; of showing how and where we can help as brothers and not as superiors, and more surprisingly, how we, ourselves, can be helped by India's accumulating experience.

Two things seem plain. First, mere increase in published information has slight effect on spreading understanding and cordiality between peoples. The result is often quite the contrary. Second, an over-all institution like the United Nations has little chance of success if it is not underpinned by satisfactory contacts among people themselves. Nation-level negotiations have to be humanized by close-up feelings of kinship.

To my mind, no cliché is more vulnerable than that freedom of news in and of itself produces understanding. In its modern handling, news tends to spotlight the sensational and ignore the usual, more significant but less spectacular, developments that reveal the texture of life.

From our films and from his own newspapers, the Indian fully expects to be in danger of ubiquitous gangsters if he visits Chicago. The American, in turn, has the impression that each Muslim and Hindu will tear each other to pieces on sight. The Indian, embittered by news of lynchings and Jim Crow laws, is scarcely aware of our efforts to change these things over here. The American cannot conceive how any people can be so morally callous as to stand for "untouchability." He is unaware of the tremendous moral indignation against it over there—spearheaded by Gandhi; or that most Indian prov-

inces—corresponding to our states—have recently passed laws against it in response to public insistence. The American does not know that in Madras, the traditional hotbed of untouchability, all temples have now been thrown open to the former outcasts, and that two ministers in the present Interim National Government are untouchables.

In neither country are there more than a handful of people who realize that the Negro problem here and the Untouchable problem there are closely akin in origin, in denouement, and in the persistent, but still uneven and inadequate, efforts to right grievous wrongs.

So I have come to the conclusion that facts and news are totally inadequate, that predispositions and viewpoints are what really count in international relations. What we need, I think, is interpretation by those who know the texture of life that binds isolated facts and news together.

Development and Conservation

Not only in vastness, but in the physical climatic and economic differences within its boundaries, India resembles our own country.

There is also a considerable tradition of decentralization reaching even deeper than the provincial level. Centuries ago, government centered in the villages where it has to some extent persisted since—as in our own town meetings. This similarity is recognized in India. In political reconstruction they have turned to our history for guidance. Both Nehru and Rajendra Prasad, the presiding officer of the Constituent Assembly, have cited our Constitution and its federal setup in their deliberations. More, they have started work on a bill of rights in which the outlawing of untouchability is included.

Pioneering is a term generally applied to what might be called the personal conquest by a people over undeveloped natural resources, and their conversion of these into the material and social forms to support a civilization. That is precisely the underlying problem India now faces and is grappling with. Oddly enough, this is true even to the detail of fighting wild animals, for in one of the big resettlement projects in the Terai area, the foothills of the Himalayas, marauding tigers are still to be met.

I do not wish to labor points of similarity with the USA—and will

later tell of deep differences—but comparisons do bristle. India's is a dual problem: one, to develop the rich natural resources — though not nearly so rich, so varied, nor so well distributed as ours; and two, to reclaim impoverished soils and control erosion. When an ancient land like India pioneers, these problems of development and of conservation — which in our country were tackled a couple of centuries apart—have to be undertaken at one and the same time.

On the development side, the highest priorities are hydroelectric power (India has developed only 3 per cent of her estimated potential water power), irrigation, heavy industry, road building, improved agriculture, and a basis of land tenure.

On the conservation side, flood control, afforestation, reclamation of waste lands, and drainage of marsh lands, are high on the list.

Both aspects of physical planning have their human counterparts. I have already dealt with education, the number one problem in development. Much is also being attempted, and a good deal more projected, along social and economic lines. Indians generally, and the United Provinces government in particular, are heavily emphasizing "all-purpose" cooperatives which are to take in production, consumption, credit. They have had a good deal of experience—not by any means all successful—with cooperatives not so inclusive in scope. They are pushing this new program as fast as they can train people to handle it—possibly even faster in some areas, for the pressure for action is so great that the pace, in my judgment at least, is sometimes swifter than consistent with successful absorption.

Bottleneck—Manpower

Due to the backwardness of the people, the new all-purpose organizations are not cooperatives in our sense, but government-fostered and government-supervised, with the stated objective of turning each one over to its participants as soon as they are capable of handling it. I have seen some mighty successful village cooperatives in action, and some mighty dismal ones too. As in practically every aspect of Indian endeavor, the bottleneck is manpower. Not quantitatively, of course, for India has a great plenty of that, but lack of men and women with training, integrity, technique,
(Continued on page 407)

Classes of '97

Friendship is the theme of this page—of each of the poems and also the circumstances which link them together. The two sonnets by their very existence testify to bonds of friendship between historic academic rivals.

It happens that Percy MacKaye, Harvard '97, class poet of this year's semicentennial reunion class, is an old friend of Survey Graphic and so he consented to publication of his poem, "The Goal," in these pages.

When he returned from the reunion, however, he

brought a postscript in verse, with a story. The evening before the reunion, the class received from Yale '97, celebrating at the same time, greetings in the form of a sonnet by a member of the Yale class, Judge Robert L. Munger of Ansonia, Conn. Could Mr. MacKaye, asked the class secretary, just dash off a sonnet in reply? The class poet would try. The result is presented herewith, the two sonnets having been reported a vast success at the class reunion.

The Goal

Stanzas by Percy MacKaye for the Fiftieth Reunion of the Harvard Class of 1897

Our way climbs upward to the onward end:
The onward end climbs toward the endless goal,
That lures the yearning, ever-searching soul
To know the lonely Infinite for friend.

Of what, then, be afraid? Fear is refusal
To face ourselves—the wonder that is we,
The friendship of our immortality
That in our eyes ponders its own perusal.

Dear fellows, by what else are we now clanned
In this our semi-centenary meeting
Except the gaze that smiles behind the greeting,
The twinge of friendship in the tight-gript hand?

This truth alone can guide the atomic age:
The tools of gods are for our godly use—
No less than godly ever—for the abuse
Of *Veritas* annuls our heritage.

To validate it in all liberal arts
Of man is blazed on Harvard's battle-shield,
And science' cosmic conquests all must yield
To the unquenchable in human hearts—

The quickening urgency, the all-healing leaven
Of friendship. So, dear Classmates, each with each,
Let us, in that illimitable reach,
Together, touch the goal of 'Ninety-Seven!

And what's that but what's carven in heart's hue
Of crimson on our own crest—*Veritas*:
The Truth! And what of that can ever pass,
For what is more immortal than the true?

Divinity is vast, yet intimate
As love-lit eyes in sorrow-darkened faces.
Apollo's our heavenly counterpart, whose graces
Of spirit fire can be atoning fate

For Hiroshima's woe (else earth shall rue it),
If we ourselves but realize that we
In essence are as infinite as he,
And when he splits the atom, 'tis we do it!

Yale '97 to Harvard '97

Comrades in deed and spirit and in high
Unquestioning faith, we send you on this day
Cheers for the long adventure of the way
And many hopes that other days are nigh
Wherein the answers to the riddles lie,
Days filled with mornings that will sing and say:
Behold! The end now to Hope's decay,
Behold! Another flaming in the sky.

Together we went forth, although apart,
Dreamed the same dreams, sought for the clearer path,
Heard the same voices calling through the wrath,
Learned the same lessons of the conquering heart.
We pledge you still, though all the days that pale:
To you, John Harvard, from our Eli Yale!

R.L.M.

Harvard '97 to Yale '97

Fellows of youth and age, comrades of Yale,
Life-mates of Ninety-Seven, our gratitude
For your brave salutation, so imbued
With all we share! Not in farewell but hail
We greet you, on the ever-beckoning trail
That leads through blind confusions bleak and rude
On toward the ending of earth's mortal feud
To triumph of the faith that cannot fail:

That cannot fail, because it is indeed
The substance of things hoped for, the still things
That stir from chrysalis of death the wings
Of life immortal for our worldly need.—
So, Eli Yale, here on time's crumbling edge
John Harvard joins in your eternal pledge.

P.M.

Tracks to a New Frontier

Shoes and overalls and oleomargarine of the South and West are as welcome as anybody's now, since the equalization order stilled the cry of "Discrimination."

GEORGE BRITT

THE U. S. SUPREME COURT ON MAY 12 delighted the South and West by the gift of a feather to wear in their caps—more so than money to jingle in their pockets—but the further possibilities, long range, are solid substance and apply to the whole country.

The court awarded victory to the South and West in their traditional campaign against discriminatory freight rates. But, in fact, the decision goes beyond sectionalism and beyond transportation. It may, indeed, have opened up a new world to the present generation of Americans, may have restored a frontier, laid out new cities and fated others to be ghost cities dwarfing Tombstone and Red Dog. Eventually it may prove as ruthless as war in forcing a reshuffle across the map.

The decision, seven to two, affirmed the Interstate Commerce Commission's territorial equalization order of two years before on railroad "class rates."

You can look at this specifically in terms of what it has cost, and will cost, to ship something south to north, compared to rates between two northern points. Take overalls. It has been costing \$1.12 a hundredweight by the carload on ordinary blue cotton overalls from Philadelphia to Chicago, 814 miles. But from Macon, Ga., down where the cotton grows, shipping to Chicago, 817 miles—same distance, same overall—it costs \$1.56. That is well over a third more.

Or take cottonseed oil. The rate south to north has been only 7 percent higher than between northern points—not so bad. But in the language of the court, "if cottonseed oil is manufactured into oleomargarine, the rates from Southern to Official (Northeastern) territory are 35 percent higher than the rates within Official territory."

Class Rates Only

Similar glaring differences in rates have applied to shoes and starch and bleached cotton and lead pipe and literally thousands of other articles.

—A native southerner, *Survey Graphic's* managing editor takes a long range view of the question most burning to the section of his origin. Freight charges are only the small change of it, this article discovers, while precedents and results of concern to the long course of history are pointed out.

These now are equalized. The discrimination is knocked out.

The decision applies only to *class rates*, the rates on the higher valued freight, generally manufactured articles, accounting for only about 6 percent of aggregate freight revenues, the most profitable part of the business, the cream of it. There is another category of *exception rates*, handled under special schedules for various reasons, amounting to around 15 percent of the revenue, and then the great bulk shipments of coal, cotton bales, wheat, and the like, which move at *commodity rates* and pay the remaining 80 percent.

Class rates yield the smallest part of the revenue. The change under this decision is estimated, for example, to bring up the Pennsylvania's annual gross only by \$5,000,000, and to reduce the Southern Pacific's by \$1,000,000. Dissenting Justice Jackson reported that it would add \$15,000,000 a year to shipping bills in the northeast.

Such figures, as railroad finances go, are peanuts. If that were all, they would not justify the elaborate opinion. But the court upset a system protested against for more than sixty years. It ordained a new set of relationships between regions of the United States—readjustments too complicated to forecast. It proclaimed equalization for the South in place of discrimination. And to the West it brought an equality to salve its thought of itself as a plundered province of Wall Street.

The decision is a milestone. How far and how fast we shall go, following this precedent, is yet to be seen, but we are on the move. Will the ICC proceed under its apparently

confirmed authority and require blanket uniformity for exception rates? And will it take up commodity rates after that?

The decision is there, loaded with unanswered questions, and not to be ignored, at least a small cloud on the horizon, and you feel blowing from it already the winds of change.

Time only can measure their force. It would be easy to lose one's balance in viewing the possibilities, but this at any rate is a restrained statement—the decision is something historic, arresting attention, accelerating change and giving the United States a brand new shape.

America on the Move

You can look at this decision literally, in terms of the rates themselves, and for that you need the guidance of an experienced shipper or railroad man. The freight tariffs are a pitfall for the novice. Or you may take another viewpoint. You may recall that long-ago traveler near Pittsburgh noting the lines of Conestoga wagons and observing, "Old America seems to be breaking up and moving westward." That was in 1817. The War of 1812 had been an upsetting influence, disarranging old values, and the population was redistributing itself accordingly.

Since then the population balance has been upset many a time, mostly as a by-product of other events, and great migrations are established in the American tradition.

Justice Douglas in his majority opinion took pains to disclaim that the ICC had sought—

to equalize economic advantages, to enter the field of economic planning, and to arrange a rate structure designed to relocate industries, cause a redistribution of population, and in other ways to offset the natural advantages which one territory has over another.

But Justice Jackson, dissenting, flatly charged that it was the government's stated intention in this case to "reshape the nation's social, economic, and per-

haps its political life more nearly to its heart's desire." Never before, he said, had the Court "confided to any regulatory body the reshaping of our national economy." Former Governor Arnall of Georgia, rejoicing in the decision, emphasizes the possibility of planning.

You don't have to go into motives, however, to see change wrapped inside a sweeping revision of freight rates. Here is one small example. In 1925, Congress adopted the so-called Hoch-Smith Resolution, directing the ICC to establish "the lowest possible lawful rates" on agricultural products, including livestock. According to the leading scholarly authority, this was the result of "the exertion of political pressure" and of "a desire to appease the clamor of the agricultural interests."

An investigation delved into the subject, and then in July 1931, the commission issued its order. Among other things it slashed freight rates on livestock to the Pacific Coast but made no cut on meat products—dressed beef, hams, bacon, and the like.

Consequently, that coast stopped buying from Kansas City and Omaha packing plants but increased its intake on the hoof. Cattle which once moved eastward from Nevada, Utah, and Arizona now went to the coast. Even Texas cattle went west. Hitherto California had been slaughtering much less than it consumed and its packing plants ranked ninth among the states. Now they began slaughtering much more than local consumption, exporting beyond the borders, and by 1939, the year the war began, California's packing industry ranked fourth in the country.

Such is the story on a single line of business. In case you'd like to figure out possibilities since May 12, there are approximately twenty thousand items in the affected class rate schedules.

East Got There First

The East was first when the railroad-building fever struck the United States. It was already first in long range transportation, due to the Erie Canal. Pennsylvania and adjoining states had the preponderant coal deposits. The East got there first in industry, population, political influence, in national leadership generally. And like great rivers flowing to the

sea, the main rail lines crossed the northeastern states.

This section, as soon as the Interstate Commerce Commission was established in 1887, came to be known as Official territory. It lies roughly to the north of the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi. Traffic was much heavier than in more sparsely settled regions. It was possible to haul cheaper, an attraction to more industries, while the South and West continued farming and mining. There was meaning and justification in local complaints from those regions that they were colonies. They sold cheap—raw materials; and bought

or discriminatory low rates itself, by which California oranges for example, compete in the eastern market. Ocean shipping through the Panama Canal has been as good as an ICC order to hold transcontinental rates down. And the coast is interested in developing a self-sufficiency of its own which can ignore the East.

"Discrimination" for two generations has been a resounding political war cry, gaining in volume in the last decade. In 1937 the Southern Governors Conference was organized, largely as a rate-fighting body. In 1939 the ICC began an investigation of the whole rate structure. In 1940

Note of Triumph

Former Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia, independent crusader against the old freight rates in his state, replied to a *Survey Graphic* query as follows:

"The Supreme Court's decision is tremendously important because it effectively asserts that the United States is one nation rather than a geographic entity divided into an imperial territory and colonial appendages for exploitation.

"The decision is much more important than the ICC order, which does not equalize rates but merely moves toward their equalization. It points the way to conditions under which industry may be decentralized, incomes may be equalized, and regional discriminations eliminated.

"The economic implications, important as they are to the people of

the West and South, and especially to the southern Negro, whose problem primarily is one of struggling for a share of the half-loaf given the region where he lives, are less consequential than the affirmation of the political principle that the United States is the common country of all Americans, and that economic opportunity shall have the same protection afforded other basic rights.

"If the Supreme Court follows up this decision by a parallel one in Georgia's suit to terminate collusive fixing of rates, thus safeguarding all the people against the threat of monopoly, the basis will be laid for a new decentralized prosperity in this country."

high—manufactured products. And while they had good low commodity rates on coal, wheat, cotton, their class rates, when they turned to manufacturing, remained higher than in Eastern territory. The class rates in all territories and between them, however, had been established by the ICC.

There are five railroad rate territories in the United States, the Eastern or Official, Southern, Southwestern, Western Trunk-line which extends from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, and Mountain Pacific.

Over the years, the others have been resentful of the lower rates enjoyed by Official territory. The Pacific Mountain territory, however, has had other ideas. It enjoys a special form

Congress took a positive step with its Ramspeck Resolution, directing the ICC to look out for rates that were "unjust and unreasonable or unlawful" and prohibiting discriminations against any "region, district, territory."

In 1945, these causes produced their result. The ICC in May issued its order for territorial equalization of class rates, and it is this order which the Supreme Court has now upheld.

Meanwhile, Governor Arnall started his independent proceedings to wipe out inequalities affecting Georgia. That case is still pending.

Just what, then, do the ICC order and Court decision mean?

In the first place, nothing is changed as to Mountain Pacific. That territory

was not involved in the current case. For the rest of the country, the decision is a move to end class rate discriminations between Official and other territories, on an interim basis, until the roads themselves draw up a system of uniform classifications. And the operation is performed quite roughly, not with a scalpel but with a shovel. This method of approximation drew most of the dissenting comment.

Average of Inequality

Justice Douglas, in the May 12 verdict of the court, upheld the ICC's new 1945 policy of uniform rates.

Justice Frankfurter differed at just that point, pointing out, "The procrustean bed is not a symbol of equality. It is no less inequality to have equality among unequals."

Nevertheless, the Court held that the evidence supported the plain inference "that class rates within Southern, Southwestern and Western territories, and from those territories to Official territory, are generally much higher, article for article, than the rates within Official territory." Discrimination, the decision held, had been clearly established, and there was no longer such a difference in operating costs between territories as to justify it.

To correct the rate inequality, the ICC order as now upheld requires (a) an increase of 10 percent on all class rates in the East, (b) a cut of 10 percent in the other territories, and (c) the same cut on shipments between them and the East. The ICC had ordered a general rate increase last January, and that still is in effect.

In other words, class shipments in the East will now cost 10 percent more than before, making that territory a less economical base from which to do business. Shipments from elsewhere will cost 10 percent less—accounting for a 20 percent spread. The eastern roads had not asked for this rate increase and were opposed to it. If the southern and western roads had been ordered to make a 20 percent rate cut, however, it might have been held to be confiscation. The eastern increase, coupled with cuts elsewhere, leveled the difference.

This ruling is a great feather, beyond dispute, for the caps of South and West. The winners now find themselves stripped almost embarrassingly of old alibis and grounds

for jealousy. From the railroad viewpoint, on the other hand, the revenue involved is less than gigantic. The roads estimate it will amount to under one percent of their total.

But no single business question for a generation has been subject to such agitation and expectancy. When the original order was announced two years ago, a Texas newspaper headed the story *END OF ECONOMIC SERFDOM*. A South Carolina congressman quoted a reference to the same ICC order, calling it "the most important decision in its history."

The day after the Court's decision Representative John E. Rankin of Mississippi arose in the House to hail it as "the first step to give anything like a semblance of justice in freight rates to the people of the South and West. . . ." He continued:

This legalized robbery . . . has been going on for half a century or more. Now we have about half the membership of the House and practically two thirds of the members of the Senate living in the punished area; and for the first time in history we have the President of the United States living in one of the states punished with these dishonest discriminations.

We are entitled to full and complete relief. This change is good, but it does not go far enough. The people of the South and West want these unjust discriminations entirely eliminated. If the members of the Interstate Commerce Commission are not willing to follow through and wipe out all of these vicious discriminations, then they ought to be removed and men put in their places who will do it.

On various questions affecting the South, the Mississippi Congressman has not been thought of as a voice of enlightenment; but here he moves in the best society.

Injustice Defined

For southern opinion of a high order, take the remarks of Mark Ethridge, publisher of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*. Five years ago in a speech at New Orleans (see *Survey Midmonthly*, June 1942), he said:

We can never develop industrially as long as the freight rate structure is what it is. The freight rate structure is designed to draw our materials out of the South for manufacture in the East, and conversely, to prevent manufacture into finished products in the South. . . . There can never be a real attack on the

fundamental poverty of this section so long as it suffers the injustice of having its rich natural resources hauled out for manufacture elsewhere. . . .

The West Raises Its Voice

And to swing westward for another point of view, here is what Henry A. Wallace, then Vice-President, told an audience in Dallas, Texas:

From typewriters to laundry soap to paint, in nearly every class of manufactured goods, the South and the West must pay unequal freight rates in comparison with the North and the East. These disadvantages have been major factors in stifling the industrial development of the South and the West and thus have undermined our whole national economy. . . .

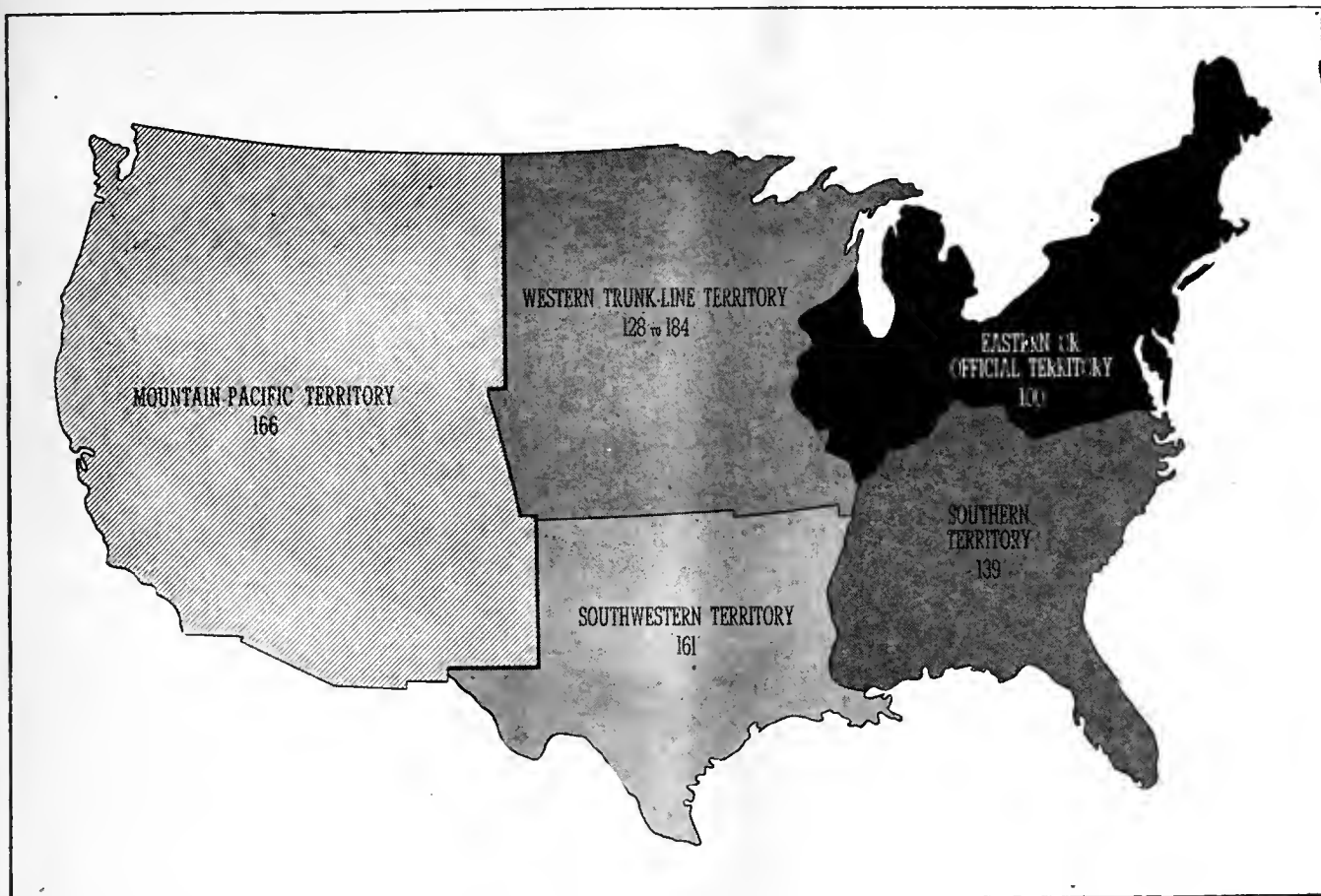
Our greatest need is to recast our transportation laws to insure the utmost development of each form of transportation. Thereby present and prospective monopolistic controls will be broken; regional rate discriminations will disappear and transportation will then truly serve the public interest. In this struggle for economic freedom Congress will not fail the people. If and when Congress does its duty, the people of the West and South will have more industry. Their children will find opportunity at home. The output of the entire nation will increase as the surplus labor of the South and West becomes more skilled in the full utilization of southern and western natural resources for the benefit of the entire nation.

A revivalist fervor breathes through such assaults on the rate structure. Even more striking has been the note of utopianism — in reverse; remove these discriminations and all will be well.

Now they have been removed. Dawns the new day. The South has been emancipated, the West can enjoy the riches God put there for it. And as an added spiritual grace, Jim Crow is to be given a shove toward the exit. With more jobs in the South and the competition for them less bitter, the Negro is about to get a break.

Since the pressure for this change, however, has been not moral, primarily, but cold self-interest and political ambition, we may as well look at possibilities in those terms.

The most obvious expectation from sweeping rate changes, of course, would be re-location of factories. The greater the relative change in Chamber of Commerce talking points, the swifter the re-location. That means



Map drawn for *Survey Graphic*

Railroad rate territories with average class rates in percentages of Official territory rates, computed in 1943 by the government's Transportation Board of Investigation and Research. The ICC order, recently upheld, changes class rates and relationships in and between all these territories except the Mountain Pacific

corresponding shifts of industrial populations, and as people move to new homes, change enters their way of living and they discover fresh needs to be satisfied and whole new social structures spring up around them. The war transplanted a fifth of the population in three years, so there's no doubting our fluidity—with post-war restlessness and uncertainty added.

This pattern repeats the wagon trains of 1817 and the opening up of the West. In dream, at least, Atlanta realizes its million population before the next census, new industries and new cities mushroom in a great crescent from Charleston to Walla Walla. The East, deserted and moribund, mumbles in its sleep while the vigorous population that really counts is heading elsewhere for the last roundup.

All this is a way of saying the old story of boom and bust, real-estate promotion and speculation, wildcatting, the big gamble one way and another, squandering of fresh natural

resources, cutting loose from old habits, the feeble being trampled under, and a crop of newly-rich disporting themselves with abandon. What is this but a frontier again, at its worst?

Time To Look Ahead

But there is time, if we choose, to pause and look where we are going. This sketch takes our progress a bit rapidly. Flash results, indeed, are highly improbable. The process will not be completed overnight and the whole interplay of sectional and national forces is too complicated to comprehend in one quick grasp.

So we ask soberly, is this going to be progress in fact, or merely the naive Indian Summer of American culture? Can we make a fresh start really, or will it be just another cross between the Black Country and the Gilded Age?

Our answer must remember that the East is still there in spite of this decision. Official territory includes only 15.5 percent of the land area of the United States, but the census of

1940 gave it almost exactly half the population and its manufactured products in 1939 were 67.8 percent of the national output. It paid just above two thirds of the 1946 income and excess profits taxes. The trunk line railway systems still funnel across the East, a physical item that has suffered no reversal whatever, and Eastern seaports and airports are the gateways to Europe.

Perhaps, further, it shouldn't be overlooked that New York now is the official seat of the United Nations, regarded abroad as a center of some importance.

The East, to be sure, is not what it used to be. It has been shrinking. And from 1940 to 1944 alone, the South and West gained nearly four million in population. Even under the lamented old class rates on freight and before the war spurt, the South's industrial growth had been a phenomenon—not merely the Florida resorts but such cities as Columbus, Ga., and Columbia, S. C., Corpus Christi

(Continued on page 409)



Drawn for Survey Graphic by Fay Turpin

They Fenced Tolerance In

How its school children led a California community into new paths of democracy and understanding.

DALLAS JOHNSON

IT WAS A SEVEN-FOOT, GALVANIZED IRON fence with barbed wire topping that finally brought all the children together, in the little California town of Mendota. Until a year or so ago when School Superintendent Virgil Howard and the school board put them behind barbed wire, they had been kept apart. The "native white" youngsters had gone to one school, and slightly "tanner" Mexicans to another.

Primarily, it was Superintendent Howard's dollars-and-cents diplomacy that joined the schools and united the children, and in the end the people of the town. The fences came into the picture when they were needed to protect the two sets of school buildings from vandals. Mr. Howard used wartime shortage and high cost of galvanized wire to show his board how much cheaper it would be to combine the schools — and build a single fence.

The school board, interested in more education for less money, decided that one fence and one school would do. "Democracy turns out to be cheaper," one board member philosophized. "We should have tried it long ago. The Mexican boys who've been breaking school windows on Sat-

—By a "native daughter" of California, now with the U.S. Public Health Service in Washington.

Mrs. Johnson was formerly on the staff of *The New York Times*. During the war, she was for a time with the U. S. Treasury, as head of women's publications for the War Finance Staff.

urday nights were just 'getting even'; I call it the vandalism of intolerance. If the schools hadn't been separated in the first place we probably wouldn't have needed a fence."

How Segregation Began

Mendota's school problem goes back thirty years, when the town was just a railroad junction in the desert land of the San Joaquin Valley.

With the end of railway expansion the Mexican "hands," brought up from below the border to lay rails, turned to picking cotton. A cluster of wooden shacks and adobes was evidence of their arrival.

On the other side of town, a "white" residential section began to take shape, and eventually there was enough of a population (it is now 1,200) to warrant a school. In 1920 a fine new building with a red-tiled roof, an arcade, and a central patio

was erected. It was Spanish Mexican in architecture but no Spanish Mexican children were allowed to attend.

In the California towns where segregation is practiced (and Mendota is no exception), school authorities get around the law by defining all Mexicans as *migratory*. As such, it is assumed they come and go with the crops and therefore must have special schools. All "white" children are automatically *permanent*. Even the "Okies," second-class citizens in California since dustbowl days, went to the school with red-tiled roof.

So began a queer, wasteful shuttling between town and country. The buses that brought "white" children from outlying districts into school, picked up Mexican children in town and took them to one and two-room schools in the country. This arrangement was changed only when the in-town Mexican population outstripped the capacity of the buses, and the out-of-town Mexican schools became too dilapidated for use.

When that happened, in the Thirties, a new Mexican school—*sans* red tile, arcade, or patio—was put up in town. Even so, it was better than what the Mexicans had before. The building was bigger, better con-

structed, boasted three classrooms. No longer did one teacher handle all eight grades. There was a cafeteria in the basement—and indoor plumbing!

The “all-white” faculty in the new Mexican school had one major problem: the children, most of whom came from Spanish-speaking homes, had to be taught English before they could study anything else. Yet Spanish was all they heard in the part of town where they lived. It was what they yelled at each other on the playground. They made little progress in English, a language for classroom use only.

The double school system had other drawbacks. Since neither school had enough space, teachers, or pupils for single-grade rooms, two and three classes were put in each room. There was no money for frills and extras. The budget was drained to provide a minimum of staff and plant for the two set-ups. The only joint enterprise was the cafeteria, and this worked a hardship, too. Since it was located in the Mexican school, it was the “white” youngsters who had to troop several blocks each way each day through the mud or dust of Mendota’s unpaved streets to get their lunches.

This was the situation when Superintendent Howard, a slight man in his graying forties, came to Mendota in the early war years. A product of California public schools, he had graduated from the College of the Pacific in the Twenties and spent the latter part of the Thirties as principal of Pershing Elementary School in Madera, another central valley town. There his students were one third “white,” one third Mexican, and one third Negro. Madera’s nonsegregation policy had worked out very well.

The Question of the Fence

From the time he came to Mendota, Mr. Howard felt the schools ought to be brought together. The question was how, without splitting the town wide open. When opportunity came—in the form of the fence—he did not merely sit on it. He measured the school grounds, found that 3,175 feet of fence, enough for the two separate schools, would come to well over \$10,000, but the 2,075 feet needed for one consolidated school would cost only half of that.

Since the citizens of Mendota were willing to listen to facts, Superintendent Howard obliged with more:

money saved, plus profits from the sale of the Mexican school lots, would pay for moving the school buildings together. Once together, the cost of overhead and maintenance would go down. With duplications in the staff eliminated, there would be enough money to hire special art and music instructors, “opportunity” room and kindergarten teachers.

Superintendent Howard’s suggestions did not fall on deaf ears. The four successful farmers and one oil line superintendent on the school board were men whom Howard likes to describe as “sound-minded and fundamentally free from prejudice.”

Nevertheless it was not easy to come to a decision. When the townspeople got wind of what was happening, there was a lot of pressure from the outside. Some talked of the danger of dirt and some of the pitfalls of bad language, but most of the opposition came from mothers who “just didn’t want their children to associate with those Mexicans.” There were others, of course, who felt differently. They talked about getting more education for less money, and quoted the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

The Walls Came Tumbling Down

For several months there was debate and discussion. In the end the spirit of the Constitution—and the almighty dollar—prevailed. The two original dissenters made and seconded the motion to combine the schools. It was carried unanimously.

A year ago last September, all Mendota’s children came together for the first time behind the big new fence. There was shyness on both sides, but by the time everybody learned to pronounce everybody else’s name—the Mexicans had as much trouble with the English J-sound in Jim, Jack, and Jane as the other youngsters had with Crescencio, Roderiquez, Cipiano—the ice was broken.

Except for name-pronouncing, English was the order of the day; the new athletic director enforced the rule on the playground. The new kindergarten was used as a kind of vocabulary class. Seating arrangements for the primary grades alternated Mexican and “white” children, so that even when they whispered among themselves, English would be the language used.

The school grew by leaps and bounds. Registration in the fall of

1946 topped 700. It became possible eventually to divide most grades into two sections, one for the faster students and the other for the more deliberate. Parents who took it for granted that this would break down into accelerated classes of “white” children, slow classes of Mexicans, were due for a surprise. The division in each group was about fifty-fifty, the same proportion as for the school.

No “Color” to Intelligence

The percentage of failures or exceptionally gifted children was nearly equal. The eighth grade salutorian last year was a Mexican girl. The only perfect scores of 100 percent in the final tests both in civics and U. S. history were made by a Mexican boy. As a group, the third grade Mexican children outstripped their non-Mexican classmates. In the second grade, it was the other way around.

In all grades Mexican children tend to be older than “white” children. Superintendent Howard says this comes from language difficulty, and in most cases a late start in school. In addition, typical migrant children will start the school year on the Coast, come to Mendota in the late fall, go to Texas at Christmas, be back on the Coast in the spring. It is not an easy way to get an education.

In their trek, the children of migrant workers are rejected by some school systems, herded by some into separate buildings. In many places they are an issue in the schools.

In Orange County, just south of Los Angeles, an anti-segregation case has been fought through the federal courts. Recently the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals handed down a decision upholding the District Court which in March 1946 declared such separation of children in the public schools to be “unconstitutional, illegal, and void.”

Mendotans can afford to smile happily, and a little smugly, over the way they handled their problem.

But that is not quite all the story. Once planted, the seeds of equality between “whites” and Mexicans began to send up shoots outside the school. Local people found that even had they wanted to they could not fence the new growth in. In no time at all, tolerance began to spread through the community. So that is how a fence, generally used to divide people, brought the children and the townspeople of Mendota together.

Issues and Slogans

MICHAEL M. DAVIS

AFTER THE CLOSE OF THE LAST SESSION of Congress, I said in this column (*Survey Graphic*, September 1946, page 318):

So, the issues just ahead are shaping thus: National Health Insurance *versus* Public Medical Charity; Public *versus* Private Control of the use of public funds. The opposition, of course, will shout these issues in very different words, more like the following: Socialized Medicine *versus* Help for the Needy; Bureaucracy *versus* Private Enterprise.

As I write, these issues and slogans are now being spread on the record of hearings on the "Taft Health Bill" (S.545), before the Health Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. This article goes to the printer while the backers of the bill are still on the stand; hearing of opponents is still to come.

All these supporters have come from groups supplying health services—the American Medical Association, American Dental Association, state medical societies, health insurance plans controlled by medical societies, hospital associations, Blue Cross and other hospitalization plans, a few miscellaneous medical bodies. The sponsors of this bill apparently could not find, or at least they did not bring to appear in behalf of the bill, organizations representing people who receive and pay for medical services.

On May 19, two days before the hearings opened, President Truman had issued his second special health message to Congress, renewing his request for the prompt enactment of a national health insurance program. One day before, six Democratic senators (Wagner, Murray, Chavez, Pepper, McGrath, and Taylor) joined in introducing the National Health Insurance and Public Health Act (S.1320), a revision of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill of 1946, incorporating criticisms and suggestions made at the extensive hearings last year. Representatives Dingell and Celler introduced corresponding bills in the House.

The slogans need not detain us longer than it takes to step over mudpies. Such mild old familiars as "regimentation" and "bureaucracy"

HEALTH—TODAY & TOMORROW

—A series by the chairman, Committee on Research in Medical Economics; associate editor, *Survey Graphic*.

were well deployed in the hearing room. More acrid ones were flying in the less dignified air outside.

Thus, during the very week the hearings began, the National Physicians Committee, propaganda arm of the American Medical Association, sent an appeal to most of the physicians in the United States, asking for contributions to fight the "collectivistic-Soviet method" threatening our "American way of life and the independent status of the medical profession." Since the new National Health Insurance Act is designated as that "method," the President and at least eight members of Congress are implicated. The National Physicians Committee continues to take in, and pay out, a lot of money. Its reported expenditures during the past few years exceed a million dollars and were over \$300,000 during the last five months of 1946, even though Congress was not then in session.

Issues are more important than slogans. From what the Taft bill proponents say, we can analyze issues and observe how some fighting fronts have advanced since 1946.

Senator Taft's Philosophy

First and foremost spoke the senior sponsor of the Taft-Smith-Ball-Donnell bill himself. The essential features of his bill will be remembered by many readers of this column. It calls itself a national health program. It authorizes \$200,000,000 a year for five years from general federal revenues, to be spent by the states along with at least an equal amount of state money, for medical or hospital services, only to people who cannot meet these expenses themselves. It sets up a new, independent National Health Agency under a physician. It permits no federal standards to be set, but leaves administration to the states, including eligibility determination.

Senator Taft expounded his philosophy thus:

This bill would develop our existing system of medical care. It would not substitute for the existing system a new and revolutionary scheme . . .

Poverty is an accompaniment of our economic system. The people of this country agree that we must put a floor under essential services so that no one shall suffer extreme hardship because of poverty. . . . You have to be careful that the floor does not get too high; that you do not begin to support people to a point at which they will not work themselves as hard as they should work. . . .

This whole business of a means test is just a bugaboo. It has been our custom and is the practice now in every state to have a means test, if you want to call it that. . . .

This bill is exclusively a tax-supported plan, but it would apply, in effect, to only 20 or 25 percent of the people, whose freedom is thereby limited to some extent, but who, after all, are in such a low economic condition that they have to look to the state for some assistance and always have.

This philosophy is not merely Senator Taft's. It underlies the testimony of most of the medical and hospital leaders. It made a foundation for their attack on national health insurance and backing for the Taft bill.

The Financial Issue

It is a paradox that the testimony has given little attention to the basic issue—money. How much money would actually be made available under the bill? The federal appropriation would be \$200,000,000 a year. The states are required to match the federal funds, but in so doing they may count what they are now spending for "similar purposes." It seems probable that few states—and these mostly the poorest ones—would have to put up any new money to match the allotment from Uncle Sam. The probability is greater because the bill also requires that all school children are to be given an annual medical examination. Even at the minimum cost of \$2 apiece, these examinations would use up \$50,000,000 to \$60,000,000 a year. Altogether not more than \$200,000,000 of new money, possibly less, would be available *in toto*.

How would this be spent? The states would have discretion, but the obvious first call is for the adequate

medical care of the people who are already public responsibilities—recipients of general relief or of “public assistance,” mostly through welfare departments. At the present time of high employment, there are only about 5,000,000 such persons. Even so, the cost of medical care for them would be at least \$300,000,000 a year. Less than half this sum—probably not over \$125,000,000—is being expended on them now.

The conclusion is that the Taft bill provides about enough money to furnish medical care to the “legally indigent” people of this country. If unemployment were to rise considerably, there would not be enough money to do even this.

Administrative Control

The second basic issue is administration. The AMA's support of S.545 has been largely conditioned upon its desire for the establishment of a Federal Health Agency, headed by a physician. Under the Taft bill, organized medicine would have essential control of the federal administration and, what is more important, of administration in the states.

Since the AMA testified, however, a report issued by another Senate committee puts a new face on the matter. Senator Aiken's Committee Report on Health Reorganization Bills recommends the enactment of a bill that would place health as one division of a cabinet department including also education and social security. The AMA and its satellites stood out alone among a large group of national organizations in objecting to this proposal at the hearings on the Reorganization bills.

At those hearings, however, Senator Taft declared that if the Senate passed such a measure, “I certainly would change the other bill (S.545) to conform to it.” And, in response to a question, he said:

I do not think the health people should object to a health agency reporting direct to a cabinet officer, a man of cabinet rank, because I see no reason why such a man would not feel equally obliged to take care of health, as he does of welfare.

This development will substantially weaken real interest in the Taft bill on the part of the AMA and the state medical societies. However, they will continue to back almost anything they think might prevent or postpone national health insurance.

The third basic issue is the place

of voluntary health insurance plans in the scheme of medical service to the American people.

Senator Taft and the supporters of his bill see the solution to the problem not merely in tax-supported care of the indigent, but also in the growth of voluntary health insurance plans and in their subsidy from public funds. Under the provisions of the bill, the states might, at their discretion, use some or all of the tax funds obtained through the bill to pay voluntary health insurance plans for the care of persons who could not join these plans because of lack of income; or to pay part of the regular charges of these plans in behalf of persons whose incomes were too low to meet the full charges.

The testimony was full of the recent expansion of the health insurance plans sponsored by medical societies.

But it was all, in fact, remarkably vague in defining just how the public funds available under Mr. Taft's bill would actually be utilized for voluntary plans. Some witnesses implied that employed persons receiving less than a certain wage might be enrolled by a Blue Cross plan or a medical society plan; the employe would pay, say, half rates and public funds would meet the difference. This scheme would be practicable, provided the employers, the unions, and the individual employes concerned would accept the extra bookkeeping and the financial grading of people. The means test looms as a reality, not a bugaboo, because the wage rate is not a measure of ability to pay for medical care; and to satisfy the doctors and to protect public funds, individual investigations of family circumstances often would be necessary.

People vs. Doctors

The enthusiasts from the medical societies soft-pedaled a major point. Their plans provide only limited professional services, generally only surgical and obstetrical care to a patient in a hospital; office or home care from doctors is rarely offered. The cost to a family, taken together with the always accompanying Blue Cross hospitalization insurance, now generally runs between \$50 and \$60 a year. This amount averages about one half of a family's sickness bills.

Thus, either the medical society plans would have to broaden the scope of their services or the people whose enrollment would be subsidized, would have to pay their other

medical costs without any insurance protection. But, declared the chairman of the board of trustees of the AMA in his testimony, “The people do not demand comprehensive medical service.” The experience of the voluntary health insurance plans, he said, demonstrates that the people prefer service for costly illness only.

Is this statement true? Let us look at the facts.

At this hearing the AMA distributed a twenty-four-page pamphlet entitled “Voluntary Prepayment Medical Care Plans.” From the title, the charts, and the text one would assume that this pamphlet presented a picture of all the voluntary medical care plans in the United States. This, however, it does not do. Quite the contrary. The pamphlet presents only those plans which have been sponsored by medical societies. It completely ignores the existence of a much larger number of plans organized under the auspices of other organizations and successfully maintained, many for a long period of years.

Whereas there are 90 medical society health insurance plans described in this pamphlet, there are 175, or nearly twice as many, voluntary health insurance plans under industries, unions, cooperatives, and other auspices. The membership of the 90 medical society plans is estimated as approximately 5,000,000. The membership of the 175 other plans is about 2,300,000.

Now, most of these 175 plans provide comprehensive medical service—that is, the services of general physicians and specialists in the patient's home and the doctor's office, as well as in the hospital.

Here we have it! The plans organized by medical societies offer only limited services, but the plans which have been organized by the people who pay the bills supply comprehensive care.

As I write in early June, it seems certain that the Taft bill will not be reported out of committee this session. Everyone should be gratified, however, that a group of conservative senators have committed themselves and their party to spending \$200,000,000 federal dollars a year for medical care. Senators of both political parties certainly will endeavor to see that the proposal to spend this sum loses its pretentiousness as a panacea and is directed into serviceable channels. National health insurance remains the spur, the gadfly, and the goal.

America On The Cash Register

THOMAS P. BROCKWAY

IF IN THIS TIME OF APPREHENSION, ONE holds the view that the main thing is productivity, he will be cheered to find a scholarly book that scans our past material accomplishments, and looks ahead with few reservations to the increasing output of goods and services, and a presumably happy future for us all.

Such a book is the Twentieth Century Fund's monumental "America's Needs and Resources" (\$5), a study directed and largely written by the Fund's economist, J. Frederic Dewhurst. As is intimated in the foreword by Evans Clark, executive director of the Fund, there is nothing wrong with the country, and if we continue along the familiar road, barring "the universal devastation of atomic warfare," our progress will be marked by more income, more goods, more education, and more leisure. He comments further:

When we stand aside from the immediate concerns of this month or last, from the inflation or deflation of the moment, and take a long look behind, the minor ups and downs flatten out in a rising curve of economic activity, of increasing productive power, unique in the annals of this world. It is deeply impressive. And when we project this curve into the future, assuming that we can continue to act as we have in the past, we begin to realize America's vast economic and social potential.

Before undertaking a summary of the book's main conclusions, one should at once recognize its outstanding value as a source of information on almost everything American that is susceptible to quantitative measurement. The text itself runs to 690 pages, and is studded with facts and figures, the concentration being heaviest in the 225 tables and 42 charts. Thirty-two appendices fill another hundred pages, and the index brings the total to 812 pages.

Although the book is designedly a study of economics, a considerable proportion of its information is social. From absenteeism to zoning, American life is tabulated and charted, with or without the honorific dollar sign.

One learns, for example, that the "average" family is still decreasing in

—By a member of the faculty of Political Economy and History at Bennington College, substituting this month for Associate Editor Harry Hansen with the leading article of the book section. Before going to Bennington in 1933, Professor Brockway taught at Yale, Dartmouth, and St. John's College, Maryland. During the war he served with the Board of Economic Warfare and Foreign Economic Administration.

size, that for the first time in our history women will shortly outnumber men, that we have recently spent more than heretofore for recreation, about the same for clothing, slightly less for food, liquor, and tobacco. Certainly if Frederick Lewis Allen were to write another in his "Yesterday" series, he should keep "America's Needs and Resources" handy.

The Twentieth Century Fund, however, had a more serious purpose than merely to provide a useful reference book. Its aim in authorizing this study early in 1943 was to discover whether our productive capacity would be adequate to our needs after war pressures and controls had ended. In carrying out this aim, Mr. Dewhurst and some two dozen others have engaged in an elaborate analysis of past trends in production and consumption, and have projected these forward to 1950 and 1960 with encouraging results.

Our Future Output

For future production estimates, the study finds that manpower is the real problem. This will be gratifying to those who imagined that man had had his day. There is no problem about capital or plant or raw materials, in spite of the depletion caused by the war, assuming that we can import what we cannot locate at home. The estimates were therefore arrived at by multiplying the likely number of employed workers by their probable individual output in dollar value.

This sounds simple, but a few assumptions complicate the computations. Past trends suggest a "labor force" of around 60,000,000 in 1950,

over 63,000,000 in 1960. Even though a high level of prosperity is assumed, unemployment is estimated at about 3,000,000, the comparison in this case being, somewhat ominously, the second half of the 1920's. Incidentally, that old favorite, technological unemployment, is rather cavalierly brushed aside with a theoretical but undocumented argument.

The work-week, which averaged over 60 hours as late as 1900, is expected to continue its decline from the average of 45.4 in 1940 to 42.5 in 1950 and 39.7 in 1960. This decline cuts into production, as does the supposition that half the workers in 1950, and all of them in 1960, will enjoy annual vacations of two weeks.

What remains is an assumption as to labor productivity, and this causes some embarrassment. It is not difficult to compute and compare the productivity of a miner working with pick and shovel and one working with high powered machinery. But clerks, salesmen, teachers, lawyers, and doctors are also included.

As if to shame the white-collar and professional workers, the Twentieth Century Fund had to conclude that their productivity has increased much less rapidly than that of the miner or machine operator. It is this factor, indeed, that leads to the computation that output per man-hour since 1850 has only quadrupled, although the use of "inanimate energy" increased 260 times in the same period.

But productivity has increased very irregularly. In one decade the gain was computed to be only 3.3 percent while in another it was figured at almost 42 percent. Although the latter spectacular jump was made in the decade ending in 1940, Mr. Dewhurst rather cautiously chose for his projection the average increase in productivity of 18.2 percent every ten years since 1850.

Multiplication and a little further computation at last give estimates of "gross national product," the value of all goods and services, produced or performed, public and private. If nothing goes wrong with our system (such as a major depression), the sum

total will amount in 1950 to \$177,000,000,000 and in 1960 to \$202,000,000,000 (in 1944 dollars). Since the comparable figure for the boom year 1929 was only \$107,000,000,000, the forecast is reassuring. It is true that at the peak of our war production, the gross national product reached \$199,000,000,000, about 10 percent above the estimate for 1950 and just under that for 1960. But the ultimate consumer for much of 1944's remarkable output was not the American civilian.

Note should be made here that this country's future production will be, or can be, achieved with less human effort as measured in foot-pounds, if our technological advance continues. At least in industry, the growing use of electricity, however generated, should continue to lessen the burden on the human frame, while lowering the cost of manufacture. The survey points out that man is the costliest source of power, that horses come second, and that steam or electricity is so cheap in comparison as to run a very low third.

By implication, Mr. Dewhurst's estimates of future production flatly deny that our economy has reached maturity, or that private enterprise came to the end of its rope with the Wall Street crash of 1929. There is, however, no grappling with the possibility that another depression will force a revision of the present estimates.

Our Future Needs

If the procedures for estimating future production are no child's play and perforce include some guesswork, the consideration of America's future needs is fraught with even greater difficulty. How does one arrive at estimates of need? If the past is taken for a guide, it is obvious that a comfortable part of the population bought a great deal that it did not need; in fact, as Veblen suggested, this was the surest way to proclaim one's preferred status. If, on the contrary, one ignores the past, and devises some yardstick for determining our basic needs of food, clothing, and shelter, nothing less than a totalitarian regime could begin to fit actual consumption to such a sensible measure. A touch of perversity within us is not overlooked by the Fund:

Witness the American male, who prefers steak and potatoes and apple pie to a better balanced diet; the American

female who prefers nylons to a more adequate leg covering in the depth of winter. . . . We put off going to the dentist . . . but are careful to avoid running out of cigarettes. . . . As a nation we spend more than twice as much for liquor and tobacco as for medical care; about the same for the movies as in support of churches; and almost as much for beauty parlor services as for private social welfare.

However, Mr. Dewhurst and his associates made an imaginative combination of the facts of past consumption with objective estimates of actual needs; and his survey includes not only our likely expenditures for sustenance, clothes, and housing, but our outlays on recreation, education, and religion. These needs, it may be said here, are included only in so far as they can be reckoned in dollars; and it is at this point that the reader begins to wonder how much of man can be computed on the cash register. This question may be postponed while the study is permitted to give its answers on the adequacy of production to needs.

Before comparing the sum total of our resources, as expressed in production, and the sum total of our needs (including not only consumption but also capital and governmental requirements), Mr. Dewhurst was obliged to make an assumption about the distribution of the consumer's share. The important topic of distribution is not listed in the index, but the text makes it clear that, in the view of this group, it is increased production, rather than any change in the pattern of distribution, which will carry us forward. That is, the problem of poverty is to be solved, if it is solved, without "disturbing the consumption patterns" of the non-poor.

Even on this assumption, Mr. Dewhurst is able to conclude that the increased production estimated for 1950 and 1960 will cover the "needs" of more of the population than ever before. The deficit for 1950 is estimated at \$23,000,000,000 and for 1960 at \$17,000,000,000. In percentages, the disparity between production and needs appears even less—namely 13 percent in 1950 and 8 percent ten years later.

However, the deficit, slight as it appears, will constitute, as suggested above, the hard luck of a considerable part of the population. In 1941 some 49 percent of "consumer units" received cash income of less than \$1500.

In 1950 the percentage of single persons and families in this class will have fallen to 41 percent. Nor is government spending, though estimated upward, expected to be adequate to provide social services on a compensatory scale. Thus, the upward trend in output is not likely to confront many Americans with the problem of disposing of surplus income.

Prediction in the field of the social sciences still smacks somewhat of astrology in spite of the confident advance of the sociometrists. Mr. Dewhurst has given weight to this fact by frequent use of the conditional; and on the basis of his assumptions it is difficult to question his findings. However, his basic assumption for the estimates of future production is that industrial activity will remain high between now and 1960. Unfortunately for this assumption, the late 1920's are used a number of times for comparison with the period ahead, and this fact raises the specter of depression.

Disappearing "Downs"?

To have asserted the inevitability of depression in the next thirteen years, or to have set a date for its onset, would certainly have overstrained the economist's paraphernalia for prediction. But to assume that there will be no economic collapse between the last one and 1960 is to disregard our past. In fact, economic ups and downs appear to be such inseparable companions that the disappearance of the "downs" would seem to merit some explanation.

What is suggested here is that the assumption of high production in the future is as worthy of discussion as the assumption of increased individual output. Such a discussion by Mr. Dewhurst and his associates would have been particularly valuable at this moment in view of the expectation, apparently widespread in business circles, that a recession is "just around the corner." If it occurs, the present volume will cease to be a cheerful prognosis of what may be and will become a mournful reminder of what might have been.

To protect the work against such a fate, the Fund might well devote its resources to a study of ways and means of maintaining the high level of production that is assumed here.

Finally there is in "America's Needs

and Resources" the implication that all the country needs is more production; and that with our present economy, hard work, and technological advance, we have nothing (barring war) to fear. It is true that the survey considers certain non-material needs, such as religion. It is also true that in the concluding paragraph of the book Mr. Dewhurst questions whether "further industrialization is *the* true measure of human welfare and progress."

Not by Bread Alone

But despite these contrary references, the total impression conveyed is that material considerations outweigh all others; and this was doubtless inevitable in a survey dealing with production and consumption in contemporary America. The Twentieth Century Fund could have escaped this comment had its *magnum opus* been entitled "America's Economic Needs and Resources," and this would have been an accurate name for the book. But since it was not so named, the reader might expect a volume of this magnitude to deal with needs

and resources that cannot be treated in economic terms.

The day has passed when America's needs could be epitomized in the good five-cent cigar, and as the historian A. J. Toynbee has remarked, civilizations are not built on sewing machines and tobacco and rifles. The average American would undoubtedly rate these items more highly than that, but the questions that are bothering him today are by no means limited to the output of our economy.

This is to suggest that we need help, and that our doubts cannot be assuaged by assurances of our productive capacity. The Industrial Revolution has been a spectacular success from the point of view of man's material productivity. But the problem of the twentieth century is to make industrial society worth living in, and in particular, we in this country want to know how to raise the stature of the United States to the level of its present responsibilities to itself and to the world. On this topic the field remains wide open for scholarly exploration.

people choose their own mates are happier than the old-fashioned, arranged type. It is difficult to gauge how important these findings are because while modern youths look and hope for happiness in marriage, those of yesterday had no such definite aim.

In her final conclusion regarding Chinese youth, Miss Lang compares them very unfavorably with the transformed and modernized young people of Russia who, she feels, have made much more thoroughgoing changes. Chinese students, she points out, are from the upper and middle classes and in many respects still have the characteristics of their forefathers.

She does, however, grant that young China shows improvement in social-mindedness, has displayed heroism in resisting the Japanese, and is attaining new attitudes in the appreciation of military valor. It is, of course, possible that the relatively slower adjustment of Chinese youth to new ways may be a sign of the desire of these young people to preserve the best of their past while they are mastering the new patterns.

Miss Lang would be the first to admit that her book has one great limitation, namely, it takes us up only to 1937. The cataclysmic changes in China during the war certainly had their profound effect upon the Chinese family.

FAR EASTERN NEIGHBORS

CHINESE FAMILY AND SOCIETY, by Olga Lang. Yale University Press. \$4.

J. STEWART BURGESS

HERE IS A REMARKABLY REVEALING BOOK on the basic social institution of China. This pattern is changing, and Miss Lang, through her hundreds of interviews and thousands of questionnaires, has made a careful analysis of the transformations taking place.

Her material was gathered during several years of residence in various parts of the "Flowery Republic." The families studied are classified in three general categories: those living in the rural area; families in non-industrialized cities where the old way of life still prevails; families in the modern industrial cities.

Miss Lang finds that the breakdown of authority, the assertion of initiative, and the modification of the old family pattern are most marked among the educated and professionals in the cities, and among university and college students. Striking changes also are taking place in the pattern of family life of modern factory workers. Without conscious choice or ex-

pectation, many women are assuming new roles and gaining new respect as they contribute wages to the family budget. Slowest of all to change are families in the countryside.

She also successfully explodes the old theory that the "joint" or large family type with several generations living in semicomunal fashion is the prevailing pattern. And she attacks the idea that the all-powerful grandmother frequently holds complete sway in the family—even over the grandfather. Her study indicates that nowhere is this common.

While the relationship of "Friend to Friend" is one of the five categories stressed by Confucius, it is little written about. Miss Lang points out that not only in the past, but also among present day youth, comradeship between those of like interests often supercedes family relationships.

The difficult role of modern youth who frequently must choose between submission to parents and rebellion against family authority is vividly portrayed by case studies.

The author offers evidence that modern style marriages where young

JAPAN: PAST AND PRESENT, by Edwin O. Reischauer. Knopf. \$2.
THE CHRYSANTHEMUM AND THE SWORD, by Ruth Benedict. Houghton Mifflin. \$3.

KINGSLEY DAVIS

ANY READER SEEKING A QUICK BUT penetrating knowledge of the Japanese should start with these books. Entirely different, they supplement each other nicely. Mr. Reischauer provides a fast-moving interpretation of Japan's history in terms of dominant economic and political changes. Drawing on profound scholarship, he depicts the transformations in class structure, in governmental organization, in national policy that made Japan the greatest industrial and military power in the East.

His eye is on the social system, and he shows keen discernment in singling out the most salient features, showing how they fit together to explain the cohesion and continuity of the whole. His comparisons with China are especially illuminating, as is his discussion of Japanese borrowing

(with modification) from both China and the West. He covers a great stretch of history in short space, but his lucid style never leaves the impression of haste or serious omission.

Ruth Benedict has set herself another task—that of analyzing the Japanese character. She undertakes to show the kind of personality, the kind of ethic, by which these curious people live. In this task—admittedly difficult in view of the intangible and tenuous nature of ethical phenomena—she is aided by a rare sensitivity developed by long study of cultural attitudes in different societies.

Basing her conclusions on documentary evidence and interviews with Japanese informants during the war, rather than upon personal residence in Japan, she has achieved a remarkable success. She gives a convincing picture of the Japanese anxiety to submit to the rules of class position, to fulfill the multifarious obligations connected with neatly separated social contexts, to repay insult with ingenious revenge, and to vindicate one's devotion to the Emperor.

With a novelist's skill, she portrays the insoluble conflicts resulting from the sources of strain and inconsistency in the moral system. She describes the relatively free childhood (the golden age) and shows how it gives way to a heavy weight of conformity, subordination, and calculation during the active adult period.

She draws in vivid fashion, sometimes too vividly, the contrasts with the American ethic. She explains why the Japanese reacted as they did after V-J day, and why the U. S. policy, so different from our policy in Europe, has been much more successful.

One misses in Miss Benedict's account the broad social framework—the economic and political facts—within which this system of attitudes has had to function. More attention to these would have deterred her from overemphasizing differences between Japan and the West. The truth is that Japan has become considerably westernized, and in some of her basic conditions—industrialization, urbanization, population trends—has shown a pattern of change surprisingly similar to developments in the West.

Mr. Reischauer's book provides this background. He deals with phenomena more capable of proof, less subject to the vagaries of intuitive impression. But Miss Benedict's task is admittedly the more difficult to do

well. The two books should be read together; both are a tribute to the thoroughness and readability of significant American scholarship.

CHINA, edited by Harley Farnsworth MacNair. University of California Press. \$6.50.

BRUNO LASKER

PERHAPS THE MOST SIGNIFICANT FACT about this interesting symposium is that there is no discernible intellectual or stylistic difference between the contributions from Chinese and from American authors. This should not rashly be explained, however, as evidence of a complete Westernization of Chinese scholarship—or that section of it which is likely to take part in an enterprise of this sort. One could point to a Sinitization of those occidental intellectuals who have lived long in China or have immersed themselves in Chinese literature. More correctly, perhaps, both Chinese and American scholarship may be said to have merged in a single world scholarship which is heir to the traditions of both East and West.

The symposium rarely is a satisfactory form of bookmaking. But sometimes, and especially in war time, it offers the only chance of obtaining an authoritative survey over a given field of knowledge. In the present case, what is offered is admirable; but one notes the omission of many topics—an omission almost certainly caused by lack of available talent. Thus, whole centuries of Chinese history, including some of its greatest epochs, are not covered at all. The editor himself supplies an adequate story of

KINGSBLOOD ROYAL, by Sinclair Lewis. Random House. \$3.

ALDEN STEVENS

THIS IS THE STORY OF NEIL KINGSBLOOD who discovers, in the course of trying to prove himself related to royalty, that he is one thirty-second Negro. Unlike other members of his family who secretly know this, he is trapped by his conscience into announcing it. In Grand Republic, Minnesota, or for that matter anywhere else, this does not happen every day, nor does what follows Neil's resignation from the white race.

There is little point in discussing the literary merits or demerits of this book, although it has both. The only thing really worth talking about is

the first political phase of the Chinese Republic; but there is no coherent explanation of the economic and social developments that produced the revolutionary movements.

In the sections devoted to Chinese culture, the more familiar aspects are enriched by the fruits of recent research. This is the case, for example, with Dr. Chan Wing-tsit's informing essays on the revivals of Confucianism and on trends in China's contemporary philosophy; also with Dr. Wu Ching-ch'ao's excellent analysis of recent economic developments. Incidentally, it is rather surprising to find how much sound social legislation already is on China's statute books and only waits for a period of stability and honest, progressive leadership to produce beneficent effects. One of our younger American China specialists, David N. Rowe, well summarizes China's chief need as that for a greatly increased speed in a modernization that has been far too slow, intermittent, and piecemeal to revitalize the nation.

One critic has objected to the inclusion of a chapter on the present social revolution by Agnes Smedley. But this chapter, like all the rest, is written in an unemotional narrative style; and the volume would certainly have been incomplete without a view of recent events through the eyes of at least one observer who favors the revolutionary cause. Indeed, the editor has done a difficult job with great discretion. The result is an authoritative conspectus which will attract many readers to the more specialized literature on China.

its social impact, which should be considerable, but may not be. Mr. Lewis gives us a typical white American: a captain wounded in war, a bank clerk on his way to a vice-presidency, who is a good, clean, likable young extrovert with an attractive wife, a four-year-old daughter and an almost-paid-for house in beautiful restricted Sylvan Park. Any white American man could easily see himself as Neil, any white American woman could as easily see herself as Vestal, his wife and a graduate of Sweet Briar College in Virginia.

The circumstances of the discovery of his negro ancestor, one Xavier Pic, a guide and fur trader way back there, are such that if he chooses he may keep the information strictly

to himself. He doesn't. He finds Negro friends and tells them, actually without meaning to, at first. They tell him that if he has any sense he'll keep his mouth shut. He knows they will never betray him, and that is one reason he cannot be untrue to them. He announces his finding in a meeting of a very exclusive club to confound a man making an anti-Negro speech. He confounds only himself and his family.

The story does not move too fast. It is constructed along precise rules of dramatic exposition. It ends in a flash of melodrama. Mr. Lewis is right to set it in the complacent, supercilious North rather than in the hot South, sick of northern abuse. It not only makes the story stronger, it gives northerners something to think about at home, and they need it.

By taking a stuffy, stupid, vicious group of whites and contrasting them with a kind, wise, charming group of Negroes, Mr. Lewis rubs his white readers' noses in one of their principal shames, and hopes they'll end up housebroken.

Perhaps we shall. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" demonstrated the power of a novel. A Farm Security Administration worker told me that "The Grapes of Wrath" had done more for the Okies than all the government's mighty efforts. Here is a most talented and popular writer who has written many tracts before trying to save the white race in this country from its own evilness and hypocrisy. His book will be read by millions, and it is cleverly designed to hit hardest the millions who need it most. I am uncertain whether these people are touchable by any such means, but for the sake of the entire nation I hope they are.

ARSENAL OF DEMOCRACY — The Story of American War Production, by Donald M. Nelson. Harcourt Brace. \$4.

MERLE D. VINCENT

DONALD NELSON'S "ARSENAL OF Democracy" tells the story of men, machines, and technology, and their huge wartime production job. It is, as he states, "one of the greatest stories in human history."

If the birth pains of war production were agonizing, the results were swift and overwhelming. Our armed forces were equipped and supplied. The desperate needs of England and Russia were met. All that is history.

We are still making history. We

will do a better peacetime job today and tomorrow if we do not junk the slowly built up working relations and techniques of yesterday which he reports served our war needs so efficiently. Nelson's account of labor-management committees in our war plants is alive with practical experience ready for today's use. It pictures a pattern of labor-management relations and action which can, if continued, serve the nation better than the emotional violence that seeks to hammer out a rigid strait jacket pattern of labor relations for industry to cure uncontrolled living costs.

The plan worked. Nelson reports that management in several thousand plants and Phil Murray, Bill Green, and other labor leaders cooperated. Without any compulsion by law, free labor and free management found this a way to work together and do their war job.

Thousands of labor-management committee suggestions "were put into effect." One group showed "a saving of four million man hours annually." Another "were shown to have saved upward to 15 million man hours annually." These are but a few of a thousand examples of vastly speeded-up production from the assembly line of rational human relations.

There were, of course, die-hards who did not surrender to this common sense American way of voluntarily working things out together. They wanted a law. Nelson needed no law. They still want a law. What they need is the faith, experience, and common sense which Donald Nelson faithfully reports as the cornerstone of our matchless production record.

CARTELS IN ACTION, by George W. Stocking and Myron W. Watkins, Twentieth Century Fund. \$4.

WENDELL BERGE

"CARTELS IN ACTION" IS BY ALL standards of excellence the best factual analysis which has yet been made of the origin, characteristics, and consequences of international systems of monopoly. All who are conscious of the gravity of cartel behavior in the world economy and its significance for American economic life will find it necessary to consult this volume and will await with interest the final recommendations promised.

The authors deliberately limit the range of the present study to eight industries: sugar, rubber, nitrogen, steel, aluminum, magnesium, electrical equipment, and chemicals. These case histories display the entire range of variation in motive, organization, and effects of the cartel technique. They attempt to answer one paramount question — "How do cartels really behave?" Despite the intricacy of the evidence, a clear and lucid presentation makes it possible for the reader to follow easily the threads of cause and effect through the labyrinth of agreements and restrictions imprisoning the free market.

The most vivid and striking impression which the narrative of cartel development leaves in the reader's mind is the recognition that the movers and shakers of the world economy in one industry after another have abandoned all pretense of competition in enterprise. Whether cartels originate as government-sanctioned devices or as contrivances of corporate policy, the ultimate effect upon the world

July Reviewers

Wendell Berge: Formerly Assistant Attorney General, Department of Justice

J. Stewart Burgess: Formerly at Princeton-in-Peking; now chairman of the Department of Sociology, Temple University

Kingsley Davis: Professor of Economics and Social Institutions, Princeton University

Bruno Lasker: Former Survey Graphic editor, now with the Southeast Asia Institute

Alden Stevens: Free-lance journalist, author of "Arms and The People."

Edith A. Trotter: Research assistant, Department of Research and Education, Federal Council of Churches

Merle D. Vincent: Former director, Exemption Branch, Wage-Hour and Public Controls Division, U. S. Department of Labor

economy is shown to be increasing maladjustment and injury to the economic balance of society.

In their exploration of restraints of trade the authors exercise remarkable restraint of judgment. But if they do not always choose to pursue analysis to the harsh conclusions which the facts bespeak, this understatement hardens rather than softens the impact of their logic.

The cartel philosophy has been weighed and found wanting in the scales of history. Yet the authors say:

What was once a way of life in the business world is fast becoming a way of rumination—or oratory. If competition is to survive it must be more than a shibboleth or a slogan. The discrepancy between the truths which men live by—in business—and the truths which they profess but do not live by, is one of the most significant, and disturbing, revelations of this survey.

To those who harbor the illusion that free enterprise can coexist indefinitely with cartels, this is the hand-writing on the wall.

ESSAYS ON ANTISEMITISM, edited by Koppel S. Pinson. Conference on Jewish Relations, \$2.50.

EDITH A. TROTTER

THESE ESSAYS WERE ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED in 1942, but most of them have been revised and a highly illuminating article on France by Hannah Arendt, a study of modern German anti-Semitism by Waldemar Gurian, and one on the postwar world by the editor, have been added.

As Professor Pinson points out—

... the advent of Nazi racial 'science' has called forth a counter movement in the study of group characteristics, group differences, and group prejudices which has gone a long way to educate the scientific and scholarly world as well as the lay public to a better appreciation of the errors and dangers of anti-Semitism.

It is to be hoped that wide and serious study will develop along these lines. To this reviewer it seems important that Christians should cooperate in the work. Analysis by Jewish writers is to some extent vitiated by emotion from long oppression and the recent overwhelming tragedy.

The conclusion, for instance, that anti-Semitism is a phenomenon entirely in the irrational realm seems to sidestep the problem of its uniqueness in a world of racial prejudices. And, although its virulence certainly

fluctuates in response to economic influences, the tendency to ascribe it mainly to economic causes seems to overlook the fact that some economic factors themselves sprang from restrictive laws and ghetto conditions.

The psychological strains within Judaism that are involved in the maintenance of a religion-based minority culture in dispersion have not been adequately evaluated. Neither has the effect upon each of the reversal of the dominant role as between Christianity and Judaism, or the effects upon Christian and Jew alike of the bitter struggle with the Church through the Middle Ages.

The historical section of the book is more impressive and profound than the analytical section.

The tensions engendered in Judaism by the rise of Christianity, its extension to the Gentiles, and its ejection from participation in Jewish life are suggested by Solomon Grayzel. The consequent Christian "claim to being the true Israel, the one to whom God's promise really referred" found apparent confirmation in Jewish disaster and it was assumed "that Judaism was dead while Judaism refused to die."

Long after the theological need for it had passed, this attitude was perpetuated in the church-controlled medieval society, somewhat modified, as Guido Kisch points out. But the basis for the medieval compromise in integrating the Jews into the community's life, both in its prejudicial and its beneficial aspects for the Jews, was religious, not racial feeling.

In view of the burning issue of Zionism, the articles on Jewish life among the peoples of Islam, Tsarist Russia, and Poland have special current importance, as has the study of Germany.

The most penetrating study, by Hannah Arendt, deals with anti-Semitism in France from the time of the Dreyfus trial to the present day. She is one of the most profound among living writers on Jewish issues.

Although clerical anti-Semitism ended with the close of the Dreyfus case, it had "kindled the flame of political Zionism." Dr. Arendt, herself, seems to stand with Bernard Lazare, whose fight for justice was wrecked by the "demoralization" of the Jewish community in France, in that he sought "not an escape from anti-Semitism" but a spiritual mobilization for its final defeat.

AMONG OURSELVES

(Continued from page 371)

segregation, sent copies to each member of Congress and other key public servants. Mr. Williams received his with unqualified want of approval, rising in the House to call it "128 pages of outrageously vile and nauseating anti-Southern, anti-Christian, un-American and pro-Communist tripe ostensibly directed toward the elimination of the custom of racial segregation in the South." He urged his colleagues to consign "this filthy instrument of evil to the furnace and then bury the ashes."

Our reply is provided by the city of Savannah, Ga., a stronghold of the late Governor Eugene Talmadge. About the time the Congressman was speaking, the middle of May, Savannah began the experimental use of nine Negro policemen. Although their territory is the city's Negro section, they were told not to forbear arresting white men found engaged in law violation of an emergency nature.

Six weeks later, this advance step against segregation—"anti-Southern, anti-Christian, un-American, or pro-Communist," if you will—has been called by Savannah the simple name—a success. The change, we are told, is "here to stay." *Survey Graphic* is happy to find itself, in principle, in this same boat with Savannah. However, Savannah is not the only place in the South to turn its back on a segregated police force. Negro policemen are employed by Newport News, and Norfolk, Va., Galveston, Tex., among others.

INDIA EMERGES

(Continued from page 392)

and determination. There are many such and many being trained—but how few compared to the need!

Among those who have the requisites there is much faith and enthusiasm, but a disturbing proportion are handicapped by personal pessimism and a distrust of others which must be overcome. I recall a conversation with Premier Pant of the U. P. I had described to him rather glowingly what the results might be of a scheme I was prepared to recommend, but ended up somewhat self-deprecatingly, saying that possibly I suffered from what might be called the American vice of optimism. Pant answered rather wistfully, "I wish we over here had more of that vice."

On the human conservation side, fall such questions also as medical service, epidemic and disease control, and sanitation; and possibly above all, the need for instilling feelings of

self-reliance and self-confidence among people, of trust in themselves and in each other. In the widest sense, this too is education.

Again and again it must be repeated, if one is to grasp present day India, in these as in almost every modern field of endeavor, there are many examples of adequate action, but incomparably more of inadequacy. There is certainly a base to build on—and our own missionaries have played a considerable part in creating it. The existence of that base is a definite ground for optimism. An accelerated expansion of that base in agriculture, industry, education, social life, and social service, will do much to solve those political-religious problems which often bulk so large and so menacing in reports from India.

Handicaps and Frictions

Now for some of the differences between America and India—which must be noted even in a brief article. Present day India suffers from handicaps from which we have been comparatively free.

The leaders live and think in the twentieth century. The people are in the early eighteenth century, and the development of resources is perhaps in the stage of the early-to-middle nineteenth century. But during the long period of revolt against British rule, the leaders promised their followers a twentieth century life. It is no easy job to galvanize this promise into a living reality.

Allied to this is the tough problem facing every colonial country which has gained political, or international, independence. Often the economic interests of the colonizing power have been allied with local vested interests. While, for their own reasons, these local interests have been on the side of nationalism, once freedom has been attained, they may no longer have anything in common with the liberal and radical groups that generally make up the bulk of such a nationalist movement. Moreover, they have no intention of giving up their old privileges. In fact, their reason for joining the nationalist movement was often to improve their position vis-à-vis former confreres and competitors belonging to the ruling power.

So the Congress now (and the Muslim League when it develops further) is in a dilemma. Labor and agricultural supporters are clamoring for redistribution of industrial wealth

and controls, and of agricultural holdings. They are impatient that this is slow to happen. Meanwhile capitalist supporters want development but not redistribution. The split is certainly in evidence, though not yet final. How soon it will come, and how desperate the consequences when it does, nobody knows.

Another handicap is an ingrained habit of non-cooperation with government. This technique the Congress developed and used for thirty years to be rid of the British without war. The habit is hard to drop, and people still do not actively cooperate even when an Indian government is in office. This, of course, does not tell the whole story, but there certainly is a degree of suspicion with which to reckon.

In some cases this takes a positive form. During my army period in India two years ago, I came to know Mohan Pyare, a young Congress worker whom I shall always remember because of his piercing eyes and concentrated determination. I met him again last winter.

He was still wearing his white Gandhi cap, was still a Congress supporter but was fed up with political work. He had acquired some farm land and was getting almost double the yield an acre customary in that area. He had prompted neighboring peasants to adopt similar improved methods. He himself is going to introduce tractors as soon as he can import them, for he has been able to increase his holdings from income yielded by his original tract to a point where mechanized farming has become economic. He still had his unforgettable suppressed fire, but he was getting more satisfaction out of the earth and the people, and very likely doing more for India.

Another congressman I often think of is Rajah Bajrang Bahadur Singh of Bhadri, who takes an active part in political life, but who at the same time is developing on his estate a breed of cattle suitable to the conditions of land in the Partabgarh district and is teaching his neighbors modern practices in animal husbandry.

I think of Hari Ram Joshi, my chief assistant, acid in his judgments and bitter in his outlook, but with a wealth of ideas, the hardest working and most conscientious man I've met anywhere. And there was Raghunandan Pant, a young civil servant (with nine children) who acted as my office

manager. At first he was bewildered at my American habit of shoving all sorts of work at him because I saw he was quick and could take it. Hitherto he had been accustomed to the one-track Indian regime of one blinkered job only. But he responded enthusiastically once he saw the point and he became a tower of strength. There was Major Sandhu, a six foot five Sikh who looked liked a playboy and was a jockey club steward. He was uncanny in quickly digging out agricultural statistics, getting people to come in from great distances or setting off himself for information.

Dynamics of the Situation

Thinking of these friends and co-workers of mine diverted me from my recital of India's difficulties, as indeed it should. For the caliber and determination of people are the crux, and ultimately contain the answer. But there *are* other difficulties, many and mountainous, in almost every category—such as the tremendous and growing pressure on land (the average holding for cultivation is only about five acres), the habit of indecision in officials and of inertia in the people, serious governmental and administrative inadequacies and inefficiencies, an almost complete absence of fuel oil, and the troublesome fact of concentration of coal resources in practically one area.

How quickly will India overcome these difficulties? No one can tell whether the rate of increase in productivity and in the equitable distribution of wealth, the creation of a fair minimum of health and comfort, of self-respect and self-reliance for all, will outstrip the revolutionary tendencies inherent in a new-found freedom. You cannot measure the dynamics of such a situation; you *can* watch it and help it.

To accomplish these objectives will require the last ounce of determination and of sacrifice of which India is capable, and it will have to be done without the ruthless pressures that the Russians were able to apply—methods entirely incompatible with the outlook and spiritual character of Indian leaders and Indian peoples. Moreover, it will require machines and equipment from this and other countries, particularly the sympathetic help of technical brains from abroad, and the active good will of our people out of which such services may grow. While in these respects the contacts between In-

dia and our country are nothing like what they need to be, some interesting beginnings—and more than beginnings—are under way.

From our characteristically American viewpoint, it is the very combination of vast difficulties and vast work to be done along with the numerous nuclei and bases for future progress that makes theirs an incomparably fascinating job. From a more personal viewpoint, it is my experiences with Indian colleagues, with some of the great men of India and some of its coming leaders, that give me faith both in their future and in their potential gifts to the world.

India is one of the largest pioneering countries in the history of the world. Though it must borrow much from others, out of its travail and out of the chemical union of progress in modern terms with its deep traditional experience, will come new and unique contributions.

**TRACKS TO
A NEW FRONTIER**
(Continued from page 397)

and the larger centers in Texas, Jackson, Miss., and Phoenix, Ariz. War industry was a vitamin to both South and West, and demobilization was expected to change much of that back again. Now comes the rate decision, not a new impulse but a speed-up.

Confirming War's Effect

Just what the war did to population has been the subject of detailed study by the Census Bureau. From Pearl Harbor until March 1945, the bureau has reported, in addition to the 12,000,000 in military service, "15,000,000 civilians left their homes, more or less by choice, and pushed out into other counties and into other states." Another report, April 1, 1940 to July 1, 1945, omitting absentees in uniform, throws light on the relocation of civilians.

New England lost 341,000, the only state there to gain being Connecticut, with a plus of 62,000.

New York state lost 1,119,000.

Pennsylvania lost 753,000.

New Jersey lost 53,000.

The Middle Atlantic states as a group gained a net of 125,000, with Maryland far ahead with 205,000 plus.

Florida gained 169,000.

Michigan gained 182,000, the rest of the Middle West losing.

And the Pacific Coast was leaping,

a 1,589,000 gain, of which California alone took 1,262,000. Utah, Nevada, and Arizona also gained.

Still another Census study, January 1944, took up the growth of cities. The conclusion was that the north-eastern cities had the least chance of postwar growth. Western cities had the highest likelihood of growth, the South next.

Now since the rate decision, factories in Rochester and Akron are not going to scrap machinery and move to Dothan, Ala., or Sapulpa, Okla.

On the other hand, a promoter about to locate in the North is likely to reexamine his plans in the light of the current decision, looking around to see if he can't find a better combination to give short haul and cheap raw materials, avoid top freight schedules and hold costs down.

The Northeast, at any rate, will have a harder time landing desirable industries for its towns. And as to the traditional exit of surplus labor from the South? There seems to be a certainty of more jobs at home, and more money turned loose on Saturday night in town after town. If the young men want to go away, they may go West. But they may well ask, what has the East got to offer? Where, then, shall we look for the ghost towns in years ahead?

Suppose, again, that a factory owner in the East is about to expand or modernize or open a branch. He'll stop and figure before going ahead. If he has been manufacturing in New York City and selling to Grand Rapids, Mich., he may find in a year or two that it is better to move down to Atlanta, which happens to be the same distance from Grand Rapids.

Eastern business, there is little doubt, will find competition much tougher. And the Pacific Coast in due course, although factually out of the case, will profit along with the South and the plains states. A shift from the East relatively adds weight to the coast. And although changes will be slow, it is safe to say that in comparison to planned dispersion in anticipation of bomb or rocket, they will be lively.

There are other probabilities also, that come quickly to mind. Among them:

The decision will apply most and first to small business. Big shippers usually have been able to obtain exception or commodity rates.

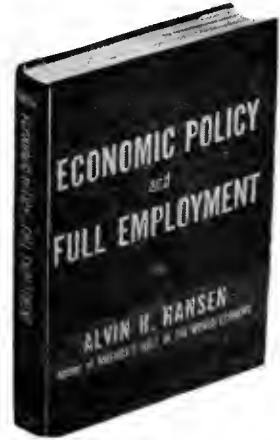
(Continued on page 410)

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It may be a great boon to truck haulage in the East. Eastern rail lines did not ask for a rate increase, did not want it, were having their own problems with truck undercutting as it was. And now?

The decision tends to bring the factory to the farm, threatening in the long run the ascendancy of the farm bloc in politics. Congressmen from the corn-hog and wheat and cotton states may discover one day that they represent more industrialists, more of labor than farmers. Then what?

It is a blow, of strength undetermined, at sectionalism. It tends to melt the Solid South, removing an element of solidity, reducing self-consciousness about their common grievances.

It is a challenging decision—to the East. Is New York going to accept a role as a mere political capital? A likelier prospect would be that the metropolis and many a neighboring city would turn on the steam as they never did before.

It is a leveling decision. It is something Jacksonian, akin to the final arrival of universal suffrage. It says the people on the wrong side of the tracks are as good as anybody else, have a right to as much consideration, are permitted to exert just as much power in the government.

As the years go by and there is redistribution not only of population but of money and influence, then the United States may have to find for itself a new center of gravity. The East has been dominant. As it becomes less so, there may come a groping uncertainty until new leadership is established. That, however, is for quite a later chapter.

The Door Is Open

For the future, there is no single effect from the decision which seems more important than its use as a precedent. Railroad men, disliking it, comfort themselves that the ICC so far has made no move to apply the same theories beyond class rates. The decision, nevertheless, has swung open the door and opportunism at any time may push through. The ICC originally was wrapped up and protected against political influence. The Hoch-Smith resolution first violated its sanctity—in behalf of agriculture. Now the commission has been reached again, the pressure through Congress and from it this time enforcing regional demands. And the remarks of

Mr. Rankin and Mr. Wallace are fair warning that if it has not yielded enough, more pressure will be applied.

Internal barriers are going down in a process comparable to our beginnings as a nation when the new Constitution abolished state line tariffs and created the largest free trade area in the world. That always has been credited as a cornerstone of our prosperity. Will this also add to prosperity? We only know that the country today hasn't the same free hand to seize internal opportunity that it had before the two World Wars. Vast distractions impinge from abroad and a war debt weighs down the future. It is a time for intelligence beyond our average past performance.

The United States is getting a new shape and a new texture. The East is smaller already, the South bulkier, the West more hefty and confident. California and her neighbors, busy with their own projects, look on with complacency. The winds of change are blowing again, blowing up a force perhaps beyond the experience of anyone now living, and the rate decision is no mere straw. It is part of the blast.

THE LABOR ACT (Continued from page 383)

“ground rules” for collective bargaining, favored compulsory mediation and stressed what the Taft-Hartley bill omitted, the need for an umpire or referee to settle disputes that arise over the interpretation of agreements.

Had such an umpire been in existence last year, the national coal and steel strikes might have been averted. The dispute hinged on the question of whether the union could terminate the contract (coal), or reopen it for a wage demand (steel).

Meanwhile, the wide interest in labor legislation displayed in Congress is being duplicated in the states, especially in predominantly agricultural areas. Anti-closed-shop laws are spreading rapidly. This year eleven states adopted them (Arizona, Arkansas, Delaware, Georgia, Iowa, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia). Similar laws are pending in nine others (California, Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Nebraska, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina), indicating that the strong feeling against the closed shop

now penetrates the industrial regions.

Nevertheless, the labor picture is not all gloomy, for in eleven states fair employment practice bills have been introduced, while wage and hour bills were offered in seven. On the other hand, five legislatures have prohibited mass picketing, and some states have begun to require a majority vote before a strike is called

The Swinging Pendulum

Apparently the pendulum is swinging towards the regulation of the internal affairs of unions and meeting everywhere with labor resistance. Labor is also fighting on the wage and hour front. It not only seeks to retain the principles of the Fair Labor Standards Act but is persistently trying to raise the minimum wage from 40 cents to 75 cents an hour.

In signing the bill that outlawed billions of dollars in portal-to-portal claims, President Truman repeated an earlier request that the hourly minimum under the wage and hour law be raised to 65 cents. He also asked that minimum wage benefits be extended to many persons not protected by the law.

The President took issue with those who had been contending that the portal bill would weaken the wage-hour law. However, he inserted a “saving” clause in his message to Congress admitting that the act contains “possibly ambiguous language, the effects of which can be accurately measured only after interpretation by the courts.”

The President promised that if the effects of the act on the wage and hour law proved detrimental to maintenance of fair labor standards he would ask Congress “to take prompt remedial action.” In the Department of Labor it is felt that the new portal act may create confusion as to what is work-time, by reason of the fact that it is based on custom and good faith. The wage and hour regional offices do not yet have the facilities to process employers' statements but the President has requested additional funds for this work.

Where does the Taft-Hartley act leave labor?

Since the enactment of the Wagner act in 1935, membership in labor unions has grown from approximately 3,000,000 to nearly 15,000,000. The labor organizations have grown correspondingly in power and influence.

The Wagner act, in stimulating

collective bargaining, raised purchasing power. Now the fear of labor is that the new measure will cripple unions and their collective bargaining strength, and in the end lead to diminution of purchasing power.

The Taft-Hartley measure retains sections of the Wagner act protecting labor, though it reduces many of these privileges. In adding a new section on unfair labor practices by employes, it swings the pendulum over toward the management side. This was frankly one of the objectives of its sponsors. The law is tougher in important ways than the program of the Governor's Commission in Massachusetts.

The new law makes so many important changes in the Wagner act that an early test of the measure's constitutionality is inevitable. In certain respects, the law will be defied while court tests are under way just as many employers, guided by the opinion of the Liberty League, defied the Wagner act in 1935.

The lawyers will have a field day. This does not bode well for the future of labor-management relations. The law is extraordinarily complicated, far more so than the Wagner act. Disputes over the Wagner act decisions by the NLRB still come before the Supreme Court. Court tests of the new law may continue just as long.

Labor relations—whether dealing with collective bargaining, federal or state labor laws or labor standards—now bring into service large staffs of lawyers and technically trained persons. This will continue. It is a portent that labor must heed. The old Gompersian scorn of "intellectuals" is being buried with the past. Service to labor, whether by union leaders themselves or by those employed under their direction, is tending to become professionalized in a broad sense. That is all to the good. Labor will need every possible aid in an increasingly technical world.

Symptomatic of the unrest that accompanied enactment of the new law were the strikes in certain industries, notably coal and shipbuilding. These led immediately to the demand in Congress for renewal of emergency legislation which expired on June 30, permitting the government to seize plants and factories. Both congressional strategy on this point and labor's long term adjustment to the law itself now remain to be decided after further discussions.

HUNGER

(Continued from page 376)

specialized services to Red Cross societies such as ambulances, medical supplies, and some child feeding. The International Refugee Organization is not yet a functioning body. The International Children's Emergency Fund, with a budget of \$70,000,000 and actual resources to date of \$560,000, hopes that its program will be in full swing by September 1. The leaders of UNRRA's vast postwar effort always are the first to state how far it fell short of meeting the needs of those it sought to succor. Yet it is obvious that there is not yet in being or in sight any relief agency which will carry on a program comparable to that.

Just how the new federal \$350,000,000 relief program will function is not clear at this writing (early June). Under the law, six countries and one district (Greece, Italy, Hungary, Austria, Poland, China, and Trieste) are eligible for assistance. The State Department will be responsible for the program, using normal federal procuring agencies to purchase supplies and arrange shipping.

A small staff, under the direction of Willard L. Thorp, the Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, will administer the program in this country. The law provides for a field administrator, and Richard F. Allen, vice-chairman of the American Red Cross, has been nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate for this post. Under the field administrator there will be a small staff in each country responsible for supervising the distribution of the supplies.

The type and amount of goods to be distributed to each country will be decided by the State Department, based on the recommendations of the field administrator and on available information from other sources. In general, existing channels of distribution will be used, subject to control of the field administrator.

Under the law, \$15,000,000 of the \$350,000,000 must be made available to the International Emergency Children's Fund, and this may be increased to \$40,000,000.

For the rest, supplies—mainly food—will be both sold and given outright. People who can, will pay in local currency; indigents will be



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helped without cost. In late May, it was expected shipments would begin in June and be completed by the end of the year. The scheme is frankly a tide-over to the new harvest, its goal to prevent starvation.

Critics of the undertaking point out how limited are the funds available, compared with the need; the stringent conditions laid down in the law; and the possibilities of political interference.

The one agency that seems not only to see hunger in world terms, but to seek permanent world solutions, is the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. The director general is a Scottish physician and dirt farmer, Sir John Boyd Orr, one of the foremost international authorities on nutrition. As a student in Glasgow, Sir John knew hunger and insecurity, and he has never forgotten. It was he who laid out the food program which saved England in the second world war. It was at his urging that representatives of a half dozen international agencies in the field together with the big food supplying countries met in Washington in May 1946, to confront the "urgent food problems" of the world. That was a year ago.

The Sharing of Shortages

The first problem with which the meeting wrestled was this: How can the scarce commodities be divided among the nations in need of them?

During the war, the management of international trade in food was one of the major questions of logistics.

The Combined Food Board was not set up to benefit farmers or to feed the hungry, but primarily to fortify military decisions. It had behind it the full power of the consortium which provided most of the shipping and materiel for the United Nations. Virtually all the world shipping was in a vast ship pool, and the navies of the USA and the UK could tell neutral shipping where it could and could not go. Therefore the board controlled the world's food supplies to win the war. These incidentally, were sometimes used for relief—again with a military objective, to minimize unrest behind the lines.

After the allied victory, the ship pool broke up, there was no control over neutral shipping, and no need to manage food in line with the grand strategy of war. Yet food is as vital to the strategy of peace as to

military victory. How could it be most effectively used?

At the Washington meeting it was agreed to abolish the Combined Food Board (on which only Britain, Canada, and the USA were represented), to establish the International Emergency Food Council, and to bring in more nations on urgent food decisions.

There are now thirty-four member nations of the IEFC. FAO pays the salaries of the International Emergency Food Council's secretariat, but does not control its procedures or decisions. The member nations finance their own delegates on the various commodity committees. Nor has the IEFC powers of compulsion. Representatives of the member nations have to sit down and decide what is to be done, proceeding by negotiation and common agreement, then *recommend* to member nations. The nations accept or ignore the recommendations as their policies dictate.

However, so successful has been the negotiating skill of the delegates and the secretariat that more than 90 percent of the IEFC recommendations are concurred in by the nations affected. The nations concurring put the recommendations into effect by holding their exports and imports in line with the amounts set.

The council's executive, D. A. Fitzgerald, is a youngish, Canadian-born food economist, now an American citizen. The U.S. Secretary of Agriculture leaned on his assistance during the war. He served on the Requirements Board when Lend-Lease and military food use began to draw heavily on American resources. His statistical work has been concerned almost always with things that immediately affect human beings—and he has come to look on statistics as means, not ends. When he went to the council, he stepped from an analytical job to a negotiating, placating job. He has made a success of it, but he has no illusions as to its long range effectiveness. In presenting his report to the fourth meeting of the council last May, he said:

A mistake . . . has been failure to devote sufficient energy and resources to rehabilitating the production of a few basic foodstuffs such as cereals, rice, and fats and oils. The sharing of shortages through a series of short-term multilateral trade agreements—for that is all the allocation recommendations are—is a necessary evil if gross inequities

in distribution are to be avoided, but it is only a temporary palliative. It is a dangerous delusion to think that dependence on this crutch represents a normal state of health.

A second poser faced by the Washington meeting was the 1946 harvest, and how it could best be used and conserved. Here the conference made a series of recommendations on ration levels, flour extraction, and so on. Subsequently the USA ignored all of these, except the change, temporarily, in the flour extraction rate.

Nevertheless, from January to June (1947) this country exported more than the total amount of wheat we shipped in the preceding twenty years.

Some countries, notably England, have done a magnificent job in husbanding and allocating their available food supplies. Some countries have done poorly, making it possible for farmers to hoard grain, or to sell it on the black market. In these countries, the cities are hungry, and are appealing to the USA for help.

How food supplies should be handled in this emergency will be a major item on the agenda of the cereals conference which will meet in Paris on July 9, at the call of the FAO. Such a meeting was suggested by Clinton P. Anderson, U. S. Secretary of Agriculture; its purpose "to ease so far as possible the world shortage of grains in prospect for 1947-48."

The Fear of Surpluses

The third problem was that of full production. The great food exporting countries—the USA, Canada, Australia, Argentina—have over-expanded their food economy because of the war. If production at the peak levels of the war years is continued into peace, without provision for handling the harvest, it inevitably will cause a market collapse, because there will be no effective demand.

The aim of FAO is full production, for the physicians, nutritionists, and other experts see clearly that the loss to humanity caused by hunger and its sequelae are beyond calculation. Yet productive capacity already is ahead of *effective* need (need backed by purchasing power), though still far behind *actual* need. The question posed in Washington in 1946 was the same that was raised more than two years earlier at the first UN meeting, the Hot Springs conference on food and agriculture in 1943: How can we

remove the fear of surpluses?

It was at the Copenhagen conference last year that Sir John Orr proposed a World Food Board, not as the only possible answer to the question, but as one possible answer.

His scheme was for an international body with some executive powers, able to buy surpluses at the prevailing market price. These would be held as a world reserve, available for purchase at what the hungry nations could pay. In other words, the loss would be internationalized.

Further, Sir John suggested, the holding of reserves by the board in different parts of the world would have a stabilizing influence on prices. In ten years before the war, wheat prices fluctuated 70 percent. A world reserve would help keep prices steady. In time of crop loss, reserves fed out by the board would keep prices from skyrocketing, thus protecting the consumer as well as the farmer. Finally, the world reserve would be available for relief. The international body holding it would put food into needy areas, to be used for people, not politics.

But the governments represented at Copenhagen were not ready to grant so much power to an international body. A commission was set up in Washington, to study the Orr proposals, and the USA-UK suggestions. The commission, made up largely of leading food officials and food and agricultural experts of seventeen countries, worked for twelve weeks.

It offered a recommendation for a World Food Council, which would differ essentially from the proposed World Food Board in that it would throw authority back on the individual governments. The council would be a new organ of the FAO, though an amendment of that body's constitution will be necessary.

The commission decided that such a body is needed to help FAO integrate national nutrition and agricultural programs, to follow developments in existing and proposed inter-governmental commodity agreements, to study serious food situations and to suggest emergency measures. The commission also held that international agreements (conventions) governing world trade in agricultural products could help stabilize prices. Finally, the commission proposed an annual review of agricultural and nutritional programs, to give FAO,

in addition to its advisory functions, greater influence to integrate the world's food policies and practices.

Under this plan, it is suggested, the objectives of the Orr plan may be achieved by individual governments acting through the proposed World Food Council and through separate commodity councils.

Market—the World

A country in need could turn to an international body, in a situation in which it could not go as a suppliant to another country. In time of disaster—a drouth in North Africa, for example, or failure of the potato crop in Eire—FAO could certify need and get grain sent in from the international reserves of an appropriate country. In other words, there is no such thing as a stagnant surplus when the world is made the market.

The FAO executive committee has passed the World Food Council plan to the full conference. Because a constitutional amendment is required, it cannot be considered for 120 days after submission. It will be dealt with at the FAO meeting in Geneva, which convenes August 25, and the approval of two thirds of the members is necessary for its adoption.

The plan has some obvious weaknesses, largely due to the reluctance of some nations, including the USA, to give up any of their "sovereign rights" to an international body. But by those close to the problems of hunger and food supply, it is seen as a long step in the right direction.

If it is adopted, the members of the World Food Council would be representatives of their governments. Thus, all delegates except those of the USA would speak with authority. On the council, our spokesmen would be at the same disadvantage as they are in all UN bodies. Every other member nation sends instructed delegates. When a representative of the UK, the USSR, France, Norway rises to speak, he speaks for his government, and is so understood. Our great disadvantage in UN conferences and on UN commissions and committees is that our representatives have no authority. Any action they take must be ratified by Congress, and the world is gradually learning something of the uncertainty and delay that entails.

Certain lessons stand out from the experience of the tragic food shortage following World War II.

First is the need for clearer and

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Second, the problem of maintaining even a minimum standard of nutrition for all people is vast and complex, far beyond the resources of voluntary agencies, or any combination of them, however dedicated their spirit and successful their appeal for popular support.

Third, only international planning and some measure of international control can meet the present food crisis, or solve the age-old problem of chronic malnutrition and recurrent famine in many regions of our world.

The long range job of the food and agriculture arm of the United Nations is to increase production all over the world. In some areas, this means getting excess population off the land by setting up secondary industries; in other regions it means better methods of cultivation and of conserving and distributing food supplies.

As the international food experts see it, the economic arm of the United Nations is a threefold entity, with FAO, the International Trade Organization, and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development the interdependent agencies through which the goal of adequate production and effective distribution can be achieved.

Lessons for a Hungry World

At the Hot Springs conference it was brought out that two thirds of the people of the earth are engaged in farming; yet two thirds of the people of the earth—not the same but overlapping—are undernourished.

Clearly, something is very radically wrong with the world's most fundamental industry. Science now makes it possible for the planet to raise enough food. The problem is to harness knowledge to practice.

To the FAO, a first task of the International Trade Organization, working through the Bank, must be to help reduce surplus farm population by setting up secondary industries—for example, fertilizer plants in India, which would get some of the hungry people off the overtaxed land, establish them on an earning basis.

All history shows that once you raise people above a bare subsistence standard you get a stabilized population—a man would rather have four sons who reach maturity than ten who die in the first five years of life. To raise the standard of living means

enlightenment and hope. Fewer people on the land produce more food to sell; a greater proportion of the population working as wage earners produce more things to sell; and, given more money, the first thing they demand is more food. Here is the good spiral, the reverse of the down-spin into shattered markets and depression.

Finally, its brief history has shown that FAO is not a political agency, that it is less buffeted by political winds than the other young international bodies which carry on their uncertain course the world's hope of freedom from want and fear.

Food is basic to human existence. It is perhaps the easiest starting place for international cooperation. The reverse is equally true—if we cannot work together on this, we cannot work together on anything. So far, the experience of FAO and the International Emergency Food Council gives heart of hope. For in these agencies—in spite of the present aloofness of the USSR—many nations have demonstrated that they can work together. Such disagreements as have arisen have been concerned with methods. There have been no disagreements as to goals.

The effectiveness of the USA in the race to rescue the starving the world over depends largely on popular understanding of the world food situation and of what is at stake. Certain political critics of the present administration demand not more generosity, but less, arguing that we are already overtaxing our resources.

However, the record reveals the contrary. According to the figures of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, since the war this country has been exporting annually about 10 percent of its total food stocks, a third of its wheat production, worth, on a dollar-and-cents basis about \$3,000,000,000. At the same time, though there are 14,000,000 more persons to be fed in this country than there were before the war, per capita food consumption in the USA has increased 16 percent over prewar averages. Last year, the United States furnished to the world goods and services with a net value of \$6,600,000,000. But this was only 3.4 percent of the total value of the goods and services produced by our favored and comfortable land.

Thus, we are not "scraping the bottom of the bin." Rather, we are selling a fraction of what we ourselves do not need.

This country has done more than all the rest of the world combined to meet the food emergency. Nevertheless, measured against our well-fed comfort, we have made inadequate response to the desperate plight of tens of millions of men, women, and children in war-devastated lands. That we have not given more generously of our abundance probably is due chiefly to a lack of information and understanding. It is easy for human beings to help a needy individual—to put a hand in one's pocket for the brother who asks a dime, to pass the hat for the family in the next block threatened with eviction.

But here is need on a global scale, with the individuals buried under statistics of production and calories of daily per capita consumption. The complicated tables fail to show us the eyes of hungry children, the anguish of their helpless parents. Americans cannot salve their consciences with occasional food packages to friends and relatives in hunger ridden lands. Only international planning and cooperation can save the hungry victims of war and war's aftermath.

In this most urgent postwar responsibility, the issue of life or death for millions of human beings hangs on American decisions. The turn of the scale depends on our resources and our leadership.

HERE BRITAIN STANDS
(Continued from page 388)

people have always lived mostly in flats, while the English working folk have held on to the single family dwelling with a kind of religious tenacity. The civic authorities of Glasgow have not done very much in the way of playgrounds. The children live in the streets, even more than they do in London, and their vitality proclaims that whatever the truth may be as to food supplies for adults, Britain, under all postwar hardships, has saved her children.

Needless to say, it is in its effect on food supply that last winter's damage was most gravely evident. But for the devastation wrought by blizzards and floods between January and April, British food production in 1947 would easily have passed all records. The ravages cannot be repaired this year; and unhappily it is at this very time, that the government must announce a further cut in rations.

Nor is this new phase of national shortage illustrated only in food. Britain during the present year is not able to count upon any considerable increase of consumers' goods. The stores are lamentably short of necessities. Factories are working at full blast, subject to the qualification that the forty-hour week is being extended. But for the most part they are producing for the export trade. It is a common complaint that in many lines in the home market there has been no improvement since V-Day. The experience of would-be buyers is that it is as difficult as ever to obtain shoes and shirts, stationery, and countless articles of house or office necessity.

In particular, the mother of a family is in hard case, since even if what her children need is in the shops she suffers from a chronic lack of coupons. Furniture and crockery, bed linen, materials for curtains and covers, are scarce and dear. There is not a home in England not crying out for furnishings and decoration of every kind, while the young people, even with the benefit of newly-wed priority, suffer utility makeshifts in kitchens and living rooms.

The outlines of the coming stage of affairs are unmistakable. They are made clearer still in the light of the British Government's latest decisions—the evidences of a modified policy in respect to vital imports and the seemingly unending problems of sterling and the dollar. The two years elapsed since the overthrow of the Axis have been extraordinarily difficult for the British nation, and there is now a general understanding that real improvement will not be possible until the beginnings of actual peace are discernible in Europe. When that can be, not the wisest among us may venture to predict.

Meanwhile, the all-important fact in relation to Britain is twofold, and it may be stated in the fewest words. Notwithstanding the cumulative hardships and incessant blows of these years, the British people are not yet awakened; but I am entirely convinced that when they arouse their fullest energies, they will once again astonish the world.

The experiences of Britain and America during the past two distressful years offer a stimulating contrast for all students of national life and character. Since 1940 the productive power of the United States has been



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(In answering advertisements please mention SURVEY GRAPHIC)

magnified beyond description. The material resources of the country are augmented to a degree which the boldest imagination could not have conceived — when the tide turned against depression a dozen years ago.

The American people have entered upon the inheritance of an age of plenty which, by an extremity of paradox, has enormously increased the costs and difficulties of daily living — to the utter bewilderment of the citizen. It is an age of abundance and of seemingly unlimited perils; and a wondering world looks on, asking a thousand questions.

The Challenge

The contrast made by Britain is not easily described. An old country has been impoverished by the war and its immediate consequences to an extent that only the formerly privileged classes are able to realize. As accumulated reserves have been used up, the social system that survived the first World War has been dissolved. The old domestic order has disappeared; spacious houses are abandoned; the servants who made them possible are scattered. All upper class standards of living have been transformed. A generation is now growing into maturity with no knowledge whatever of the luxuries and amenities taken for granted by their parents.

The young people are forgetting, or have never seen, houses to let, streets of well-stocked stores, comfortable trains, pleasant eating places, easygoing holiday resorts, theaters with inviting seats, and books, newspapers, and candies for the asking. The only conditions they are familiar with could never, by their elders, have been envisaged as belonging to England in any circumstances.

One cannot say that after so many years of hardship the younger people of Britain are bearing up in cheerfulness and good hope. They are not at present doing that; they are enduring. They have not as yet made any real response to appeals from Ministers to work harder and produce more.

That, however, in due course they will do. But not, I believe, until the economic and social crisis has reached a stage of urgency such as can be felt by every citizen, man or woman, young and old. And, it may be, not before some resonant voice is heard, reminding the nation that the challenge to a finer hour even than the hour of Dunkirk has still to be met.

WORKERS WANTED

OCCUPATIONAL THERAPIST, graduate, with experience in Arts and Crafts, for a Christian social service organization, one specially interested in the handicapped. 8600 Survey.

DIRECTOR OF GROUP WORK, man, with some experience, in Neighborhood Center in Metropolitan Area. 8596 Survey.

EXECUTIVE FIELD WORKER—Child Protective Agency, experienced man, opportunity for program and personal development. Write full particulars. 8598 Survey.

CASEWORKER — woman, Jewish Children's Home, Metropolitan New York area, has vacancy for professionally qualified worker in institutional case-work department. Challenging opportunity for growth. Beginning salary \$2,400. 8595 Survey.

GRADUATE CASEWORKER for agency engaged in institutional and foster home care for unmarried mothers and their babies, in New York City. Salary range \$2,500-\$3,400. 8593 Survey.

YOUTH WORKERS, for new and dynamic project in working constructively with teen-age "gangs." Social work training desirable but not main qualification. Applicant should have strong native liking for young people and the ability to relate to them easily. Normal work-week, but unusual hours necessitated by nature of project. Salary according to qualifications. 8586 Survey.

ASSISTANT IN CHILD WELFARE, special responsibility for children's institutions. Masters in social work, experience in administration and case work in a children's institution and in community organization. Council of Social Agencies, 343 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.

CASE WORKERS (2) professionally qualified, for agency giving children care in foster homes and in cottage type institution; also adoption service. Interesting opportunity for varied experience including direct work with emotionally disturbed children under psychiatric consultation. Write The Children's Center, 1400 Whitney Avenue, New Haven, Connecticut.

CASEWORKER for private Protestant children's agency. Salary commensurate with professional training and experience. Uhlich Children's Home, 3730 N. California Avenue, Chicago 18, Illinois. Attention Superintendent.

JACKSONVILLE | | | Two or three professionally qualified caseworkers desired immediately by well-known, privately supported, state wide, non-sectarian, child placing agency.

MIAMI | | | Graduate caseworker wanted for homefinding and adoptive studies. Excellent supervision assured. Salary range \$2100 to \$2700. Write to Children's Home Society of Florida, 403 Consolidated Bldg., Jacksonville, Florida.

WORKERS WANTED

PSYCHOLOGIST—Clinical, male, for diagnostic and short time therapy in Child Guidance Clinic operated by Court; Ph.D. desirable but not mandatory. Apply Juvenile Court, Toledo, Ohio, stating qualifications and experience fully, indicate beginning salary.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR wanted for Council of Social Agencies in Miami, Florida. Must be professionally qualified with experience in operation of a Council, Council Committees or Sections. Challenging position in interesting community. Salary \$6,000. Council of Social Agencies, 127 N. W. Second Street, Miami Florida.

PROBATION OFFICER—Female. Qualifications: School of Social Work graduate preferred plus successful experience in court or children's agency. Apply Juvenile Court, Toledo, Ohio, stating qualifications and experience fully, indicate beginning salary.

CASE WORK VACANCY in family agency with decided psychiatric orientation under guidance of consultant psychiatrist and analyst. Psychiatric social worker preferred. Child placing and previous family agency experience valuable. Vicinity of New York. 8589 Survey.

REFEREE—To hear boys delinquency cases and supervise male probation officers. Qualifications: Master's Degree in Social Work or Psychology, successful children's agency or court experience. Apply Juvenile Court, Toledo, Ohio, stating qualifications and experience completely, indicate beginning salary.

WANTED at an early date a thoroughly capable, trained and experienced man to become Director of Social Services and Associate Superintendent of a large, privately supported, statewide, non-sectarian, child-placing and child welfare agency in Florida. Good salary and permanent position assured. Must be capable public speaker, have experience in money raising, public relations, and case work services. Address communications to Children's Home Society of Florida, 403 Consolidated Bldg., Jacksonville 2, Florida.

CASEWORKER—needed in small private non-sectarian agency placing children in foster family homes for day care. Graduate training required. Must be able drive automobile. Salary based on training and experience. First Family Day Care Association, 311 South Juniper Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

WANTED, a woman with sufficient experience as a case worker to take over responsibilities as Executive in Children's Agency. 8584 Survey.

WANTED: Social worker to take charge of homemaker and family budget program in an eastern Jewish family agency. State qualifications, experience, and salary expected. 8582 Survey.

PUBLIC RELATIONS person for a Christian social service organization. With executive ability. Fine opportunity for the right person. Must be interested in religious and social service work. 8601 Survey.

POSITIONS OPEN IN ALASKA ALASKA DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE CHILD WELFARE CONSULTANT

Salary Range: \$325.00-\$385.00 per month. Appointments at the minimum.
Minimum Qualifications: College 4 years, graduate study 2 years or minimum of 5 quarters at recognized school of social work which must have included courses in child welfare and public welfare administration and supervised field work in child and family welfare.
Experience: 3 years in the past 6 years of social work in public or private agencies, 2 years of which must have been in the field of child welfare and 1 year in administrative, supervisory or consultative capacity.

DISTRICT WORKER

Salary Range: \$285.00-\$315.00 per month. Appointments at the minimum.
Minimum Qualifications: College 4 years, graduate study 1 year at recognized school of social work which must have included courses in child welfare and public welfare administration and supervised field work in child and family welfare.
Experience: 3 years in the past 6 years of social work, 1 of which must have been in child welfare, 1 year in public assistance and 1 year in a supervisory capacity.

CHILD WELFARE WORKER

Salary Range: \$260.00-\$290.00 per month. Appointments at the minimum.
Minimum Qualifications: College 4 years, graduate study 1 year at recognized school of social work which must have included courses in child welfare and public welfare administration and supervisory field work in child and family welfare.
Experience: 1 year in the past 5 years of social work in child welfare.

For application blanks and information write via air mail, supplying minimum qualifications to

ALASKA DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE
Box 2781
Juneau, Alaska

(In answering advertisements please mention SURVEY GRAPHIC)

WORKERS WANTED

FOUR professionally trained Catholic Social Workers by growing child welfare agency, New York City. Miss Tornello, Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum Society, 191 Joralemon Street, Brooklyn, New York. Main 4-2178.

WANTED—Social case workers and supervisors to fill positions in Lutheran children's agencies located mainly in the Middle West. Progressive programs, personnel policies, good supervision. Minimum requirements are at least three quarters of field work. Opportunities for work-study programs with some agencies. Experience in children's field, although desirable, is not necessary. Salaries range from \$2,000 to \$3,600 per year, depending upon training and experience. For further information write Rev. R. A. Marquardt, Chairman, Recruitment and Training Committee, Associated Lutheran Charities, Addison, Illinois.

CHILDREN'S INSTITUTION in Indiana needs case worker (woman) for intake. New position. This person later will become supervisor of an expanding case work staff. Beginning salary \$2,600 to \$3,000, depending upon training and experience. 8564 Survey.

STENOGRAPHIC ASSISTANT (WOMAN) FOR ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF OF THE FRONTIER NURSING SERVICE IN THE KENTUCKY MOUNTAINS. SEND DATA SHEET TO AGNES LEWIS, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, WENDOVER, KENTUCKY.

SUPERVISOR and psychiatric social worker, man or woman (two positions), for child guidance agency where treatment is carried mainly by psychiatric social workers, under immediate and close supervision of an outstanding nationally known psychiatrist. Experience in a child guidance agency or related psychiatric work desirable. Interesting and challenging opportunity. Apply Jewish Child Guidance Bureau, 682 High Street, Newark, New Jersey.

CASEWORKERS, professionally trained, for multiple service family casework agency. Interesting and challenging opportunity.
CASEWORKERS \$2400-\$3840
Write Director, Jewish Social Service Bureau, 127 N. W. Second Street, Miami 36, Fla.

CASEWORKERS—Catholic Family and Child Care Agency has two staff vacancies. Salary in accordance with professional training and experience. Opportunity for advancement. At least one year's graduate training required. Catholic Welfare Bureau, 855 South Figueroa Street, Los Angeles 14, California.

WANTED: Social worker or medical social worker with some experience in case work or in a hospital situation, to work in a tuberculosis sanatorium of 125 beds. Medical social work part of rehabilitation program. Working conditions and salary excellent. Contact Bureau of Tuberculosis Control, Michigan Department of Health, Lansing 4, Michigan.

SOCIAL SERVICE WORKER (WOMAN) FOR FRONTIER NURSING SERVICE IN THE KENTUCKY MOUNTAINS. FOR INFORMATION, WRITE AGNES LEWIS, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, WENDOVER, KENTUCKY.

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The closing date for applications is August 1, 1947. For application blanks and information write **NEW MEXICO MERIT SYSTEM, BOX 939, SANTA FE, NEW MEXICO.**

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CATSKILL Foothills farm for country estate, camp, poultry, etc. 225 acres, trout stream, woods, two houses, studio, outbuildings; good condition. Write owner for description; Thomas McLaughlin, 950 University Avenue, New York.

SITUATIONS WANTED

DIRECTOR of Boys Home which is closing desires similar position. Prefer challenging opportunity in new or established agency for boys. Have a thorough knowledge of dependent, pre-delinquent and delinquent boys and their problems. Available now. 8580 Survey.

ORPHANAGE COUNSELOR AND OVERSEER, MALE. Prefer boys 7-12. Have B.S. and teaching experience. 8579 Survey.

MALE EXECUTIVE, Community Center and instructor of group work in accredited school, seeks position as group work executive, teacher, or both. Settlement background. Masters NYSSW. Change due to lack of housing. 8583 Survey.

CASEWORKER, male, colored, graduate of School of Social Work. Experience: Juvenile Delinquency, Parole, Rehabilitation (with prisoners), Public Assistance. New York or vicinity. 8588 Survey.

YOUNG WOMAN, Vassar graduate, available September, 1947, for organizational work New York City. Competent, resourceful, good initiative, widely traveled. Interested group work, not case work. Community organization. Programming. Has directed mid-west office national educational organization. Minimum annual salary to start \$2600. 8594 Survey.

OCCUPATIONAL THERAPIST desires position as department director in Convalescent Home, Pediatric, or General Hospital. Accredited school graduate—7 years professional experience including summer camp and Y.W.C.A. recreational programs. Prefer New England, or Newark, New Jersey vicinity. Available September fifteenth, 8590 Survey.

JEWISH WOMAN EXECUTIVE desires position requiring initiative and intelligence. Masters degree, fifteen years broad social work experience, administrative responsibility. New York City only. 8591 Survey.

GROUP WORK EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR with many years experience in large agencies in sectarian field, desires position in non-sectarian social work. Graduate School of Social Work with knowledge of case work and community organization. 8592 Survey.

HOUSING CONSULTANT — Professional training. Considerable experience consultant large public welfare agency. Administrative positions with public housing agencies. Initiative, imagination, able formulate housing policies, set standards, conduct research and surveys, supervise personnel, public relations. 8597 Survey.

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MEN'S SHOES, sizes 11½ to 16, widths AA to EEE. Finest quality, prompt delivery. **FREE** circular. **KINGSIZE**. Brockton, Massachusetts.

COOPERATIVE COMMUNITY, SELF-RELIANT. Wanted planning members, putting cooperating humanity first, plan own community. Introduce yourself, aims fully **FIRST LETTER**. 8587 Survey.

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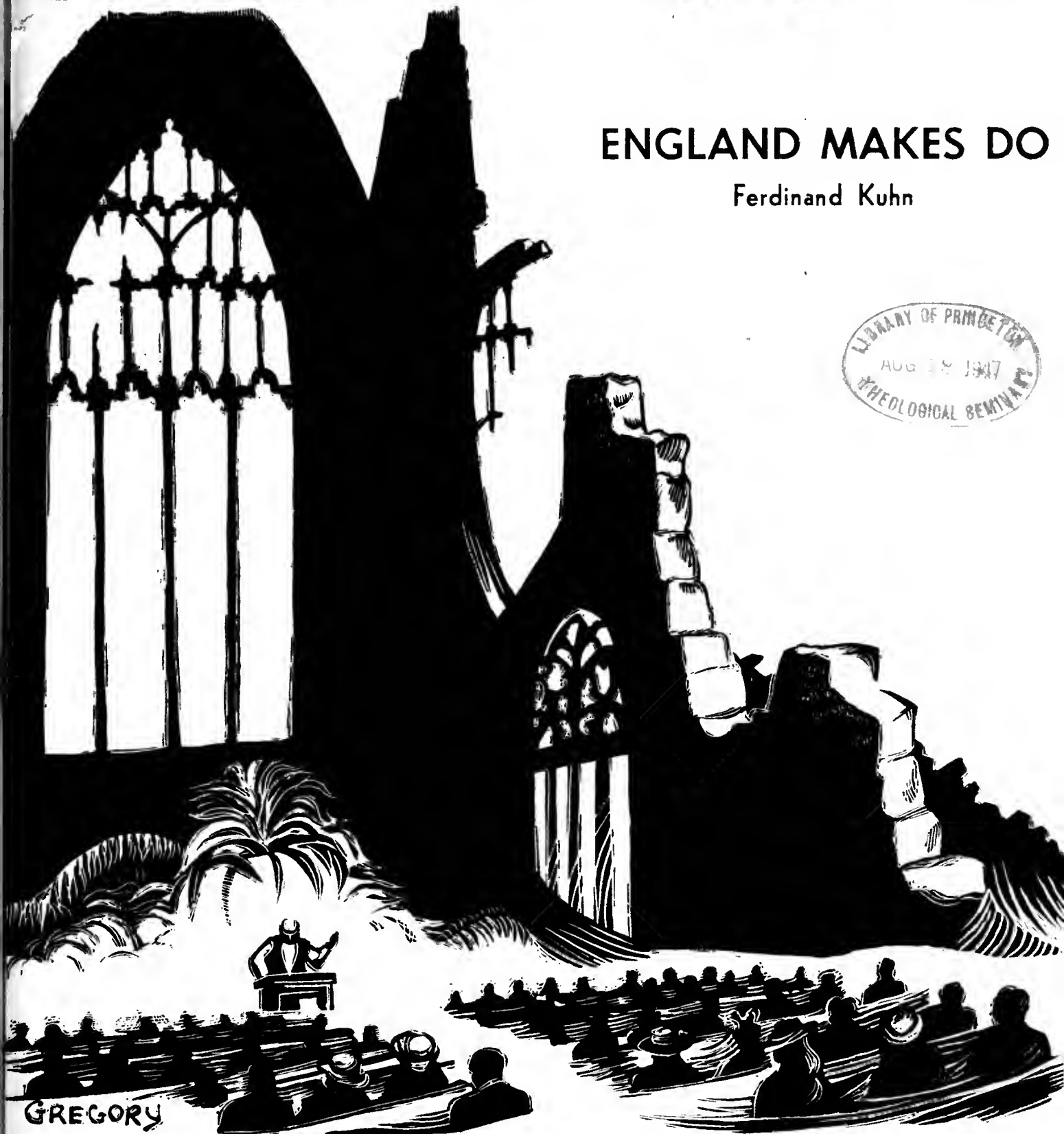
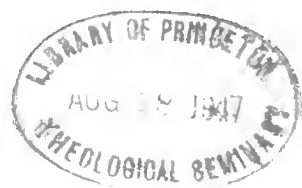
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Survey Graphic for August 1947

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Cooperative Membership in Survey Associates, Inc., including a joint subscription: Year, \$10.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE Potomac Chapter of the National Association of Housing Officials last month elected LeRoy Smith as its chairman for a one-year term.

Why should this personal item be news in *Survey Graphic*?

For the special reason that since the Segregation special issue last January concentrated on the barriers between Americans and the ways in which persons of different races were kept artificially in separate compartments, there is special occasion for pointing with pride to un-Segregation—when it happens.

LeRoy Smith is such an example. He is a Negro, the first to be so honored by any chapter of the National Association of Housing Officials. He is a management supervisor for the National Capital Housing Authority and has been professionally engaged in housing actively since 1940. What about other chapters, now? Other associations? Other professions?

TO THE EDITOR: I JUST GOT AROUND TO reading Kathryn Close's great article on "Steel Makers, 1937-1947," *Survey Graphic* for March. I had hardly opened the issue when I discovered yours truly sitting at the extreme left in the frontispiece on page 180.

[This showed a group of employes of Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation voting overwhelmingly for the Steelworkers Organizing Committee in an early election ordered by the National Labor Relations Board. Mr. O'Connor was one of the judges. Miss Close's article reviewed "the first decade of collective bargaining in the nation's basic industry, and the changes it has wrought."]

On loan to the NLRB from the Pennsylvania Department of Public Assistance, I knew that I was helping in a small way to make History on that day in May, 1937, but did not expect that in the same small way I would participate in documenting that history.

Here, ten years and five hundred miles away from the timekeeper's office at J & L's open Hearth #3, I am more aware than ever of the changes time has wrought on the world, SWA, the *Graphic* and yours truly (especially about six inches at the waist line).

My best wishes to you and your staff for the next ten.

Thomas S. O'Connor
Executive Secretary,
New Britain (Conn.)
Community Chest, Inc.

THANKS TO AN APPRECIATIVE FRIEND, *Survey Graphic* has for distribution several hundred reprints (from the March 1947 issue)

of "Time for a Positive Morality" by Dr. Henry A. Murray.

They are to go to our readers for the asking, up to ten copies a person, mailed postage free, to any requested address. Who wants them?

WHEN THE FIRST SESSION OF THE 80th Congress adjourned for a five-months holiday, the legislators left as unfinished business all the major social and welfare legislation on its agenda. Included among the matters for which "no time" was found were: the Taft-Ellender Housing bill; the Wagner-Murray bill, embodying President Truman's recommendations on health and disability insurance; the Stratton bill, which would have opened our doors to 400,000 of Europe's displaced persons; the Fullbright bill, creating a Department of Health, Education and Security. Most of the measures urged by the Secretary of State as essential at this

time were neglected, defeated or "watered down." Funds needed to help feed and rehabilitate war victims in many lands were pared, or tied with political strings. It is a discouraging record.

In addition to this is the failure of Congress to take any steps whatever toward shaping and implementing the "Marshall Plan," on which all the hopes of western Europe are now centered.

Every reason of domestic and international responsibility points to the need for a special session of the 80th Congress.

The state of the nation, the hunger and anxiety of our allies do not permit of nearly a half year's delay in doing those things which should have been done before the Congress adjourned. The House, a week before adjournment, gathered its strength, passed the bill to knock out the poll tax voting requirement in national elections, but the Senate failed to follow up.





New Liberties in Old Japan

An American expert's eye witness report of first steps toward transforming an autocratic enemy into an ally of democracy.

ROGER N. BALDWIN

BEFORE I WENT TO JAPAN I REALIZED that our military occupation was putting on an unprecedented demonstration in democracy, but I was not prepared to find it infused with the spirit of a crusade. It had not occurred to my civilian mind that a necessarily autocratic military machine of conquest in a defeated nation could be charged with passion for the spiritual regeneration of a people through democratic ideals.

But that is precisely what I found. That underlying idealism on both sides is far more important to the future of Japan than the formal institutions recreated under the occupation out of a hierarchy of privilege and a high-handed government—the emperor “system.”

By unanimous agreement of all associates and observers, the creative power behind this unexampled crusade is General Douglas MacArthur's driving faith in democracy and in the Japanese people—that faith combined with his superior talents as an administrator. I have met few men in public life, much less in the army—where my contacts until recently have been limited—with a more instant awareness of the broadcast concepts of human liberty and an equal determination to apply them. His whole conduct of the occupation has forged a bond of understanding between him and the Japanese people unmatched between conqueror and conquered in all history.

Some wag in Tokyo has correctly speculated that if the Japanese re-

—The first of a series of articles by the director, thirty years running, of the American Civil Liberties Union—just back from two months in Occupied Japan, with also a look at divided Korea.

Invited to the North Pacific by the U. S. War Department, he set off unofficially instead and brought to bear his engaging faculties for human encounter and appraisal as representative alike of the ACLU, the Japanese American Citizens League and the World Federation of United Nations Associations.

◆
stored the position of *Shogun*—which long outranked that of emperor in the island's history—General MacArthur would be elected to the post by an overwhelming vote.

ALL THIS CONTRASTS WITH GENERAL MacArthur's status as a prophet in his own country. His reputation among Americans at home is not unmixed with criticism. Many regard his manners as those of a dictator impressed by his own importance; and the support proffered him here by reactionary nationalists has not helped.

Yet I found no substantial criticism of the General among Americans in the Occupation. From top to bottom their views chimed in with those of the Japanese, both in relation to policies and personal calibre. He is correctly characterized as aloof from social functions and not easily accessible except to those with a valid claim

on his time. Nor does he give press conferences—a habit not calculated to win the affections of newspapermen. Moreover, he is without doubt sensitive to what he regards as unjustified press criticism of his policies. But fair criticism he welcomes; he admonished me to pull no punches when I got home and wrote or spoke of the Occupation. (As a professional critic of governments I never have!)

The General's popularity with the Japanese rests not only on his personal qualities, but on the sense of liberation from the militarists which the defeat gave them; and along with that, on their craving for a new leadership. As old admirers of our institutions, they welcomed the Americans as they would have welcomed no other victors. This was all the more true after our decision to let them keep intact their emperor and their own government.

An understanding of this emotional foundation of the Occupation, on our side and theirs, is essential to any appraisal of the ease with which such vast revolutionary changes have been made in so short a time. Both institutions and attitudes have been reversed, and whole new classes of the population, formerly suppressed, have advanced to power. But these have not yet struck deep roots. Both they and we are in a hurry to do in a few years what it has taken other democracies years to achieve.

Now, the Japanese grasp new ideas fast; too fast, many say, as mere imitators without principles or con-

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victions. A strong basis of historic fact tends to support that contention. A childlike quality of trust in leaders has prompted them to follow where leadership directs. They work by group decision without individual independence. They organize like a bee-hive, and work like bees. Today there is the new queen-bee of democracy and a new swarming.

Individualism—in the sense of each citizen's obligation to make up his own mind and protect his own interests—will take time to make headway against the traditions of authority. I talked with some of the old liberals of Japan long, in leadership until suppressed. By common consent, the most distinguished of these, is 90 year-old Yukio Ozaki, member of the Diet continuously from 1889 on and just re-elected. Long since, when mayor of Tokyo, he was the donor of the cherry trees that bloom each spring in Washington.

At ninety, I found him way ahead of his time, an extremist critic, wittily sarcastic over old-fashioned traits and loyalties. It will take the Japanese years, he said, to practice what they now think they believe ("like some of the rest of us," I observed). Half the people, he said, including all the peasants and most of the women, are still slaves to old restraints. No really indigenous leadership for democracy has sprung up as yet. "A superficial conversion," said he. The Americans are doing a good job (though often badly advised by Japanese politicians) and should stay till the Japanese strike deeper roots in the concepts of freedom.

Granting this lack of depth, the achievements to date are only the more striking, so extensive and so enthusiastically are they advocated. On the Occupation side also a lack of depth in the crusade may be said fairly to parallel that on the Japanese side. The MacArthur spirit marks the top leadership in most policy positions, but probably does not engage over a fifth of the total military officer personnel and half the civilian.

Despite the military machine, however, the core of the Occupation is civilian-minded, in uniform or out, and its relation to the Japanese is therefore that of cooperation, not dictatorship.

Even the GI's are on the whole

ambassadors of democracy. Their friendliness especially to children, and their lack of subservience to their officers, appeal to the Japanese. The army has to warn service men against "public display of affection"; signs on the roads openly caution them on this score. But what other soldiers would put up a sign such as I saw on the narrow road entering a village: "Look out, GI's. Lots of kids." Of course there are some roughnecks and drunks, some thoughtless racial prejudice, also, against "them Gooks." The Japanese generously discount the exceptions.

Based on the wise decision to keep intact the native form of government and the emperor with it, the occupation has stimulated—by conference, directives and publicity—a complete revolution in Japanese political institutions. A new constitution, complete with all the devices for getting good men into office and keeping them good, went into effect on May 3. Its bill of rights, the number one provision, is more precise and extensive than ours. The constitution was heralded in Japan by a holiday and observed by a ceremony before the Imperial Palace entrance, which was graced by his Imperial Highness himself carrying his own umbrella in a downpour.

He was in fact celebrating his own obsequies as monarch, becoming by constitutional provision a mere symbol of the nation on whatever salary and perquisites the Diet now chooses to give him. His vast properties had been taken over by the State. He is reported to have said to the trembling ministers months ago when they presented so imperially ruinous a document for his signature:

"Gentlemen, this constitution is exactly what Japan needs."

As all my liberal Japanese informants emphasized, the constitution marks the official end of a Japan dominated hitherto by "thought police," by militarists, by a bureaucracy in league with the eighteen families who monopolized all big business, and by a centralized government reaching into every village. No civil liberties were possible under such a network of controls. The liberals and the left went underground, literally or figuratively, or were in jail or exile. Labor unions were in leash to employers. Almost every private association for public service was on the government's dole. Every-

body bowed low to officials and to the police. Spies and informers infested Japanese life.

Today talk is as free as with us. The secret and thought police are bad memories. Leading militarists are purged or on trial. Over 25,000 men who supported military expansion in 1937-41 have been barred from public office and from all positions of private leadership. I met nobody among either Americans or Japanese who thought that the militarists, so completely liquidated, could come back. Inquiries as to secret organization among them, widely rumored, showed no evidence of anything but the collective resentments of former officers now denied public activity.

G-2 keeps its long fingers on everything, and its reports justify General MacArthur's confidence that militarism is gone with no chance of return. The Japanese are proud that their constitution renounces both war and a military establishment. They figure they have done what the rest of the world will have to follow.

The eighteen *Zaibatsu* families have been stripped of power by anti-trust actions and a capital levy. Bureaucrats persist, but the government they serve has been decentralized and their range of power limited. The trade unions and the Left are as free as in the United States. Subsidies



Japan's child . . .

to private organizations have been abolished. Nobody bows lower to police or officials than to anyone else. Landlords no longer dominate the villages and the land is being distributed to those who work it. A complete new deal in public officials has sprung from recent elections from village to Diet. Leadership of the coalition government has shifted from Conservative to Social Democrat with their base of support in the workers unions.

These amazing accomplishments of less than two years of Occupa-

tion are due both to directives conceived in the best American tradition, and to the inherent desires of long suppressed popular forces in Japan itself.

Some Japanese leaders think the reforms are too American; accepted too much in a hurry without critical examination; too frequently epitomized in the saying "If this is what the U. S. does, it must be good for Japan, too." While that may be so, the Occupation officials have made every effort to take to heart the historic experience of democracies; and hence to seek results as the fruit of joint consultation.

So far as I could learn—except the categories of persons to be purged as pro-militarists—nothing has been put over on the Japanese.

Nonetheless the Occupation

holds a tight rein of authority over the Japanese nation, never letting up on its two main objectives—to purge all militarists and to democratize Japanese life. To accomplish the first of these ends the occupation authorities have retired everyone associated with any of the agencies which up to the war supported the expansion of Japanese militarism. They go easy on those who were dragged into support after the war began. To accomplish the second object, democracy, the Occupation looks not only to the changes in Japanese institutions, but to a sweeping control of all forms of expression. Everything that can be censored is censored—but with full recognition that inevitably censorship itself is a capricious, undemocratic function.

The purpose of this censorship is to control both militarist and "subversive" propaganda, and also

"false and destructive" criticism of the Occupation, the U. S. and the Allies. Every radio program, every one of the larger newspapers and magazines, every book and pamphlet and printed circular, the movies, the stage—all these are pre-censored by two sections of the Occupation. One helps affirmatively with educational directives to indicate right roads to freedom; the other blue-pencils.

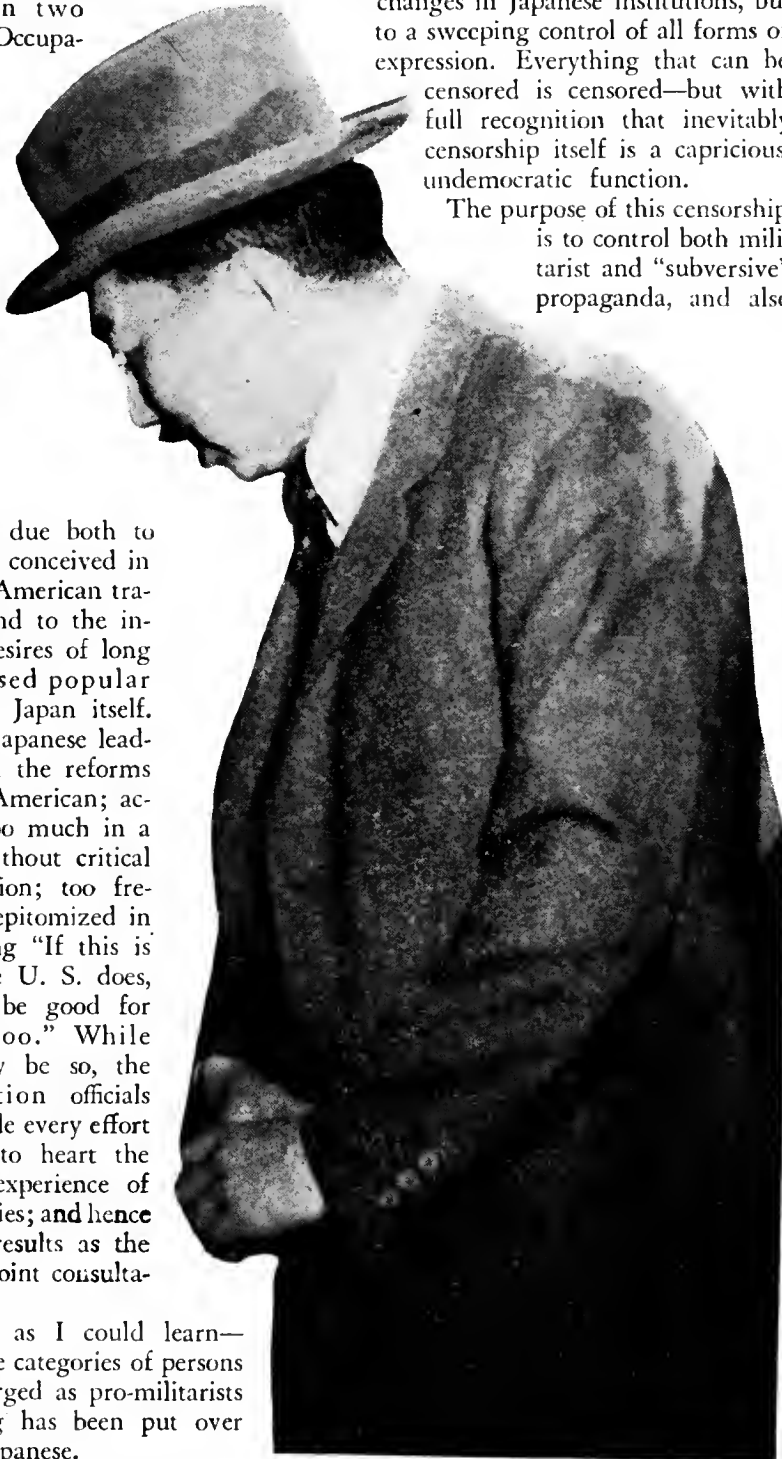
No printed matter whatever is permitted in the international mails. All cables and international radio are censored. Close watch is kept on domestic communication by opening letters—about a three percent sampling, together with a check-list of hundreds of addresses to or from which all mail is inspected. Telephone conversations are tapped; carbons of telegrams are inspected. No meetings may be held even in a private hall without advance notice to the police. All private organizations are licensed and must furnish lists of members, officers and financial accounts.

These controls, greater than in wartime in most countries, were pretty clearly justified in the initial stages of uncertainty in what was a great experiment. Some of them, however, represent just the army habit of keeping track of everything, and were not officially approved. Some never came to the attention of top officials until I dug them out.

With the foundations for democracy now well laid, the Japanese are restive under such oversight. Everywhere I heard expressions of resentment from editors, publishers, movie and stage directors, radio executives—all politely phrased as inquiries on when the censorship would likely be relaxed. Such Japanese feel today quite as democratic as the censors, and the continuing controls are regarded as a reflection on their good faith. I gathered that the Occupation is considering removing or relaxing many of these, particularly those over the mails and the press.

If these controls were removed tomorrow not much would be released that would transgress the Occupation's policies. No pent-up indignations would explode, for there are none. But editors could discuss what they cannot discuss now—such as capitalism in the U. S. A., American strikes, U. S.-Soviet relations, the Truman policy.

One of the unspoken reasons for



... looks at MacArthur's emperor.

New Liberties in Old Japan

the continued censorship is the urge to keep an eye—both eyes—on Communist propaganda. That is not now extensive. It has been checked not only by the success of democratic measures and the outspoken disapproval of communism by U. S. officials, but by the failure of Communist candidates to make a good showing. There remains a very active, crusading minority there, as elsewhere, but with their rights of propaganda and organization limited by closer supervision. Fear of this minority as a menace has been so rapidly declining in Occupation circles—if not among Japanese conservatives—that it no longer has priority in calculations as to censorship.

But the opposition to communism, based on the fear of Soviet expansion in the Far East, produces an unwritten censorship which plays into conservative hands. It tends to make suspect any militant labor action, aggressive movements of any sort left

of center, and the more progressive and faster moving elements in this organization or that. Strikes have become more difficult as a result. The left wing of the Social Democrats, which has no use for Communists, is crippled by the suspicion that it is too far off center to be taken into party councils. The result is the general conclusion stamped on the public mind is that the most comfortable political spot is the Right.

It may be observed, however, that the Right in Japan is far to the left of the Right with us. There is general agreement that social democracy is the evident road for Japanese economy, too shattered to be rebuilt solely by free private enterprise.

Fear of reaction, like fear of communism, is voiced, more often by the Japanese than by the Occupation authorities. It takes the form of attack on the so-called "new yen" class—men who in wartime grew rich off the black market or through army

contracts for construction. The old plutocrats were put through the wringer of a capital levy, more or less effective, and now antitrust proceedings are breaking up the great family monopolies. The newly rich, as yet untouched, have influential political connections. In alliance with the bureaucrats they might conceivably get going a new reaction if Occupation controls were removed. Even the head of the Japanese Communist Party expressed to me the view that the Occupation should stay until the Social Democrats (not the Communists!) had mastery of the economy beyond danger of a reactionary comeback. The militarists are out for good. The purges are effective, though there is much complaint of their sweeping blanket coverage with its unavoidable injustice to many individuals.

Other forms of Occupation control meet considerable criticism, but they stack up as about on a par with the

Children first of all get the candy and begin the friendships which show up the best side of U. S. troops as ambassadors of democracy



run of public issues in the United States. Their number is less because the Occupation has had a freer hand than the government has at home in correcting evils. Though army red-tape is slower than civilian, it does get around to its own errors of system and performance.

I heard extensive criticism, for example, of the trials of Japanese in our provost courts. No courts at all, they are little summary courts-martial for civilians. They are staffed by officers not lawyers, are without court procedures or stenographic records, and usually without counsel, yet with power to commit up to five years. Hundreds of Japanese charged with the offense of possessing U. S. goods, come before them. So do those charged with violating occupation directives or criticizing the occupation "destructively"; and any and all persons the Military Police pick up for any offense against a member of the Occupation forces. This whole system of provost courts cries out for reform or abolition; and some steps in that direction are being taken.

Throughout Japan, the Occupation's directives and obligations are handled by what are called Military Government teams. These are made up of twenty-five to forty or fifty officers and civilians. The control is strictly army, under Lt. General Robert L. Eichelberger, a mellow and folksy commander with a sense of mission. But the dominant civilian functions of the MG teams are not matched by civilian personnel. The proportion is about five officers to one civilian. Hence much criticism is aimed at these teams as too military, both by the less polite Japanese and by American civilians taking part in the Occupation.

Of all groups in Japan, Occupation personnel have the fewest guaranteed rights. The civil liberties of the armed forces are limited by the manual of courts-martial; those of civilians by whatever orders the army may issue on pain of dismissal, transfer, or a ticket home.

Fraternization is discouraged to control the black market, morality and order. All Japanese restaurants, theaters and dance halls are off limits; also homes after 11 o'clock at night, on the apparent theory that what is moral before 11 becomes immoral thereafter. Such restriction works special hardship on the hundreds of Nisei (Japanese Americans)

employed by the Occupation who are limited in visiting their relatives, and on American Friends and other relief workers who may be invited to Japanese homes.

All marriages to Japanese have been forbidden by the military since January on the specious plea that in so doing the authorities are saving our boys embarrassment of leaving inadmissible oriental wives behind them in returning to the States. Thus the army ignores its obvious collusion with sin, illegitimacy, and irresponsibility! Something is being done—and more should be—toward moral reform at this point too.

THE JAPANESE OF COURSE HAVE THEIR own civil liberty problems independent of the Occupation, and bound to survive it. These are, happily, fewer than ours in the U. S., yet they confront a whole new range of rights set forth in the new constitution, not yet implemented by court decisions and offering a field-day for the lawyers. The latter will find plenty of clients in such traditional fields as labor's rights and those of communists, also in police abuses, race relations affecting the minorities of Koreans and Formosans, the Japanese untouchables, the ETA and handlers of meat (unclean by Buddhist tradition). Many legal rights as we know them are brand new in Japan—bail, the right to counsel, warrants for searches, habeas corpus, and so forth.

I found the three bar associations in Tokyo ready to tackle such cases with the help of the few native agencies that have ever taken up the popular defense of lowly leftist clients. A civil rights agency is in the making for the first time in Japanese history—based on the unfamiliar notion that governments do not automatically hand out rights and that citizens must fight for those they get.

The spirit of resistance to arbitrary acts by constituted authority is so unrelated to Japanese tradition that it



Photos by Press Association

General MacArthur—a useful pose in anyone's campaign for *Shogun*

will be slow to permeate the nation. Yet on it rests the hope of expanding the democracy so feverishly begun.

Responsibility will be gradually transferred by the Occupation to the Japanese; a peace treaty will fix standards and limits. The U.S.A. will not even then be released of responsibility for a continuing guiding hand. For it is clear that we cannot abandon a task which the Japanese themselves universally feel we should see through to political and economic stability.

HISTORY MAY RECORD THAT AMERICA has performed the miracle of transforming an autocratic enemy in war into an ally of democracy, and this by means of a conquering army. To such an unparalleled achievement history may add that we induced, not forced, our enemy to renounce war and militarism first among the nations of the world.

Speculation aside, the most solid satisfaction I got out of the two months I spent in Japan with Americans and the Japanese was a vastly increased respect for our democratic principles as these were applied without political hindrance from ourselves and with a deep faith in their universal values. This demonstration should hearten those who may have lost faith because of our failures at home or elsewhere.

Some day, it may look as if, in a larger sense, the Japanese won the war—and from our victory.

Our Middle-Aged Economy

The curve of the creation of new jobs has dropped below the demand for work. New laws and customs might reverse this trend within the democratic scheme.

DAVID CUSHMAN COYLE

WHEN A MAN OR WOMAN IS FIRST called "middle-aged" it is a shock, and in the same way the idea that American business is now "mature" is scornfully rejected by the average American who has believed for about three hundred years that this is a young country.

Nevertheless, the evidence of the charts speaks for itself.

The studies here reported do not show any signs of age or weariness in the American productive system, or in our technology, or in the liberal side of our politics. But they do indicate that "business"—or management—is not quite keeping up the pace. Possibly, after all, some of the old boys whose ideas set our patterns and whose keenness is supposed to solve our problems would be more useful playing golf in Colorado or Florida the year round.

Anyway, this is a sort of medical report on their symptoms, based on a study by Alfred G. Norris of the University of California, under the title "Employment Trends in the United States since 1900." Mr. Norris has a new system for charting the curve of employment, to bring out more clearly the trends that indicate how we are doing.

The study indicates that the sources of jobs in the United States have passed their prime and are getting feeble. As an economic society, we appear to be in the late-middle-aged group. The trends do not show the youthful lift which most people like to think is in the blood of the American business system.

"Trends" are records of growth, and in economics they are usually shown as curves on a chart. One way to picture a trend is in terms of how big, such as how big is the annual employment in the United States. This draws the trend line, or average, up and up, accompanying the gain in population. Another way is to show percentages of growth each year, on a chart with equal vertical spaces stand-

—By an engineer who specializes in economics.

Mr. Coyle, as structural designer and consultant, has skyscrapers to his credit, but the list of his enduring monuments must also include his books, such as "Brass Tacks," "Uncommon Sense," and "The American Way."

He was a lecturer in England during a large part of the war for the British Ministry of Information, then was with OWI. He has made distinguished contributions to *Survey Graphic* in the past, the most recent a profile of Frederic A. Delano in July 1946.

The present article is based on the original work of Alfred G. Norris of the University of California.

♦

ing for an equal proportion instead of the same number. If, for example, the rate of growth is falling off, the curve on this chart begins to droop and it is easy to see where it is likely to level off to no growth at all. Almost all American industries have drooping trend lines on this kind of chart, meaning that their vital force is not what it used to be. Like it or not, their chests are beginning to slip downward.

Mr. Norris, on the other hand, has drawn the curves of employment in terms of percentage of the population. That is, he takes the total population each year as 100 percent, a constant horizontal line. His first concern is with the "labor force," all those who need paid jobs, and this element of the population shows up as a wavy line crossing the page, around 40 percent of the whole. (Chart A.)

Actual population in the United States, of course, has risen steadily, and from 1900 to 1910 the percentage of the labor force also rose—due to immigration, the growth of industry, the use of child labor on wage jobs instead of on the farm, and the growing employment of women. Then it fell with the reduction of immigration and child labor and the building of

high schools. Since 1925 it has been coming up slowly again, as the proportion of people of working age increases and more women go into paid jobs. About 41 percent of the population in 1910 and in 1940 needed to earn their living, and the percentage may rise slightly until 1990, unless more young people stay in school and more old people retire. This line is not a "trend" or growth curve. It merely registers our changing habits and customs about working for a living.

NOW, WITH OUR EYES FIXED ON THIS important percentage of people who want jobs and must work for a living, it becomes clear that our pursuit of happiness as a society will depend on how jobs are made available to these people.

So Mr. Norris proceeds to draw in the curves for the percentage of the population employed in various industries. Employment is shown in total and also is divided into the general classes of physical work (production and transport) and personal work (trade and services). These curves throw a new light on the progress of our economic system.

It is these employment curves that show the trends. Take first the curve for total civilian employment, which shows the waves of prosperity and depression, and two special war booms. Skipping the war booms, look at the peaks that represent peacetime business at its best, or "full employment" for practical purposes. The two highest ones are at 1910 and 1929, and the trend line from 1910 to 1929 slopes down. The peak in 1943 was a war boom.

In other words, if we make as good progress from now on as we did from 1910 to 1929, the next peacetime peak of prosperity will give us about 37 percent of the total population employed. That means four or five million out of work at the top of the boom. It's not good enough, even if we could find out how to smooth

the curve and keep always close to the top.

The other two curves on the chart give a hint as to why full employment is so hard to reach, except in wartime. One represents "production" and the other "trade and services." The production curve shows the percentage of our population in factories and mines and on farms and in transportation—that is, on the making and moving of material goods. This is the curve that shows most clearly the effect of technology. The line from the peak of 1910 to 1929 goes down a sharp slope. The curve goes above this line twice, but both these humps were war work. In 1910 we had 29 percent of our people working on production, and we have never come anywhere near that since. Even in 1943 in an all-out war effort, only 24 percent were in production.

But how about our stupendous out-

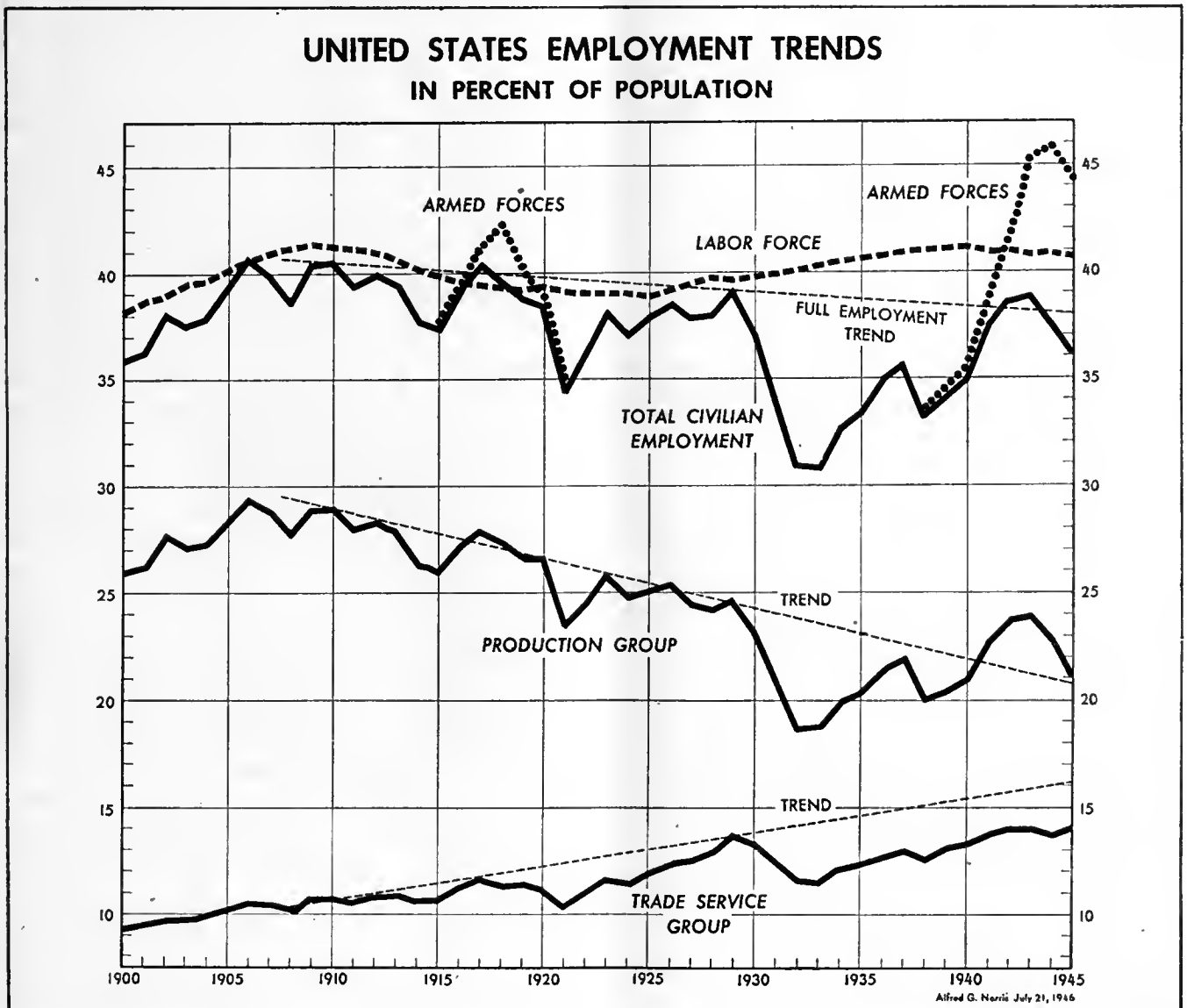
put that won the war? It was done with mirrors, practically. In spite of some graft, and some soldiering on the job here and there, it was efficiency that turned out the thousands of tanks and planes. Science did it, and all the millions of men and women on the job never added up to the proportion of peacetime workers of a generation ago. The production per man-hour in industry gives the reason. Average production per man-hour increased 61 percent from 1920 to 1930, another 37 percent from 1930 to 1940 during the depression, and 11 percent more from 1940 to 1943 with the building of new efficient war plants. Nothing mature or decrepit about our science and technology, so far.

The curve of employment in production (Chart B), as a percentage of the population, passed its peak—or reached "maturity"—in 1910, and for forty years has been sliding down into

old age. It will not go down to zero, or death, unless the atom puts the cap on the perfect work of science and invention. But it will flatten off with a small proportion of our people, perhaps 10 to 15 percent, earning a living by making and transporting things, as we draw closer to the Push-Button Age. There will still be a few engineers making push-buttons and oiling the machinery.

It is important to keep in mind that old age is not catching. The American people or the United States as a nation need not be old just because one form of economic curve is getting gray. What we see here is the curve of "the curse of Adam," that in the sweat of his brow man should eat his bread. We have been fighting that curse with science and invention. The strength of the curse of Adam is measured by what proportion of us have to work to supply goods for all of us and that

CHART A



is what went over the hump in 1910. It is the necessity of long hours at low pay that we have made grow old and feeble so that the ancient curse is no longer so masterful.

Science and invention have the old slave driver groggy. Science in some of its branches is not old, and technology showed its vigor in the tremendous production record of the war. The signs of old age are not in the factory but in the office, not in capacity to produce but in capacity to find jobs for workers. The victory of technology makes a problem of where to find jobs, but it is still a victory, and nothing to regret.

THIS BRINGS US TO THE OTHER CURVE, trade and services (Chart C), representing the percentage of our people keeping store, teaching, doctoring, banking, cooking, or working for the government—in other words, taking in each others' washing. The trend line for services is full of youth and vigor—almost. If it sloped upward a little faster it would offset the down-slope of jobs in production, and since total employment is the sum of these two, would lift the total employment to match with the labor force.

The trouble with this trend is that after employment in trade and services slipped in 1929, it never got back to the previous trend line, even in the war. A touch of "maturity" seems to have struck it, also, and it has never

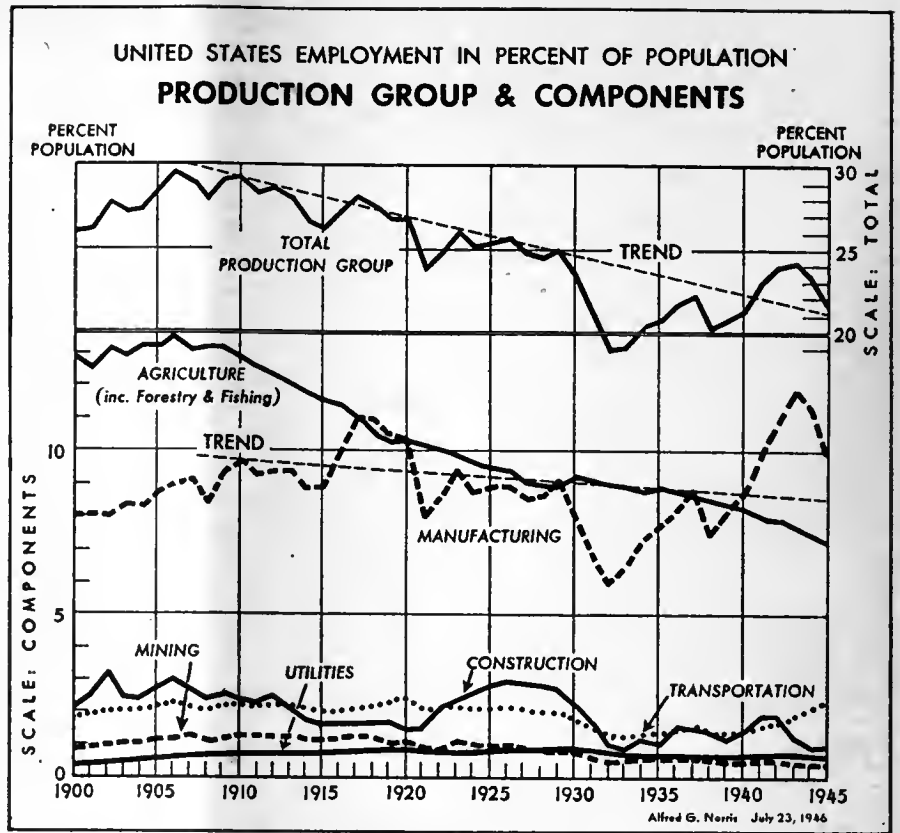


CHART B

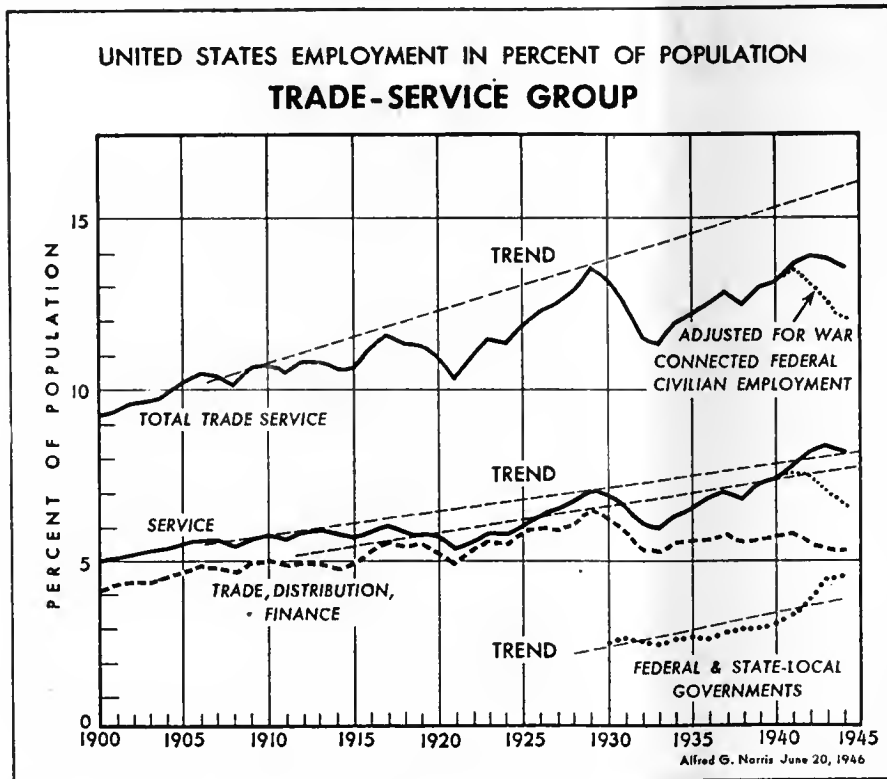
Charts drawn especially for *Survey Graphic* from data supplied by Professor Alfred G. Norris

been quite the same since. When the curves of trade and services are drawn separately, the drop is seen to be almost entirely in the curve of trade.

The details are not shown here on the chart for Trade and Service, but they can be told simply. Service as a whole holds its upward slope fairly well, though its growth is evidently not fast enough to make up for the down swing of employment in production. Domestic service took a sinking spell from 1910 to 1920 and has never come back. State and local government jobs, not separated on the chart, have gone up a little since 1930. Federal employment rose noticeably after 1930 but did not reach one percent until the war. Medical services and various other lines such as barbers, janitors, lawyers, etc. rose a little, but are too small to show (less than one half percent each). The data showing private enterprise services as a whole since 1930 are not extensive enough to indicate a trend.

Trade, distribution, and finance, on Chart C, look feeble since 1929. What happened, apparently, was a shot of technology in storekeeping, mainly in the form of supermarkets and large department stores. The statistics show that in retail stores about the same number of shirts or cans of beans was sold in 1939 as in 1929, to a customer, but the number of store workers to a customer dropped 12 percent.

CHART C



The fairly good vitality of Trade and Service employment, therefore, is the sum of a number of trends, in which the only vigorous ones are in the public services, medicine, and a few minor fields. Of these, the public services are the strongest, so far, but they are under attack.

BUT LETS GO BACK TO PRODUCTION, REGARDED by conservatives as the only "real" addition to national wealth and income. The principal details of the production - transportation jobs are shown on the lower part of Chart B, separated to avoid confusion. The percentage of population working on farms was the first to pass its peak, more than a hundred years ago, and it still is sliding steadily downward. Agriculture, forestry, and fishing took 12 percent of the population in 1910, and dropped to 7 percent at the end of the war in 1945. This down-slope is caused by science,

Manufacturing, on the other hand, is dropping more slowly. Its trend line hit a peacetime high at a little below 10 percent of population in 1910, and slid down to about 8½ percent (as of 1940) if we disregard the war boom. Technology turns the line downward, just as in agriculture, but the increase of production has been far greater, and that holds the line up. The line slopes gradually down because the increase of output has not quite made up for the technology.

Construction employment has perhaps a slight downward trend. Building depends on whether the wave of prosperity is pointing up or down, and so the building trades swing with the business cycle from boom to bust. Probably in the long run, construction work will be less, partly because of technology, such as prefabricated houses, and partly because we are through building railroads and skyscrapers, and are getting along with our new dams and bridges.

Transportation, mining, and public utility jobs are all on the downgrade, because of technology. Mining may take more men a ton as the mines are worked down, but some metals will run out soon, and coal mining faces the atom on one side and underground burning on the other, before many years.

What do all these curves add up to? Not one of them of any importance, except government employment, shows any strong tendency to offer

more jobs in proportion to the population. All the others are being pushed down by technology, including even domestic service. But the people of the United States are still full of vitality and have no intention of sinking into old age yet awhile. Something new has to be added, and the people must add it on their own steam.

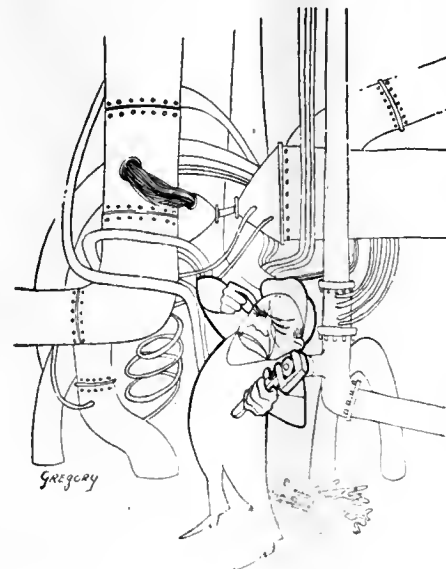
Outside of business, the people can act only by changing their customs and by changing their laws. If these changes plow new ground, new and youthful growths will start in business, on top of the old and sagging growth lines, just as the young gasoline business sprang off the dying trend line of the kerosene business fifty years ago.

Assuming that we escape the atom and national socialism, there are two revolutionary changes we might make. First would be a realization that big business has eaten up too much small business, and monopoly is covering too much of our "free enterprise." Bigness, to be exact, is the hardening of the arteries that makes business unable to handle technology without falling into fits of paralysis. The people can use laws to beat down monopolies and release young enterprises for a new birth of production, once they make up their minds to tackle the job.

Just what to do about monopoly is a long story, on which there is not complete agreement among the experts. My own prescription would be:

Put more money and more enthusiasm into prosecuting cases under the antitrust laws.

Plug the hole in the Clayton Act that allows one business to buy up the assets of another. This has been



proposed as an amendment to the act by Congressman **Estes Kefauver**.

Tax big corporations with an exemption for small ones.

Set absolute size limits as proposed by F. I. Raymond in his excellent book "The Limitist."

Either forbid or tax unmercifully the cross-ownership of corporation stocks.

Any three of these, together, I believe, would give business a shot of youthful vigor such as it has not had since 1870.

BYOND THESE SPECIFICS, THERE IS another revolutionary change that would help toward a rebirth of vitality in business. This would be for the people to realize that ordinary business can not so distribute its earnings as to give itself a full market. The government must make up the difference by heavy taxation and by redistribution to the poorer states and the lower incomes, whenever this process is necessary to support the market. Of course this idea is not new; it has been in use to a limited extent for many years, but the voters have not yet got it clear in their minds.

If we should have these two revolutionary changes, our employment trend line might no longer be the picture of old age and feeble youth that we now see in production and services. New, young elements would be added. Production employment, in spite of technology, would begin to level off at a higher level than it points to now. More customers, more competitors fighting for their trade, would step up production and slow down the loss of jobs.

Mr. Norris' curves of employment, like the growth curves of industry, show the marks of old age in our system of employment, either coming on or far advanced. But that is all they show. Mr. Norris has not attempted to give the answers, but only to give a clearer view of facts that are already known to economists. He makes the point that his curves do not picture any immediate natural laws but only the effects of our political and business practices. The curves show the old age of the present business system and the political notions that go with it. They leave open the way to new laws and customs, within the range of democratic free enterprise, in which free business may sprout, to make up for the sagging energies of the relics of an earlier day.

A Tenant's Guide To The New Rent Law

Maurice R. Whitebook

**Member, New York and Federal Bars
Former Chief Attorney, N. Y. C. Rental Area, OPA**

IF YOU ARE ONE OF THE 14,000,000 tenants of rented living space in the United States, Alaska, and Puerto Rico, you should know just what the new federal rent control law does for you. Rent control is not new to you. But you have probably been frightened into thinking that now you must give your landlord a 15 percent rent increase, or be evicted if you don't.

Well, if you have already had some assurance that the law isn't quite as tough as that, this report confirms that impression.

The 80th Congress passed the Housing and Rent Act of 1947 and the President approved it "reluctantly." Drastic changes in the old law were indeed made, starting July 1, 1947. But whether those changes affect you depends essentially upon whether your housing accommodations remain under control, or are ordered to be decontrolled under the new law, or are exempted from controls. So the first question you will want answered is: What housing accommodations are now decontrolled?

DECONTROLLED HOUSING

Decontrolled accommodations are free from federal rent controls. The Housing and Rent Act specifically decontrols the following housing accommodations:

1. Those in motor courts, and tourist homes serving transient guests exclusively.

2. Those in hotels which are provided customary hotel services, such as, maid service, furnishings and laundering of linen, telephone and secretarial or desk service, use and upkeep of furniture and fixtures and bellboy service.

The federal Housing Expediter, who

is authorized to admit the law and to issue regulations to carry it out, has issued a Controlled Housing Rent Regulation which handles the hotel problem courageously. He ruled that if 75 percent or more of the units in a "hotel" structure are self-contained dwelling units having kitchens and bathrooms and were not rented on a daily basis on June 30, 1947, then the establishment is not a hotel, and all the accommodations remain under rent control. In the cities there are many so-called apartment-hotels and, of course, the owners of such buildings don't like the Expediter's treatment of their businesses and will fight it in the courts. But until the courts rule otherwise, the Expediter's regulation must be observed.

3. Those which are newly constructed and completed on or after February 1, 1947.

4. Those which are additional housing accommodations created by conversion on or after February 1, 1947 (except veterans' housing built on priority or allocation permits). In the Regulation, the Expediter defines "conversion" to mean (1) a change in a structure from a non-housing to a housing use, or (2) a structural change in a residential unit or units involving substantial alterations or remodeling and resulting in the creation of additional housing accommodations.

5. Those which were not rented as housing accommodations at any time between February 1, 1945 and January 31, 1947, except to members of the immediate family of the occupant during that period.

If you take the trouble to get the facts, you can determine for yourself whether your house or apartment is decontrolled. In any event, the rent regulation requires the landlord to file a decontrol report by July 31st, 1947 (or within 30 days after first renting after that date). Accommodations remain subject to control until

he does file the decontrol report. So decontrol is not automatic, even if the unit is clearly included in one of the decontrolled categories. The landlord must take the initiative and file the decontrol report, so that the Rent Director may pass on his claims.

EXEMPT ACCOMMODATIONS

In both the old and new rent regulations, the Housing Expediter has recognized that certain classes of housing accommodations need not be rent controlled. Therefore, if your dwelling unit was not decontrolled by Congress, it is now necessary to determine whether the rent regulation applies to it. The regulation does not apply to or control the following types of housing accommodations:

1. Those situated on a farm and occupied by a tenant who devotes a substantial portion of his time to farming operations on the property.

2. Those occupied by domestic servants, caretakers, managers or other employees, who render services in connection with the premises, and to whom the space is provided as part or all of their compensation.

3. Rooms which are subject to the Regulation which applies to rooming houses and similar establishments. These are covered by a separate Regulation which is generally similar to the Regulation for residential units.

4. Entire structures or premises in which the lessee rents out, or offers for rent, more than 25 rooms to roomers. This generally refers to the lease of a rooming house. If 25 or fewer rooms are rented or offered for rent by the lessee, the lease is exempt only if all of the accommodations in the structure are also exempt or decontrolled.

5. Those accommodations rented to the United States through the National Housing Agency, but a sublease or sub-

renting of such accommodations is not exempt from control.

6. Those accommodations which are located in a resort community and were customarily rented or occupied on a seasonal basis prior to October 1, 1945. It must also be shown that such accommodations were not rented during any portion of the period from November 1, 1943 to February 29, 1944. In any event, the exemption is effective only from June 1, 1947 to September 30, 1947. In some areas in the country, this resort exemption is withheld, as in Los Angeles and Santa Cruz, because of extreme housing conditions. In addition, in some areas, a similar resort exemption is effective during the winter months, from October 1, 1947 to February 29, 1948. Your local Rent Director will advise you fully about this.

Having learned that your living quarters are not decontrolled by the act, and are not exempt from rent control by the Expediter's Regulation, you are interested in knowing what the maximum rent is for your residence. In other words, what is the most your landlord may now legally charge for your accommodations. This calls for an immediate explanation of the much-feared but much-misunderstood provision in the Housing and Rent Act for a 15 percent increase. Are you required to pay it?

Will you be evicted if you don't? Here are the facts. The law is clear, and there is no reason why any intelligent person should be confused about it.

THE 15% INCREASE

You, the tenant, and you alone, have the right to decide whether or not to agree to give your landlord any increase in rent. If you decide to increase your rent, the most the landlord may legally agree to accept is 15 percent over your rent as it stood on June 30, 1947. You may agree on less than that. And if you decide that you do not wish to increase your rent at all, over the existing maximum rent for your accommodations, the landlord is not permitted to evict you for making that decision. Of course, if he can find other grounds for eviction, but only as specifically enumerated in the Housing and Rent Act, he may bring eviction proceedings against you. But he may not evict you simply because you refuse to pay any increased rent, and the legal grounds for evictions are too few and too precise to be used against you as a weapon or as a threat because your lease or tenancy has expired, if you live in controlled

GUIDE TO NEW RENT LAW

housing accommodations. The eviction laws are fully discussed below. Now, we are primarily interested in the 15 percent increase provision.

Here is a step-by-step analysis of the 15 percent increase law:

1. The lease is not legal if you sign it involuntarily—that is, if you sign it as the result of threats of eviction, or if you are tricked into it, or your landlord displays "bad faith" in getting you to sign it.

2. The lease must be signed before December 31, 1947 to be recognized as valid.

3. It must take effect after July 1, 1947, and must expire on or after December 31, 1948, if it is to be considered reliable. This is to guarantee you continuous possession of your accommodations until the housing shortage "blows over"—we hope. Obviously, if the lease has a clause giving the landlord the privilege of cancelling it before December 31, 1948, it is no good.

4. The rent fixed in the lease must be carefully calculated so that it does not exceed the maximum rent of your unit by more than 15 percent. How does that work out? Simply use the maximum rent as it stood on June 30, 1947 (when the old law died) as your base, and add the agreed percentage to it. You may agree with your landlord or any percentage up to 15. Let us assume that your rent was increased by a Rent Director's order on June 1, 1947, to \$6 a month. On June 30, therefore, it was \$60. You agree voluntarily with your landlord that he will give you something you did not previously have, like an electric refrigerator—or, perhaps you are just convinced that he needs an increase—and you consent to a 10 percent increase.

The lease, then, will call for a rent of \$66.

5. The new rent, fixed by the lease becomes the maximum rent for the accommodations, and it is not changeable by the Rent Director, or by a different lease at a later time. A clause calling for higher rent or extra payments later on is improper.

6. The new lease will be recognized as valid only if it provides the same essential services, furniture, furnishing and equipment as the landlord was required to give you on June 30, 1947, under the requirements of the former laws. If the lease does not stipulate for less service, and soon, it will be acceptable, because the law calls for the continuous furnishings of the same essential services as before.

7. After December 31, 1947, your dwelling unit is considered completely



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decontrolled, if you have signed the lease. Thereafter, you are protected until the end of 1948, by the lease itself.

8. Your landlord cannot take advantage of the lease unless he files a true copy with your signature and his in the Area Rent Office, with appropriate forms, within 15 days after it is signed. The object of this procedure is to give the Rent Director and his legal staff an opportunity to examine the lease as to form, and possibly to challenge the landlord's good faith in obtaining your signature to it.

Naturally, you ask what will happen after December 31, 1948, when the lease expires. The new rent laws are absolutely silent on this subject, which is why so many people have

While the present law was under discussion in Congress last month, many newspapers and Washington "dope" sheets, as well as radio commentators, glibly accepted the baseless rumor that the new rent control bill would permit landlords to evict tenants without cause, under state laws, merely because they have no leases. As it turns out, nothing could be further from the truth. As a matter of fact, tenants now enjoy even greater protection against evictions than they had under the old laws. That may sound strange, but it is true. Here are the reasons.

The rent regulation which expired on June 30, last, contained six general classes of cases permitting a landlord to evict a tenant, if proper proof

The federal law is followed and applied in your local courts during the housing emergency because it is the supreme law of the land. Refusal to sign a lease is not a ground for eviction, and you can't be evicted merely because your tenancy has expired, whether monthly or otherwise. It should also be remembered that even if your landlord can prove one of the specified causes for eviction, he must still comply with the requirements of your state laws, as to notice and the technical phases of local procedure, before he can obtain an eviction order.

Some tenants may be concerned over Eviction Certificates which were issued by the Rent Director before June 30, 1947, under the former

EVICCTIONS

OLD LAW

1. Tenant refused to sign renewal lease.
2. Tenant refused to permit inspection of his premises.
3. Tenant violates obligation of tenancy or commits nuisance or illegal acts.
4. Tenant has subtenants and does not live on premises, without landlord's consent.
5. Landlord wants to occupy himself.
6. Tenant is a roomer in landlord's home.
7. Discretionary Certificate cases: to give possession to purchaser or member of landlord's family, to purchaser of cooperative apartment, to put employe in possession, to alter or demolish building, and so on.

NEW LAW

1. No such ground.
2. No such ground.
3. Same in new law.
4. No such ground.
5. Same in new law.
6. Same in new law.
7. Rent Director no longer has such discretion. An eviction suit may be brought on behalf of a purchaser of a residence or cooperative apartment directly in court and for the purpose of altering or demolishing building and replacing it, but other Certificate cases are now eliminated.

been frightened about the future. But the laws also say nothing about what will happen on March 1, 1948, when the present federal law expires by order of Congress, which is another cause of fright and fear. Well, in both situations, you have to use your judgment and take a chance on the future. If you happen to live in New York, or Connecticut, or another state which has a "standby" rent law which takes effect when the federal law ends, you have *some* assurance that you will continue to be protected by some kind of rent ceiling. If your state doesn't have such a law, and Congress doesn't extend the federal law next year, then you've got to get along with your landlord on whatever terms the rental market will dictate.

Which brings us to the subject of "evictions."

of the tenant's misconduct, or other good cause, was presented to your local court. In addition, the regulation authorized the Rent Director to act in "discretionary" cases—unlimited in number—and to give the landlord an Eviction Certificate which permitted him to bring eviction proceedings against the tenant in the local court without proving any grounds under the federal law—just as if there were no federal law

All that has been drastically changed by the new law. In the box on this page, you can see the differences and advantages to the tenant at a glance.

Unless your landlord can establish in good faith one of the eviction grounds appearing in the column called "New Law Evictions", your local court cannot order your eviction.

rent regulation, but which have not yet been acted upon in the courts. That problem will have to be settled in the courts, although we understand that the Housing Expediter takes the view that such Certificates are no longer valid and may not be relied upon to evict tenants, because Congress has directed that, after July, 1947, a tenant may be evicted, only for one of the five reasons stated in the Housing and Rent Act of 1947. It is suggested that, in cases where Eviction Certificates are outstanding and have not yet resulted in trials or eviction orders, the affected tenants should seek the advice of the Rent Director's legal staff.

As a tenant of controlled housing accommodations, you should also know something about your remedies if you are being overcharged. The

new law deals with the subject, and it is discussed briefly.

VIOLATIONS

Of course, you should immediately report any violation of the rent law or regulation to the Rent Director. He is authorized to bring injunction proceedings against violators and to put them under restraint through court orders. He is also authorized to reduce rents of controlled dwelling units in proper cases, as where the tenant is being deprived of space or services. But under the new law, the Rent Director may not institute criminal proceedings—the criminal sanctions of the old law have been eliminated by Congress—and he may not sue for treble damages for overcharges. That remedy has been left exclusively to the tenant who is overcharged. The new law, like the old, gives the tenant, but only the tenant, the right to sue for three times the overcharges (or for \$50, whichever is the greater amount) and to collect in addition, attorney's fees and court costs, if he is successful. The triple recovery is permitted only if the violating landlord fails to prove that he

did not act wilfully and was not negligent in taking precautions to avoid the overcharge. If the violator can prove such defenses, the tenant gets back only the amount of his overcharge and some courts will allow attorney's fees and costs even in such cases. The tenant has one year, and no more, from the time of the violation, in which to bring suit. "Rent" may mean something more than what you pay each month or week for the use of your dwelling. It includes bonuses, gratuities, or other consideration exacted of you for the right to use and occupy housing accommodations or for the transfer of a lease. So if you are required to give up something in addition to the stipulated rent, you should report it to the Rent Office, and get advice as to whether you are entitled to sue for damages.

ADJUSTMENTS

The new rent regulation is substantially similar to the old with respect to rent adjustments. Many grounds are enumerated upon which landlords may petition for increases in your rent by filing proper forms

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in the Rent Office, and the regulation sets forth many grounds upon which either the tenants, or the Rent Director acting independently, may seek to have maximum rents reduced. You probably have sufficient familiarity with them by now, to make a discussion of them unnecessary. They deal with such matters as substantial improvements in the premises, hardships, decreases in services, increase in the number of occupants and many others. They are clearly set out in the rent regulation, a copy of which is yours for the asking at the local Rent Office. You should have one handy. Your landlord has. If you want to know about paying security deposits, how much you can charge when you sublet (and become a landlord) or anything else about the rights of your landlord and yourself, you'll find it in the regulation, or get the advice of the experts—the government's representatives in the local rent office.

If you have the facts straight, and exercise some patience, you will help yourself and help the law to help you.

Happiness

MIKHAIL MATUSOVSKY

Translation by Babette Deutsch

When wisps of smoke from the guns were flying
Between the sky and the shaken land,
And men alone could endure the pounding—
That was too much for the stones to stand;

When swathed in flame and in smoky tatters,
The world careened like a ship in churned
Tempestuous seas; when to live was painful
And only dead men were unconcerned;

When to the creaking of ice in springtime
I looked about me, a human speck
Alone there, deep in the snow, preparing
To die—the German scouts on my neck;

When gunfire woke me and deathly tremors
Convulsed the forest at night, it brought
No dread, no envy of others' fortunes;
I kept revolving a single thought:

To live, not stealthily, not abjectly,
But swoop, an avalanche as it flies!
That happiness I demand is total,
And not on half will I compromise.

From an Anthology of Russian Verse, in preparation by Avrahm Yarmolinsky, who holds the copyright.



Photos by British Combine

Life goes on despite the shortages. After war's blackouts "make do" candles penetrate the gloom of a blackout caused by lack of coal.

“Make Do and Mend...”

Are the British trying to meet a challenge too severe for their vitality—undermined by the hardships of seven increasingly lean years?

FERDINAND KUHN, JR.

PERHAPS ARNOLD TOYNBEE SHOULD be blamed for the current American alarms that “England is dying.” It was Toynbee, you will remember, who described the birth and growth of civilizations in terms of challenge-and-response.

A civilization develops if the challenge of climate or circumstances is strong enough to call forth the finest in human endeavor. Sometimes it fails to come to birth or to maturity if the challenge is not severe enough.

And sometimes, according to the Toynbee thesis, civilizations die or wither if the challenge is too terrible. So it was with the Icelanders of a

—Formerly chief London correspondent for *The New York Times*, Ferdinand Kuhn served during the war as deputy director, and later head of the British division, of the Office of War Information.

On his return to this country, he was for a time the head of the international information service of the Department of State later joining the staff of *The Washington Post*.

◆
thousand years ago; they had enough hardihood to migrate to Greenland, but their Icelandic civilizations froze on the bleak and foggy coasts where they tried to build their new home.

So it was, too, with early settlers

in the Maritime Provinces of Canada, who found the challenge of the New World too severe compared with the more fortunate ones who settled further south.

The challenge facing the British people is terrible enough, in all conscience, without calling for funeral wreaths and premature obsequies. Has any modern, highly developed nation faced a harder test of its character? Has any people tasted more bitter fruit as its reward?

For seven long years, the British people have been rationed and regimented. Even the Germans, with all the misery that has befallen them,

have not endured so much or for so long. The Germans lorded it over virtually all of Europe for most of the last seven years—until the war was nearly over. The British on the other hand, have struggled on for seven years without many of the comforts and necessities they knew in former days. They have responded with a self-discipline which historians may yet regard as their most splendid achievement, their "finest hour."

They found the bombs and buzz-bombs and rockets terrible to withstand. Yet somehow, as the British people look back today upon the years of war, many of them remember the exaltation more than the terror. There was, and is, no exaltation whatever in what their leaders describe, with a strangely old-maidish word, as "austerity."

THERE IS NO EXCITEMENT IN LINING up in a queue. There is no sense of achievement in knowing that you must "make do and mend." There is no lift of the spirit in drab and monotonous food. There is nothing but sheer misery in a chilly and shabby house, where coal is scarce, fresh paint unobtainable, towels tattered, dishes chipped and other household furnishings gone ragged without hope of renewal.

This is the sort of trial that has faced the British people for years on end—so many years that some of them can hardly remember the comparatively golden pre-war days. This is the kind of thing that leads to the slow erosion of courage. This is what produces a tiredness so great that it sometimes gives the impression of decay and death.

To say that England is dying is an exaggeration that will produce a wry smile from a Londoner today. Perhaps it is nearer the truth to say that England's immense exertions are producing diminishing returns. It might be a good idea for British cabinet ministers to dip into Toynbee, and to remind themselves of the danger of giving their people a challenge that is too severe.

I have seen England in many moods; in the depression of the early thirties; in the first blackouts of the war, so full of foreboding; in the pride of imminent victory, and in the grateful aftermath. But I have never seen England with its vitality and its spirit as low as in the fuel crisis that held it in an icy grip last winter.

The blacked-out streets were as gloomy as in wartime. The crowds shuffled along in darkness without gayety or apparent purpose. They spent their days in cold and candle-lit offices, their nights in houses that were colder still.

It was a new experience to have a perfect stranger come up to me on a bus and ask how he could get out of the country and emigrate to America. (It was a new experience for American embassy officials last winter to confront long lines of applicants seeking visas, so that at one time there were 100,000 applications at Grosvenor Square.) It was a new experience in England to find a hotel porter telling me, very confidentially, how to evade the regulations, and to hear how this family or that had managed to outwit the authorities. One Leicester Square comedy last year was quite open about it, for it was called "Under the Counter." A good deal of British staunchness and British character had worn thin in those weeks of the fuel crisis.

I SAW ENGLAND ONCE MORE EARLY this spring. The sun was shining again, and the daffodils were out. There was a cheerful sound of hammers around the bomb-blasted buildings, a smell of fresh paint in the air, and the crowds walked past with a springy step again. They had their heads high and their chins up in spite of the fact that "austerity" still held the country in its grip—and still does.

Only the other day the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that imports of tobacco, gasoline, and newspaper would have to be cut still further. On the same day the Ministry of Food announced a further cut in the meat ration—this more than two years after V-E Day, and almost eight years after the British people had first pledged everything they had to win the war!

Can these people tighten their belts any further? Can they afford to "do without" any longer?

The British Government, at least, seems to have no doubts that they can.

Not all Government spokesmen are as smug as the BBC commentator who said that since the British rationing system was fair to everybody "the queue is a very healthy sign of Britain's life." Most Government spokesmen, notably John Strachey, the Minister of Food, make it quite

clear that they hate every new restriction they impose.

But they are quite sure that the British can endure new restrictions, for the simple reason that they find no alternative. At a time of acute dollar shortage they see no choice but to reduce the imports that eat up dollars. In this spirit the Government is piling new restrictions on the old, confident that the British people will respond as they always have.

The Government argues, on a statistical basis, that after seven years of rationing the British people are healthier than ever before. Children are said to be heavier and taller than they were before the war; fewer babies are dying, and maternal mortality is officially reported to be a little more than half the pre-war figure.

A retired schoolteacher who has worked in London's East End for more than thirty years wrote to *The Times* about "the really vast improvement that has taken place in the physique of the boys in the last ten years," and described the provision of regular, nutritious and cheap school lunches as "one of the finest things this country has done."

Looked at statistically, the British food ration compares well with anything else that can be found in Europe today outside Switzerland. The regular ration averages about 1,600 calories a day, not counting unrationed items like fish, fruit and vegetables and canteen or restaurant meals. Altogether Mr Strachey estimates that the average British diet amounts to 2,880 or 2,890 calories a day.

Looked at gastronomically, however, the British ration is so poor and drab that most American housewives probably cannot comprehend it:

• 27 cents' worth of meat per person per week (in April), 3 ounces of butter a week, 3 ounces of margarine, 1 ounce of cooking fat, 2 ounces of bacon, 8 ounces of sugar, 2½ ounces of tea, 4 ounces of candy, 9 ounces of bread and flour, 2½ pints of liquid milk and—one fresh egg if it is available. In addition, each person can get about one small can of meat a month or, alternatively, a pound of dried prunes, a packet of dried egg powder and a can of condensed milk on "points."

The official spokesmen call this a good diet, although they concede that it is dreary and monotonous. But

England Makes Do

even the official spokesmen, who are paid to put the best face on things, cannot deny that the British diet is deficient in precisely those foods that bring vitality and a sense of well-being: the energy foods like fats and the "morale-building" foods that use sugar.

The total nationwide consumption of fats is 26 percent less than it was before the war, sugar 26 percent less, and eggs 14 percent. The consumption of butter is less than half what it was in 1939, when, according to Mr. Strachey, "the quantity and quality of food which could be bought by large sections of our people were far too low."

Statistics, moreover, do not allow for the fact that "austerity" does not hit everyone alike. The low income groups, thank goodness, are getting better and more healthful food than they had before the war, but the great English "middle class" has

suffered a sharp leveling. And within each group there are differences of individual chemistry which make the present rations adequate for some but leave others feeling hungry and tired.

When food packages arrive from America it is the staples rather than the luxury tidbits which bring the most joy to an English family. I sent some packages of rice to English friends recently. They wrote back to say that this was the first rice they had seen in four years. Rice is one of the foods with which a resourceful housewife can do many things, and its lack is one of the many that make the present British ration so dreary.

I also sent cans of honey, which has many uses as a sugar substitute and morale builder, and bars of dark chocolate, and tins of red meat which I was lucky enough to find here. I even sent macaroni and spaghetti, not because they are unobtainable in England, but because the "gray" flour permitted under present-day English milling regulations makes them much

less digestible than our lighter American variety.

Some English friends tell me their children are flourishing on their present rations, others are not so sure. I visited one English family at half past six one evening, in time for an early dinner. The house was so quiet that I asked whether the children were away.

"No, they're here," was the answer, "but they're so tired at the end of the day that they go to bed at six thirty. We never have to urge them."

I know another English family whose boy of nine has to walk down a steep hill on his way to school each morning and climb back in the afternoon. One day last winter, on his way home from school, he stopped half way up the hill, and cried. He said he just couldn't go any further.

A hundred individual case histories will not prove that the country is suffering from malnutrition, yet a mile of statistics will not prove that every child or every family in England is getting enough. The facts are that the present diet is skimpy; that while many are eating better than they did, many others are feeling a lack of vitality attributable largely to years without the right food.

Our American tennis champion, Jack Kramer, was quoted as having said that he brought thirty-five American steaks with him to put him in condition for winning the Wimbledon championship. The fact that he brought them is, I submit, a shame to him as a sportsman, for he knew that his English competitors could not get them. But it may explain why English athletes, who cannot get steaks today, do not win championships.

Added to food restrictions are the shortages of clothing and of consumer goods generally. Every single article of clothing is strictly rationed on a "points" system except for certain kinds of medical, technical or emergency wear. It is literally impossible for an English husband to surprise his wife with a new dress or scarf or a pair of stockings. Everything for men, women and children to wear is rationed, and has been since early in the war.

As for consumer goods, most of what England makes today is set aside for export, to provide precious dollars. If cups and saucers break, there is nothing to replace them except the thick white "utility" ware—

Skilled British shipwrights reconvert *Mauretania* from trooper to luxury liner.





Challenged!

Can these people tighten their belts any further? This 15-year-old boy is keeping up the supply of red-hot rivets in shipyard on the Clyde. Half

his life and practically all his conscious memory have been passed under "austerity" conditions. His outlook is simple and clear—more of the same.

England Makes Do

if you can get it. If sheets and towels are ragged, they can be mended if they are not too far gone, but they cannot be replaced except on "points." Kitchen utensils and ordinary household goods are in such short supply that it is always a stroke of luck to find them for sale.

In this situation, can the British really tighten their belts any further? They will, of course, if their Government tells them they must.

Yet there are limits to the capacity of any people, however responsive and self-disciplined, to do without. The "Housewives' League," which has been protesting queues and ration cuts, may be nothing more than a "Tory front" organization, as the Labor spokesmen say; but it may also represent something new and disturbing in British life. Without being on the spot it is hard for an American to assess its meaning.

But what is not hard to assess is the persistent and alarming decline in coal production, at a time when the very life of England and of Europe depends upon a revival of coal mining. Coal production in the United Kingdom now is lower than in any year since 1900 except for the strike ridden years 1921 and 1926.

The industry has been nationalized in the hope of giving it drive and social conscience which it lacked under its old owners. The miners have been given the five-day week in the hope that they would work harder and produce more in five days than they used to do in six. Extraordinary efforts have been made to recruit new labor for the mines, and young recruits are coming forward at an increasing rate, but it takes at least six months to train a new coal miner.

Meantime production stubbornly fails to rise. Absenteeism is as troublesome under the five-day week as it was before. It is hard to escape the conclusion, reported by competent observers on the spot, that the absenteeism springs from the lack of incentives to work.

If a miner cannot buy enough food and consumer goods for his family, if he cannot use some of his money for the little "extras" that bring satis-

faction to every family, then a part of each week's pay check is worthless to him. It is the same problem which British and American administrators face in the coal mines of the Ruhr, where miners prefer to forage in the fields for two or three days of every week because they lack the incentives to work.

American officials who worry about England's economic position are fully aware that England must "export or die." But what disturbs them is the apparent lack of an affirmative counterpart to the endless cutting down, doing without, "making do." If you took a bus trip across any British city today you would see posters exhorting the people to "work or want," but you would soon discover that the British are immune to further ex-



After two wars, pianos for firewood.

hortation. They have had enough of it since 1939, and they are sick of it.

A scattering of extra consumer goods this summer might result in a spurt in production later in the year. This, at least, is the word brought back from England by recent American visitors, and it tallies with my own admittedly superficial observations last winter and spring.

There are also many signs, now belatedly endorsed by leading British newspapers, that labor is being wasted on non-essentials. One has only to see the brawny doormen, headwaiters, sub-headwaiters and all the rest of the

hierarchy in hotels and restaurants in England to feel that these men, at least, are not doing the productive jobs the nation needs done. A redirection of labor may be a brutal necessity, but it may have to be done as it was in wartime.

Official Washington has come to recognize that the "dollar crisis" across the Atlantic is in reality a production crisis. Europe—including Great Britain—is simply not producing as much as it should, partly because it has not used its own resources adequately.

It is no secret that when Undersecretary of State William L. Clayton came back from England last May he predicted "trouble" in England next winter if the British standard of living had to be cut much further.

He did not mean revolutionary trouble, or anything like that, for violent revolution is inconsistent with British political and social self-control. But he came away with a sense of an entire people stretched almost to the breaking-point, with a feeling that the British had come to the end of their rope as far as deprivations were concerned.

One of the motivations of the so-called Marshall Plan was the belief that the process of cutting down will produce diminishing returns from now on. It has reached such a point, as Washington sees it, that new deprivations will simply send the production curve downward.

CAN WE AMERICANS DO ANYTHING TO help? As individuals and as a nation there are a few things we can do, some directly and some indirectly.

As individuals we should of course go on sending food packages to our friends in England. We can also buy British goods as they become available in our shops. It will not be hurting American industry. On the contrary, every dollar the British earn from the sales of their products here will help them to buy more American goods as their economy revives.

As a government we should, I think, be willing to modify the non-discrimination clause in the Anglo-American loan agreement, at least for a temporary period. As matters stand now, the British cannot cut off their purchases of any product from the

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Britain's Best in Home Planning

"New Towns" authorized by 1946 law have begun rising in brick and mortar amidst trees, giving hope already to a war-weary people.

G. HOLMES PERKINS

BRITAIN WILL BUILD TWENTY NEW TOWNS. Ten years from now a million people will live in these green towns, having left behind forever the tawdry decay of slums and the soulless monotony of gridiron streets. A new life is offered—jobs nearby but without industrial blight, parks and playgrounds round the corner, schools safe from traffic hazards, a variety of shops within reach of the mother with the baby carriage, and good homes with gardens.

You may suggest that such dreams, which did so much to bolster Britain's morale in wartime, are foolhardy in her present economic plight. But bombed-out families need new homes even as industries for export trade must be expanded. These factories and homes will cost no more in manpower or materials built in New Town than if added to the congested sprawl of a city whose services are already stretched to the breaking point.

Perhaps the greatest asset is the new environment which can bring hope and health to a war-weary people. As symbols of a better future the New Towns have the power to stir men's souls.

Reducing City Congestion

These wartime dreams are already on the road to reality. Legislation has been passed, development corporations set up, the plans of several towns are far advanced and work is beginning on the first.

The impulse to build new towns has captivated architects and city planners, kings and reformers, from the beginning of recorded history. At times this impulse has coincided with strategic necessity, some new migration, or the changed needs of an industrial age; at these moments new utopias, capitals of empire, and outposts of settlement spring up which we know as Alexandria, the French

—A national large-scale effort for decent homes and the de-congestion of cities—"the finest, most democratic, and comprehensive planning effort of our generation"—is here described authoritatively by an American who participated in the work.

G. Holmes Perkins, who is Charles Dyer Norton Professor of Regional Planning at Harvard University, has been practicing architect, town planner, and teacher for two decades. From 1942 to 1945 he was with the National Housing Agency, becoming acting director of its Urban Development Division. He spent the summer of 1946 as consultant to the British Ministry of Town and Country Planning.

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bastides, the New England town, and Victoria, Letchworth, or Greenbelt.

Today in Britain the decision has been made to decentralize industry and to reduce overcrowding in the cities by positive action. The decision is one of stern necessity. As a result the fifty-year-old principles of Ebenezer Howard's garden cities have become the basis of future city growth. Yet to reverse the trend of 150 years towards concentration of people and industry is no small task, nor was the resolution to do so taken suddenly or lightly. Ten years of expert study and public discussion precede the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947 which substantially completes the revision of the former system of planning and land tenure.

Planning is a slow process, without fanfare or acclaim. We should not expect to see the faces of cities changed overnight. Restriction of the growth of London or of Manchester by a greenbelt, the slow reduction of population densities, the emergence of communities and neighborhoods within the cities do not make daily headlines. The dramatic rebuilding of business and shopping centers must for long defer to housing as a first

necessity. The only show pieces in the program are the New Towns.

Seen in their proper setting, they are but one facet of the new planning system. They may nonetheless prove to be, particularly in this period of housing shortage, the keystone of the planning structure. New Towns must bear a large share of the burden of providing homes for bombed-out families and new families who have never had a home of their own.

The change in Britain's public policy has been a profound one. The new policy which declares for government control of the use of all land through a positive program of planning is the product, at least in major part, of the former Coalition Government. As such, it represents more completely the changed attitude of the people than would any strictly party measure; Conservative support of the New Towns Bill is striking evidence of this.

The decade between the appointment of the Barlow Commission and this year's planning act saw the progressive clarification of the issues through a succession of reports—Barlow, Scott, Uthwatt, Reith—and the passage of one major planning act each year since 1943.

The present position of the government on land tenure is clearly stated in the 1947 act. The owner will continue in possession of his land but the development rights are acquired at one stroke throughout Britain by the government. The taking of these rights of development does not entitle the owner by right to compensation; but it is recognized that many hardship cases will arise for which provision is to be made through a £300,000,000 fund to be divided among those to whom permission to develop is refused. But when development is permitted that increases the land value, a betterment charge will be made which, it is hoped, will in

Britain's Best in Home Planning

fifteen years balance the compensation costs.

Lewis Silkin, the Minister of Town and Country Planning, has been at some pains to point out that this is not in effect nationalization of the land and that the Central Land Board which will pay the compensation and collect the betterment charges is a non-political authority. Yet these amendments to the system of land tenure and extensions of public control of land use, I think it is fair to say, are the most radical changes in the land system since the Norman Conquest.

Amendments to the 1932 Planning Act, beginning in 1943, have sought by stages and sometimes by frankly temporary expedients to prepare the way for the comprehensive permanent legislation embodied in the 1947 act.

The Interim Development Act (1943), while bringing all land under planning control as against the 5 per cent which was then controlled by the 1932 Act, gave local authorities the decisive power to remove, without compensation, structures erected without permission which go counter to the final planning scheme. Intended merely to control building by local license until postwar plans were completed, it was nevertheless a major step in the extension of planning powers. A second war measure (1944) gave cities the power to buy up blitzed and blighted areas, to redevelop them along approved lines by lease or by direct investment, and to receive Exchequer grants for such purposes.

Important as were these powers and financial aids, historically the more significant move was the enunciation of the principle that land acquired under the act should remain forever in public ownership. In 1945 the Distribution of Industries Act gave the Board of Trade powers and funds to promote supplementary industries in the depressed areas and to discourage further industrialization around the great centers of London, Birmingham, and Manchester. The following year, 1946, the New Towns Act received enthusiastic by-partisan support in its rapid adoption.

A decade of progressive and enlightened planning studies and legislation is climaxed by this year's act, which sets out to consolidate per-

manently the gains of previous acts and to remedy further defects in the previous planning systems.

Under the 1932 system, local planning was permitted but not obligatory. Even when plans were made they were confined to the area of the local authority or at best to the somewhat larger areas of Joint Planning Committees. We are all too familiar with such problems in America. For instance, what hope is there, short of state compulsion, for Metropolitan Boston's eighty-three jealous cities and towns to act or plan together?

In Britain, as in this country, the best of local plans seldom bore a proper relation to the needs of a region. No one had the responsibility for preparing such outline plans nor for coordinating the work of the 1500 rival local planning authorities each of whom counted heavily on outdoing its neighbors in attracting industry or trade. A second major defect lay in the cumbersome methods of preparing plans and in their inflexibility when approved. This was further accentuated by failure to make such plans integral parts of local or national budgets. The system was in essence negative and restrictive.

Faults of Old Planning

Yet the very imposition of restrictions required many kinds of compensation until all too often "planning was held up to ransom by private owners."

Positive action was largely confined to public works and housing; even in these limited areas it was comprised by land costs. As a result the system has been described as "more negative and hopeful than positive and responsible," which led to planning "governed almost entirely by short term financial considerations."

The 1947 act overcomes these defects. It provides a new planning system and acquires for the public the development rights in all land. Within three years the local planning authorities (now reduced to one-tenth their former number) must submit to the control authority development plans for which they are willing to assume responsibility, and it is expected that fewer authorities and larger regions will permit more consistent and better planning with a

great saving in technical personnel. But without guidance from the Ministry even this reduced number of plans could hardly be produced within the three-year deadline.

This assistance will take two principal forms: first through personal and continuing contacts between the regional officers of the Ministry and the local planners, and second in the form of handbooks and manuals prepared by the Technical Division, headed by Professor William Holford.

They deal with the planning of residential areas (prepared in collaboration with the Ministry of Health, which has charge of the housing program); with the redevelopment of central areas; with real estate management, anticipating the stupendous problems that local governments will face when they become landlords on such an unprecedented scale; and with the density and daylighting of business buildings.

The blitzed towns, beginning with Coventry and Plymouth, followed Lord Reith's sound advice to plan boldly. But few understood the problem. The early and best publicized plans were often held beyond their financial capacity or needs. Some towns with small prospect of growth submitted plans more foolhardy than bold, with shopping centers capable of serving many times the number of patrons that would ever come.

One town, during the Baedeker raids, suffered two areas of almost complete obliteration on both sides of its cathedral, which was hardly touched although the obvious target of attack. The plan of rebuilding encompassed, as it should, far more than the damaged sites. In the road plan of this modest market town the outstanding feature was the widening of the bridge. Yet the cloverleaf approaches which, to their credit, would have cleared acres of run-down houses and factories were more reminiscent of New York City than of rural England.

The difficulties of those early war and postwar days stemmed from inexperience. The technical handbooks, which owe much to these early errors and experiments, undoubtedly will raise the standards of local plans, yet I do not believe that any essential local freedom or initiative will be lost. Great care has been taken with the text and illustrations to avoid formulae and academic dicta. In fact,

the variety of alternative designs might at first lead to the false conclusion that they lack conviction. Yet it is this very offering of alternatives which is intended to encourage originality and freedom in the local planner. This same spirit is evident in the work of the regional offices and the technical review committees.

Plans will be initiated locally, though approval still must be obtained from the Ministry to insure proper coordination within a regional scheme and to give some assurance that a long term financial balance can be struck. As contacts with the local planners, the ten regional offices of the Ministry will play an increasingly important role. But they perform a second and perhaps even more critical function in providing chairmen of the interdepartmental Regional Planning Committees on which are represented, among others, the Ministries of Health, Education, Transport, Labour, and the Board of Trade.

The ultimate responsibility of these Committees will be the preparation the programs of the many departments can be coordinated. Despite what seemed to me extraordinarily good cooperation among technicians, the need for such over-all outline plans was constantly being borne out in the daily review of applications for assistance under the 1944 act. Financial aids for planning, for roads, for housing, and for education are handled by different departments under legislation which has been the product of long evolution.

Three Years for Blueprints

Britain has given herself a herculean task to make plans in three years covering the whole national project with but a handful of enthusiastic professionals. Yet I have no doubt of her success, for after a decade of deliberation and experiment, the course is charted, the will is there, and the tools are available.

Half of the New Towns will lie within the London orbit but outside its greenbelt. The wave of war-evacuated citizens returning to the capital has already put a special pressure on greater London to care for the overspill of industry and people that must follow the decisions to lessen overcrowding and to prohibit further concentration of industry. In response to this need, plans of four towns—Stevenage, Harlow, Crawley



British Combine

DEMOLITION BY LUFTWAFFE — A LONG WAIT FOR THE NEW TOWNS

and Hemel Hempstead—are well along, and in the case of Stevenage, which was the pacesetter, work is ready to begin now that the legal battles are over.

Each town will be built and planned by a separate government corporation not unlike our own TVA in structure and function. Circumstances will have marked effect on their size and character, but around London they will approach fifty to sixty thousand each because of the dearth of suitable sites on which to build for the half million who must be housed. In the case of Stevenage, the construction schedule calls for completion in ten years at a total cost of about £30,000,000 and with a maximum labor force of five to six thousand in the fifth to seventh years.

These corporations will become one of the instruments to make the new planning system truly positive and responsible rather than negative and restrictive. The towns will be built

largely with government funds. It is this decisive power to get on with the job which assures success, although in practice there will be much private building of factories, shops, and houses on land leased from the corporations. The retention of the land in public ownership not only assures building in the community's interest but, what is equally important, offers to future generations an effective means of rebuilding at the end of the lease without bailing out the owners.

Stevenage the Pathfinder

The design of Stevenage will follow a pattern already well known to planners throughout the world. The prototype is clearly Howard's Welwyn Garden City. At Stevenage there will be work for the unskilled, the mechanic, the shopkeeper, and the business and professional man. In fact, the experience of the past has

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A Voice of the New India

A young editor and publisher from Bombay is interviewed by an associate editor of *Survey Graphic*

BEULAH AMIDON

EAST AND WEST MET AND LIKED ONE another the day Frene Talyarkhan of Bombay sat down with the editors of *Survey Graphic* and talked shop. Miss Talyarkhan is the managing editor of *Trend*, a national illustrated monthly magazine which she describes as "a cross between *Survey Graphic* and *Life*." The editor is also founder, promoter, and chief staff writer of this pioneer publishing venture.

East or West, it is not often one finds a young and very lovely woman who has the imagination and courage to launch such a project, the business capacity to wrestle successfully with major problems of paper and printing, the ability to train both writers and photographers, and weld them into a creative journalistic team, and to develop the maximum circulation possible for her venture.

Trend has a special significance as a voice of ancient aspirations, of new hopes and challenging opportunities in the India of today. Perhaps no postwar development is so dramatic as the tides of change now sweeping India. It is to help hold those tides to channels of deepening justice and understanding that this young Indian dreamed her journal, and brought it into being. And she herself is a sort of symbol—not only of the new India, but of the new women of the Far East.

Frene Talyarkhan would far rather discuss *Trend* than its editor, and yet her own background and personality explain, in part, her journalistic achievement.

"I always think of myself as an Indian," she says, "though of course I am also a Parsi—" a descendant of Persians who emigrated to India when their country was overrun by the Arabs in the eighth century. Most of the 70,000 Parsis of today live in Bombay, "the New York City of India." With a population of

3,500,000 it is a busy modern industrial city. "But our own life is almost suburban," she says. "For in an Indian city, as in your cities, too, there are many little communities within the big community."

The Parsi community has a history and tradition of centuries both of idealism and of great wealth. As the "Encyclopaedia Britannica" observes, "Their religion teaches them benevolence as the first principle, and they practice it with liberality. The sagacity, activity, and commercial enterprise of the Parsis are proverbial."

A generation ago, no girl from a respectable Indian family would have dreamed of a professional or a business career. Frene Talyarkhan comes from a family unusual in its range of interests and its broad outlook. Her mother "always has done things," even when her social service activities shocked some of her friends and relatives. Her father, who died in 1934, was a prominent lawyer. One brother is a leading radio commentator, the other is with Tata Sons, Ltd., India's greatest industrial development, a production "empire" that includes iron and steel, coal, textiles, hydro-electric power, construction, cement, oil, and many other ventures. One brother married a European, one a Hindu, and the sister's husband, a Mohammedan, is a nobleman from the princely state of Hyderabad. "I am fortunate in my family," she says. "We are 'internationalists,' you see."

She herself might sit for the portrait of "A Cosmopolitan." She has the clear complexion, the beautiful dark eyes and hair, the slender grace of her Parsi ancestry. Her voice is low and musical. Her clothes and jewels and the way she wears them, the spirit and charm of her face, bearing, and conversation mark her as one of those who is welcomed and at home wherever cultured people gather. She does not seem "foreign"

or "Eastern" or "exotic" or "different." She seems exactly what she is—a modern woman, completely at home in her world.

Few American career women are as widely traveled as is this Indian editor, for her background includes three childhood years in England at school; an experiment with a successful gift shop in Bombay for which she purchased stock in Europe, London, and New York City; ten months in Hollywood as technical adviser to Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer on an Indian film. "Characteristically the film never was made, and that was a bit disappointing, but I loved the West Coast."

IN 1941, BACK AGAIN IN BOMBAY, SHE was still groping for work she could regard as "my own job." Like so many of her American counterparts, she wanted "real work to do—something that would be hard and interesting and something I could feel sure was useful." She was nearing her goal when she decided to try her hand at writing. She began by "selling" a magazine editor the idea of a woman's page. Once started, this editor soon found that his new associate's general column of comment on the news was being read by more men than women, and widely quoted.

Finally came the idea of a picture magazine, a type of publication entirely new to India. "Not pictures for pictures' sake," she explains, "but pictures which define and discuss social and educational problems. Above all, I wanted to start a magazine that would deal with facts, not with political propaganda."

It was not until 1945 that sanction to publish *Trend* was finally given by the British authorities. At first, the magazine was restricted to twelve-page issues, and a maximum circulation of 3,000 copies a month. Gradually the authorities permitted larger

issues—twenty-four pages, then thirty-two, and finally the present fifty-two. Miss Talyarkhan had a partner when she launched her venture, but he has since withdrawn. *Trend* is now incorporated, with the editor the managing director.

For ten months she had as assistant a Wellesley College graduate, Santha Rama Rau, author of the widely popular "Home to India." *Trend* now has a half dozen staff members. The co-editor, is T. Gupta, a young, well-trained Hindu newspaper man. There are two assistant editors, a staff artist, two staff photographers, an advertising manager.

Complicated as it has been to develop her journalistic team, "paper has been our biggest problem. Most of what little was available has been on the black market. We have had to go along from month to month—never really sure how much paper we could get, or what we would have to pay for it. That is a very unsettling way to try to operate." Then, with a sudden glow, she added, "I've just had wonderful news from home, absolutely the best news I could have received—we have a whole year's supply of paper! It is not quite up to the quality we have been using, but at least we can stop worrying about whether we'll have any pages at all."

Under the interim government, which will take over in India on August 15, *Trend* can expand. Its editor hopes to add more pages, and also to increase the circulation. Eventually, she wants to publish editions in the vernacular. (In addition to English and her native Gujarati, she speaks Hindustani and "bits and pieces of other Indian languages"—of which there are more than 200 in that vast sub-continent.)

"As Indian publications go, *Trend* is rather high priced," she explained. "At first, we feared it would be read only by the wealthy. To our great satisfaction, we have had orders from agents in small towns as well as in big cities, and the magazine really circulates throughout India, and in South Africa as well.

"I should like *Trend* to circulate in the United States, also, so that people here would have a more accurate idea of contemporary life and thought in India. We also try to carry American material frequently, so that Indian readers will have a clearer idea of life in the USA. You know your movies are a sort of distorting mirror."



Frene Talyarkhan. In Lotte Jacobi's striking portrait, as in her interview, she stands forth as "a symbol not only of the new India, but of the new women of the Far East."

Because of the current situation, most Indian papers and magazines are concerned only with politics. "Some people think *Trend* should turn political, too, but we are interested only in presenting facts. *Trend* has no party affiliations. Its outlook, I suppose, you could call liberal nationalist. I want *Trend* to influence people only by putting before them facts on which to base their thinking and decisions on social and economic questions."

Against the advice of all her friends, Miss Talyarkhan started a feature called "Meet the People," which tells each month a story of a man, woman, or child from a wage earning group. "They are real people, and we use real names and actual photographs. Now 'Meet the People' is our most popular feature."

In addition to paper shortage, press trouble, and the other hazards and handicaps familiar to magazine publishers from New York to Bombay, *Trend* has a special obstacle to increased circulation. That is the relatively small number of literate Indians. India's illiteracy rate is more than 85 percent. There is no national school system.

"We have sort of haphazard provincial schools," Miss Talyarkhan said. "These are the only free schools in India, and they do not go beyond the fifth grade. Attendance is supposed to be compulsory, but it isn't. There are private schools of course, British owned and with a completely British curriculum. I went to one of these, and came out with absolutely no knowledge of my own country.

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Yeoman, First Class: Negro

It was everybody's war, but in twenty-eight months of service this veteran of the U. S. Navy saw more of segregation than of the sea.

FELIX L. PAUL

ALL MY LIFE I HAD WANTED TO BE A sailor. My chance finally came in World War II. I accepted it enthusiastically and volunteered for front-line duty. I didn't sail around the world, however, nor even get overseas. In fact, I almost missed going to sea at all, but I'll never forget what happened when I did.

Great Lakes Naval Training Center was the largest station for Negro recruits in the country. More than 5,000 were at Camp Moffett with me, February to April, 1944, while about 10,000 others were at Camp Lawrence and Camp Robert Smalls. These three camps were then used exclusively by Negro recruits.

Boot training, in a number of ways, had its own humor and did nice things to the morale of many negro, as well as white, recruits.

Some southern lads were indescribably happy. It was charming and touching to hear them gibe one another about riding in a pullman for the first time and having to hunt for the toilet. They chatted freely about their first experiences in going into swanky restaurants and ordering meals, sometimes with their hearts in their mouths, when to their utter amazement, smiling waitresses addressed them as "Sir" and "Mister," and served them promptly and efficiently. They told of white recruits who voluntarily sat down beside them and called them "Mate," treating them as equals—not patronizing. In Chicago, they had ridden street cars free, sitting in them where they pleased. Dixie was never like this!

But boot training also had many distasteful aspects, especially for northern recruits, for it separated many bosom friends—men who had been classmates and had worked together on jobs where there was no discrimination whatsoever.

"James, come on, fellow!" a white recruit pressed his pal. "Do you want to get left?"

—Alabama born, Felix L. Paul is now a graduate student in Romance Languages at New York University. Before his service as a yeoman in the Navy, he was a Field Scout Executive in the Georgia-Alabama Council of the Boy Scouts of America.

He holds a B.S. degree in Education from Alabama State Teachers College, and an M.A. from Atlanta University. He has just finished writing a novel about his Navy experience, entitled "Is It Time Now?"

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"I—I'm in *this* company, now," the boy stammered, with some embarrassment. "You know I told you, I'm colored."

"Sure I know!" the white youth answered quickly. "What difference does that make?"

"A helluva lot, *here!*" the Negro told him.

Commissions and Color

Needless to say, we had no Negro commissioned officers. The first and only school for Negro officers ever conducted by the navy opened in January 1944. It finally commissioned twelve Negroes. But nearly all of the company commanders, yeomen, and other petty officers at our camp were white. A number of us frequently remarked, with disgust, that there wasn't a Negro on the whole station who rated a "Sir" or "Mister," since Navy Regulations provide that only commissioned and warrant officers are entitled to such courtesies.

The Negro leaders functioned more or less on sufferance. They received no advancement in rate, and, consequently, no increase in pay. I saw only two Negro company commanders who were rated men while I was in boots, one named Draper, an athletic specialist second class, and another, Greenfield, a coxswain. It was rumored that Draper had seen service in the Pacific. Greenfield established the celebrated "Greenfield Crease," which Negro recruits learned to put

in their mattress covers, and thus favorably impressed officers at Saturday inspections.

Successful Democracy

The Naval Ammunition Depot at Earle, N. J., was an experiment in the integration of Negro and white personnel which worked.

There were about 3,000 enlisted men at the Earle Depot, of which fully 2,200 were Negroes. And though many officers and enlisted men contributed substantially to the successful operation of it, I believe these six deserve special commendation:

Commander I. D. Tate, Commanding Officer of the Naval Barracks. Commander Tate went to Earle when it was commissioned an ammunition depot in October 1943, and he was largely responsible for the initiation and successful execution of Earle's famous interracial policy.

Lieutenant-Commander W. J. Robinson, Executive Officer and later Commanding Officer. A native of South Carolina, Lt. Comdr. Robinson continued the fine work already initiated, and, in fact, recommended several Negroes for direct commissions and to advanced navy schools for officers.

Lieutenant H. C. Miller, Officer-in-Charge of the Pier Area at Leonardo, N. J., the section of Earle from which the ammunition was shipped overseas. A Mississippian, Lt. Miller was perhaps the most popular officer on the station. He gave his men a decent working schedule, reasonable liberty, and as much advancement as Regulations would permit.

James B. Pinkney, special assistant to Commander Tate. A Negro sailor from Georgia, and a graduate of Clark University, Pinkney helped tremendously in establishing and executing the interracial policy.

James B. Hardy, a Negro from New York City, special assistant to Lt. Miller

and consultant for other white officers. In connection with his duties at the Pier Area, Lt. Miller served also as Director of the Indoctrination Program for white officers in charge of Negro personnel. Hardy was a college graduate, with a master's degree from Columbia University. He held both individual and group conferences with these young white officers and also supplied them with important books for their needs—such as Logan's "What the Negro Wants," Woodson's "The Negro in Our History," White's "A Rising Wind" and Otley's "New World A-Coming."

Chaplain John C. Castle, Jr. Perhaps no other chaplain in the navy (of the 2,379 chaplains, only two were Negroes) worked harder in the interest of Negro personnel than Chaplain Castle. He organized a small, interracial study group which met in his office on Wednesdays. This group sponsored several movies of interracial goodwill, such as, "The Kind of United States We Want to Live In" and "The Good Samaritan." Chaplain Castle also organized a group of interracial, good will singers, whom he took to radio stations and churches in Asbury Park, and neighboring cities, as well as into private homes. His deep interest in Negroes continues in his civilian ministry today in Boonton, N. J.

Earle's interracial policy can be stated in four sentences. There was no segregation or discrimination in chow halls, movies, on athletic teams, or in the general use of the facilities of the station. Men were assigned to specific jobs and promoted according to ability, without regard to race or creed. In all cases of interracial conflict, a sincere effort was made to apprehend the guilty person, regardless of race or creed. White and Negro personnel were quartered in separate barracks during the first two years of the base; afterward, all personnel were mixed.

With this interracial policy, Earle was a leader among camps. It was even ahead of the Navy Department in Washington, which, at that time, had no definite policy on the integration of Negro personnel.

Pamphlets and Practices

From time to time, the navy released AINavs and Directives designed to clarify its policy on the use of Negro personnel, of which the most significant was a pamphlet entitled "Guide to the Command of Negro Personnel," issued February 12, 1945. Reactions to this pamphlet were strikingly controversial.



"It was not the policy of the Navy to send them to sea except in the stewardship branch."

Personally, I didn't see any breathtaking changes in current practices as a result of this pamphlet or of any other. I had been in the navy thirteen months when it was released, and I remained in it fifteen months afterward. I believe this is a fair interpretation of it:

1. It was a frank admission of existing conditions, which were very unsatisfactory. It recommended that naval activities with Negroes as 10 per cent or less of their personnel experiment with integration—subject, of course, to the discretion of commanding officers.

2. It proposed the end of segregated recruit training. By that time, however, over 152,000 of the total of 165,000 Negro sailors had already joined the navy and had undergone segregated training. Only about 13,000 Negro recruits, who enlisted

near the end of the war, were trained in mixed camps.

3. It stated that advanced navy schools for officers were open to qualified Negroes, though very few were ever accepted. Of 48,000 young men who received commissions through V-7, a four months' navy school, practically none were Negroes. A reliable source has reported that fewer than one-hundred Negroes were ever admitted to navy schools, counting all of them, and some who were successful in completing their courses were discharged immediately. With the end of hostilities, all Reserve officers either had to ship over to the Regular Navy or be discharged or, as they say, placed on inactive duty. For the navy's fifty Negro reserve officers, there was no alternative. Until May, 1947, when *one* received a regular commission, there had never

Negro Yeoman

been a Negro officer in the Regular Navy.

4. It stated that qualified enlisted men could receive direct commissions, though the word "qualified" was almost always interpreted to exclude Negroes. Of 328,402 commissioned officers in the navy as of June 30, 1945, only about fifty were Negroes, and of 129,000 who received direct commissions from civilian life during the war, practically none were Negroes. AINavs and Directives were released every month during the sixteen months I was stationed at Earle, though all of them had "catch" clauses, of which these three are typical:

(a) Applicant must have at least three years' satisfactory service in the Navy. . . . (b) Applicant must be at least first class petty officer in the following rates: yeoman, storekeeper. . . . (c) Applicant must have at least (a varying amount) sea or overseas duty. . . .

How could Negroes meet such rigid requirements when they couldn't even enter the seaman branch in large numbers until 1944?

In spite of "catch" clauses and other technicalities, there were many concerted efforts to improve the status of Negro personnel at Earle, perhaps the greatest of which were those made by the Negroes themselves. Among the college trained Negroes was a sailor named Ferguson, who had practiced law before joining the navy. Ferguson was assigned to the Records Department of the Personnel Office and it was through his efficiency that about a dozen Negroes were recommended for direct commissions (though none was ever approved by the Bureau of Naval Personnel), five were recommended to V-7, and three were later commissioned as Ensigns:

Negroes got a better break at Earle than at any other naval base I saw. Visitors there during the war found Negroes "in charge" of the Legal Office, the Recreation Office, the Training Office, the Chaplain's Office, and many other activities. And in them all, white and Negro personnel worked together harmoniously.

I shall never forget a visit I made to two classes, one in seamanship, which was taught by a sailor named Thomas Jenkins, and another in gunnery, by Jennings. Seamanship had a

mixed group, of which the majority of students were white, while gunnery was an all-white class. Both of the instructors were Negroes, and yet the students cooperated splendidly.

Missed Opportunity

The Personnel Separation Center at Lido Beach, L. I., N. Y. had the best opportunity actually to practice racial democracy of all the bases I saw. Located in the most democratic state in America, there were many reasons why it should have been a perfect example of racial integration. Of 4,000 sailors there in ship's company, not more than 200 were Negroes, and they were hand-picked—rated men transferred from nearby bases—yeomen, storekeepers, and others, men who would have been a credit to any naval activity. Moreover, the majority of white sailors at Lido Beach were liberal-minded northerners, fellows who were spectacularly friendly with Negroes, and offered no apology for being so.

But Lido Beach was not an example of racial democracy.

When a mixed draft of twenty-five sailors from Earle was transferred to that station in September 1945, the tall, lanky lieutenant who interviewed us printed C-O-L-O-R-E-D on every Negro's card and assigned us to Barracks G-14, where we found seventy-two of the eighty odd Negro sailors who were in ship's company there at that time. The other eight Negroes were quartered as follows: five in Barracks G-7, two in Barracks G-18, and one in Barracks G-9. This was a special kind of token representation or integration, which enabled them to claim that racial democracy was being practiced.

On the other hand, the Receiving Station, Pier 92, New York, was as near to heaven as many negro sailors ever got. These features, among other things, accounted for it—a convenient location—West 52nd Street—right in the heart of the greatest city in the world; light duty—one day on, with easy duty, and all of the next day off. This was the only base at which I saw duty where civilian girls were employed, and they were good looking, as well as efficient.

But Pier 92 was a transient base; all you could do there was to get ready to move on.

It took me two years to get assigned to a ship, and even then, it happened accidentally—in fact, so accidentally,

that the Chief Yeoman ran frantically to the Executive Officer with, "Sir, a nigger yeoman first class has come aboard, and there's gonna be trouble!"

A white sailor who heard him reported the conversation to me.

"Send him straight back—don't let him unleash his gear!" the Executive Officer ordered. "Never had a nigger yeoman on this ship, and we're not gonna start it now!"

When the Executive Officer informed the Captain, the Captain said: "Well, we didn't ask for a colored yeoman, and we don't necessarily want one. But they're putting them on ships now, and we might as well get used to them. Personally, I'm glad my ship is the first to have the honor. If you don't want to use him in the office, I'll keep him as my *personal* yeoman."

Then war began! I was given quarters with the five Negro messmen, the only other colored sailors aboard that vessel, which had 300 enlisted men and 25 officers. Three whole days I walked around on deck with three red yeoman stripes on my arm, everybody staring at me. On the morning of the fourth day, the Captain reached a compromise to permit me to sit at one special desk in the ship's office to write his personal letters. Even then the Chief Yeoman devised one plot after another, until after three weeks, fearing bloodshed, the Captain said to me: "Son, I think it's best for me to transfer you back to Pier 92. . . ."

I was transferred to the nearest receiving station, which happened to be Norfolk, Virginia. It hurt the Captain and me, too, though paradoxically, both of us were glad.

I spent eleven days at Norfolk, after which I was sent back to Lido until my discharge two months later.

ON MY FIRST TRIP TO LIDO BEACH, the records say I had been a checker in charge of nine other yeomen and civilians. In this capacity and during my entire naval career, I'm sure I examined over 100,000 service records from cover to cover and from this I actually learned about the navy. As the saying goes, "A man's service record will tell his whole story."

I don't need to say that I learned many things, both favorable and unfavorable, about all service men, regardless of race or creed. All enlisted men get tough breaks sometimes, I

(Continued on page 453)

Insurance, Not Charity!

MICHAEL M. DAVIS

LOOKING OVER A BIG BATCH OF NEWSPAPER clippings lately, I thought I saw double! I had just read an editorial from the *Chronicle*, of Omak, State of Washington, attacking national health insurance because it "comes high." "The cost of anything done by the government bureaucracy is usually ever increasing. In Germany in 1935, for example, there were 36,000 political employes overseeing the work of 30,000 doctors."

In another editorial from the *Herald* of Hagerstown, Maryland, compulsory health insurance "came high" again. Every word of the editorial from Hagerstown was identical with the effusion from Omak!

Among fifty-four editorials against national health insurance, twenty-three were identical. Others had part but not all of the same wording. All appeared within a few days of the time President Truman issued his special health message to Congress on May 19.

A few years ago the National Physicians' Committee, propaganda instrument of the American Medical Association, had told its supporting doctors how its public relations staff had a list of ten or twelve thousand newspapers and periodicals to which they mailed "material" whenever occasion served. The National Physicians' Committee seems to have found a market for some of its canned goods.

Taft's "Health" Bill

As I write this in July, organizations which support national health insurance and which oppose the Taft "health" bill (S.545) are appearing as witnesses before the Subcommittee on Health of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee.

The organizations against this bill represent much heavier voting strength than the professional groups which favored it—all branches of organized labor; the National Grange and the National Farmers Union among rural organizations; and a long list of bodies representing consumers, civic movements, Negroes, and liberal physicians. Except for one witness speaking for some insurance companies, organizations of businessmen have not

HEALTH—Today & Tomorrow

—A series by the chairman, Committee on Research in Medical Economics; associate editor, *Survey Graphic*.

appeared at all this year. It seems apparent already that if the majority party in the Senate wants to make some national health program a popular issue, a bill based on charity and a means test is not the way to do it.

Last year the hearings on the National health insurance bill were enlivened by the efforts of Senator Forrest C. Donnell, Missouri Republican, to cross-examine witnesses about the membership of their organizations and their personal connections. This year the Senator functions as a member of the majority instead of the minority party. For many witnesses whose testimony ran against his bill, his cross-questioning has become badgering, including red-baiting when opportunity seemed to offer.

European Experience

The "failure of health insurance abroad" has been flung at numerous witnesses, the missiles being one or more of the series of mis-statements common in medical society publications. Enormous administrative costs—to which the twenty-three editorials referred—are an example. "In the experience of Europe," Senator Donnell quotes, "there would be an employe of the health insurance system, outside the field of medical service, for at least every 100 persons insured." From this statement, a sixth-grader can calculate that there would have to be a million payrollers if 100,000,000 Americans were covered.

The figure of one administrative employe per 100 insured persons is a gross untruth. Last year, Dr. Frank Goldmann, Associate Professor of Public Health at Yale and an internationally recognized authority on this subject, testified that in the well-established European systems the number of administrative employes is actually about one to every two thousand persons!

The erroneous figure has blossomed

out in a long succession of articles and pamphlets. It goes back to a report employed as "authoritative" by Senator Donnell, on "Sickness Insurance in Europe," published in 1938 by the late J. G. Crownhart. He was then secretary of the Wisconsin State Medical Society, which sent him on a visit abroad. Mr. Crownhart did not explain how he got his figure. His report was not documented, so that the sources of the figures and statements can not be checked.

The absurdity of the figure is apparent after very little consideration. One administrative employe for every 100 persons would mean an administrative cost of about 50 percent for salaries alone. In fact, Mr. Crownhart was incautious enough to state elsewhere in his report that the highest administrative cost which he found in any country was 17 percent and that the figure in most countries was 10 percent to 12 percent, including not only salaries but other administrative expenses.

Too often both friends and critics talk about the provisions of the National Health Insurance bill from the top down. They picture—in white or black—the officials and committees set up in Washington and in state capitals, their powers, duties and relationships. That's all very well for lawyers. For you and me and our doctors, the important thing is to understand the workings of health insurance from the ground up.

How would the scheme work for Thomas Jones, a textile mill worker who lives with his family in the town of Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina? Tom Jones comes home from work one day feeling flushed and achy. He coughs a good deal of the night and the next morning his wife thinks he ought to have a doctor. The health insurance law is in operation. Jones earns \$36 a week. He pays 54 cents a week, 1½ percent of his wage, into the National Health Insurance Fund, as does his employer.

Now that Tom Jones is sick, how does he get a doctor? Does he have to write to Washington or ask a local official? No. Tom Jones calls the

doctor he had had before the law went into effect. Dr. Brown comes to see him, just as he would have come before the law was passed. But under the law Tom Jones would get no bill from Dr. Brown. Moreover, Dr. Brown can prescribe what he needs and not just what he can afford—laboratory tests, for instance, or a specialist if his illness proves obscure or takes a bad turn. Dr. Brown will be paid by the health insurance official of the area that covers Roanoke Rapids and Halifax County in which this town is located.

All a Local Matter

The federal government does not come into this at all. The National Health Insurance Board would have paid North Carolina its quota from the National Health Insurance Fund. North Carolina would have allotted the Halifax County health-service area its quota.

Suppose Dr. Brown thought Tom Jones had pneumonia, that he had a poor heart and might be in danger. Tom Jones or his wife, if they were anxious, or Dr. Brown, if he thought it necessary, could call in a specialist. Either of these doctors might decide to hospitalize him. The local or the state health insurance fund would pay this hospital the costs of its services to Tom Jones.

In all this, neither Tom Jones, nor Dr. Brown, nor Dr. Johnson, nor the Roanoke Rapids Hospital would have anything to do with any official or board outside of North Carolina, and rarely outside of the county.

Suppose Mr. Jones was dissatisfied, and complained that Dr. Brown had delayed twenty-four hours making his first call and then was hasty and disagreeable. A local officer or committee would reach some decision about this complaint. Hearings and appeals could be had if demanded. Suppose the trouble were between Dr. Brown and the specialist who believed that Dr. Brown had made an unpardonably bad diagnosis when he finally did get around to calling on the patient. As a purely medical dispute, it would be dealt with by a committee composed wholly of physicians.

Where would the federal government come into all this? Not at all.

How and how much would Dr. Brown and the specialist be paid? As a general practitioner, Dr. Brown would be paid by the method which

the majority of these practitioners in Halifax County voted for. If, however, a physician wanted to be paid differently—for example, a salary on whole or part time instead of by fees—these doctors would have the right to negotiate this method of payment with the county health insurance agency.

How would the fee or salary rates be determined? The state health insurance agency would have worked out a fee schedule with the state medical society. This schedule, however, would be flexible enough to be adapted by local health service areas to their particular conditions. There would be no uniform national schedule of fees, of capitation rates, or of salaries for doctors.

Rating of Specialists

How would Dr. Johnson be paid as a specialist? Who would decide which doctors were entitled to be paid the higher rate due to specialists?

Here there would be standards for the qualifications of specialists laid down by the National Health Insurance Board after consultation with its advisory council. These standards would recognize the existing standards of our national boards of physicians in each specialty. The national standards would be flexible enough, however, so that if the physician had been recognized as a specialist for years by the medical profession and the public of Roanoke Rapids and vicinity, he could be paid as a specialist. The North Carolina health insurance agency would, with the advice of a professional committee, decide this. The North Carolina health insurance agency would also have to make sure that the Roanoke Rapids Hospital complied with national hospital standards and with state licensing laws before the hospital could be paid out of the health insurance fund. The same state agency would have to see that physicians were licensed under the state law to practice medicine.

The revised National Health Insurance bill of 1947 (S.1320) had its own days on the 10th and 11th of July, when the six senators who sponsored it and a few especially interested organizations explained its new features. All the essential principles of national health insurance, supplemented by federal grants-in-aid to the states for public health purposes, for

care of the indigent, and so on are maintained. The law would give place to private effort but it would not permit control by private interests.

National health insurance means federal dictatorship, declared some opponents. Under it, they said, the federal government could and would run the whole show. The duties written out in the bill for state and local administration are just a smoke screen to hide a grab for power by a federal bureaucracy.

This charge is nonsense. The sponsors of the bill and every other sensible person know that it would be wholly impossible to run medical services from Washington. The mere attempt to do so would arouse universal objection. Nor could any uniform administrative pattern be defined by national authorities for all parts of this great and varied country.

Federal Standards Essential

Actually, the bill nowhere gives federal agencies power over state and local administration. It does give federal authorities the power to make and enforce certain general standards, which must be adapted to differing local and state conditions by state and local authorities.

Ought the federal government to have anything to say about standards? The sponsors of the Taft "Health" bill say No! Leave standards wholly to the states! This view however is not shared by three expert professional bodies. The American Public Health Association and the American Public Welfare Association testified that the lack of federal standards is a major deficiency in the Taft bill. This lack might result in lowering the quality of medical service, declared that distinguished group, the New York Academy of Medicine.

The important visible result, as the session of Congress ends, is the entrance of national health legislation upon the political stage. The more widespread and more effective support for the national health insurance bill this year, the breadth and vigor of the attack on the bill that was introduced to supplant or derail it, demonstrate not only that—as opinion polls have shown—the mass of Americans want some national action to make medical care more available, but also that Americans are beginning to make up their minds as to what *kind* of action they want.

The Fiction Shelf

HARRY HANSEN

JOURNALISM, WHICH STRESSES TIMELINESS, is still the dominant method in American writing. It came in gloriously with the twentieth century, when the crusading spirit expressed itself in the Muckrakers. It affected literature by way of the naturalistic movement, which deals with men and things as they are, rather than as the romantic hopes they might be. Social improvement is one of the major aims of journalism, a step above the recording of events. It is evident not only in serious studies, but in imaginative works.

During the first half of 1947, the major theme in the new novels has been the fight against intolerance. Two recurring subjects interest authors: anti-Semitism and discrimination against the Negro. Although anti-Semitism has been the subject of numerous novels in the last ten years, it has gained once more a wide reading public through the popularity of "Gentleman's Agreement," by Laura Z. Hobson. (Simon and Schuster. \$2.75.) As I write this, in July, it has stood at the head of the best seller list for weeks. Even though some credit must be given to the astute sales methods of its publishers, its popularity proves a sympathetic interest in the theme.

It is not a novel that I should have expected to reach such large sales. As writing it is magazine fiction, tailor-made. The story has a synthetic character. The hero, a non-Jew, determines to test anti-Semitism by passing himself off as a Jew, in order to record his experiences. It follows that, in order to make his point, practically all the insults and abuses collectively suffered by the Jews must happen to him. This, then, is a crusading novel, which endeavors, by example, to show how mean and senseless such discrimination is. The story might have been more effective, I think, if the hero had been a Jew

who had passed himself off as a Christian, or had grown up in non-Jewish surroundings and then had experienced a change of heart and embraced the lot of his people.

The second subject, discrimination against the Negro, is actually more to the fore than anti-Semitism. For several years it has appeared in novels and books of experiences, especially in the writings of ex-servicemen. Its leading representative at present is Sinclair Lewis' "Kingsblood Royal," which was distributed by the Literary Guild and hence reached a circulation of 500,000 without great effort. (Random House. \$3.) Yet the bookstore comment is that it has not "caught on" as well as the Hobson book, and the verdict of reviewers is that it is Class B Lewis.

Both this novel and "Gentleman's Agreement" have been reviewed in previous issues of SURVEY GRAPHIC, but their place is immovable in any comprehensive view of the season's fiction. "Kingsblood Royal," like Miss Hobson's book, rests on a synthetic plot, now too well known for retelling, in which the hero is let off from nothing in his demonstration of what it is like to assume a Negro's disabilities. Always good at sketching little people, Mr. Lewis manages to draw some excellent minor bigots. But in the long run, his hero does not convince. He is made to carry too heavy a load. He is what might be termed a white-baiter. His tragedy is drawn out of the card files.

NEITHER OF THESE BOOKS IS A GREAT novel because the journalistic influence is uppermost. The experience is seen from the outside and not deeply felt. "The Other Room," by Worth Tuttle Hedden (Crown. \$2.75), is a better novel, for this is a record of the human heart. So far as my reading goes, this is the first time the first-person-singular has been used to

disclose the feelings of a white woman projected into a Negro community and eventually falling in love with a Negro teacher.

Nina Latham is surrounded by the conventional beliefs and social attitudes of FFV. In rebellion against her stuffy life, she takes a position as teacher in a New Orleans college, and on arrival learns that it is a Negro school. Here she meets "the other room in the house of the South," where everything is upside down.

She adjusts herself in a series of subjective experiences that show how much psychology enters into race relations. She has difficulties to overcome, but she is determined to keep an open mind, and her struggle is more convincing than that of Sinclair Lewis' "Kingsblood." The man she loves, Professor Warwick, is a young intellectual who could "pass for white," but prefers to work with-and for the Negro. He is opposed to the Marcus Garvey agitation for "one solid political body," in Africa, for all Negroes.

Nina's father is sympathetic and understanding. "You've had a rare experience for a southerner," he tells her, "and no outsider is ever going to make a dent in our problems." But the other members of her family and her Virginia associates are outraged because she has taught in a Negro school. The story closes with the love affair carried forward into the future.

This excellent novel profits by the author's knowledge of the situation. A native of Raleigh, N. C., a graduate of Trinity (now Duke), and a former graduate student in journalism at Columbia, she taught for a year in a Negro college in Louisiana in order to understand the Negro better. She now lives in Norwalk, Conn. It seems unfortunate that this deeply felt story was not the choice of a book club, in place of the melodramatic and unreal "Kingsblood Royal."

Letters and Life

Two months before the Literary Guild distributed the Lewis book, it sent its members Nevil Shute's new story, "The Chequer Board." (Morrow. \$2.75.) Mr. Shute is an English author with a gift of direct narrative, but the story remains on the surface, yet the tale seems more involved than any other he has written. Its major episode deals with the experiences of an American Negro soldier in an English village.

The English, free from American prejudices, treat the Negro regiment royally, but white Americans interpose objections, and at one time the Negro hero is called up for trial because he tried to kiss an English girl, who was not herself seriously offended. His marriage to an Englishwoman and his idyllic home there after the war are commentary on the lack of racial bias.

It should be of interest, in passing, that the Literary Guild has had from its readers some intelligent and sympathetic reactions on these two novels. While bias has been expressed in some letters from the South, the guild has not suffered any loss of memberships. It ascribes much of this to the youthfulness of its subscribers, most of them people of high school and college age, who are less likely to be prejudiced than their elders.

Among the novels of 1947 that have made an impression for their literary qualities are "The Big Sky" by A. B. Guthrie, Jr., (William Sloane Associates. \$3.50), and "Christ Stopped at Eboli," by Carlo Levi, from abroad. (Farrar, Straus. \$3.) Mr. Guthrie is a newspaperman and his story deals with antisocial frontiersmen who go up the Missouri river in the early part of the nineteenth century, hunting and trading, eager to get away from orderly communities, picking up a squaw and encountering adventures such as one reads about in the records of Audubon's travels. A fine sense of proportion and a refusal to compromise with traditional clichés mark the novel, which has no romantic love interest and little for the traditional "woman reader"—if she still exists.

The Levi novel has been mistitled, for there is only a brief reference to the legend that Christ stopped at Eboli, but the picture of an Italian peasant village, where life lacks opportunity and the people are resentful

of the remote tax gatherers in Rome, is excellent. The author, a physician and painter, who was an uncompromising anti-Fascist, was banished to a primitive village in Lucania in 1935. This book is based on his experiences there.

EVERY SEASON BRINGS A NUMBER OF novels of the hard-boiled school. Here the experiences of youth are recounted along familiar lines—rebellion against home or school, irresponsible associates, drinking and ruthless acts toward girls, a stick-up or a fatal quarrel, and a tragic ending.

The best of the 1947 crop of them is Willard Motley's "Knock On Any Door," the tale of how a young Italian, Romano, in the Halsted Street district of Chicago goes downhill to his doom on the gallows. (Appleton, Century. \$3.) After many novels of this genre, the reader has a right to expect a tightly knit narrative. Mr. Motley devotes a large part of his story to an impressionistic account of Romano's trial, in which the whole proceeding is treated satirically. While this is well done, the hero is practically lost amid the antics of the attorneys.

The literary qualities of "The Mountain Lion," by Jean Stafford (Harcourt, Brace. \$2.75), have been highly extolled. The story is concerned with the changing relationships of two children, brother and sister, and is written with economy of language and with insight, but it remains a psychological study.

SG Reviews Books On Foreign Affairs

PERSISTENT INTERNATIONAL ISSUES, edited by George B. De Huszar. Harper. \$3.

Walter R. Sharp

POPULAR OFFERINGS FROM AMERICAN publishers on the international scene tend these days to fall into two sharply opposing categories—the panaceas on the imperative and immediate possibility of "world government," and the cataclysmic pronouncements on the necessity of preparing for an inevitable atomic war. "Persistent International Issues," avoiding this disturbing bipolarism, is a sensible, sober survey of the potentialities of United Nations action for the gradual adjustment of economic, financial, social, and cultural problems which transcend national frontiers.

"The Story of Mrs. Murphy," by Natalie Anderson Scott (Dutton. \$3), is the latest example of a novel about an alcoholic. The young Irishman who shoulders this and other disabilities is one of the most uninviting characters in recent fiction.

The familiar theme of sex frustration cropped up this year in John Steinbeck's "The Wayward Bus," another load of sleazy characters who deserved oblivion rather than the accolade of a book club. (Viking. \$2.75.)

There has been the usual crop of novels by those who entertain the vast reading public with western adventure, historical characters, and romantic experiences. In "There Was a Time" (Scribners. \$3) Taylor Caldwell, who has been more than ordinarily successful with the conventional novel of family conflict, examines a young, ambitious man in relation to money, and concludes that it is no disgrace to try to avoid poverty.

It is worth noting that, while no novel of merit on a religious theme is available at the moment, the public continues to hunger for such material, turning in large numbers to such an obviously plotted tale as "The Miracle of the Bells," by Russell Janney. (Prentice-Hall. \$3.) "East River" by Sholem Asch (Putnam. \$3), dealing with the life of Irish and Jews on New York's East Side, has better claims to public attention and is definitely an agent of good will among men.

Mr. de Huszar and nine other contributors, each an acknowledged specialist in his field of discussion, endeavor to evaluate for the general reader the beginnings of world collaboration for relief and rehabilitation, the resettlement of displaced persons, the stabilization of food supplies, the improvement of agricultural production, the regulation of international trade, investment, currency, and finance, and the promotion of better labor standards, social security, and human understanding. The authors are rightly more concerned with practical methods of implementing cooperative policies than with the elaboration of abstract principles.

The thesis of the volume, in short, is that peace will not be found "in

a blueprint" but will rather come as a by-product of an indirect attack on the "sovereignty" bugaboo. Given a decade or so in which to develop habits and methods of cooperation through the Economic and Social Council and its affiliated specialized agencies, real progress may be made toward a "functional" internationalism.

Obstacles in the path of such a development are frankly and thoughtfully faced; but the difficulties do not blind the authors to the need of taking advantage of every opportunity, no matter how small, to bring Soviet and western power groups together on specific programs of collaboration, or, at the very least, of leaving the door open for Soviet participation in constructive undertakings initiated by the non-Soviet community. All in all, the tone of the book is moderately optimistic,—perhaps too optimistic in the light of the deterioration of Soviet-American relations which has taken place since it went to press late last year.

Despite a number of relatively unimportant factual errors which have crept into the discussions, the volume merits the serious attention of all American citizens who seek light, not heat, on the course American foreign policy should now follow. It offers a welcome antidote to the uncritical emotionalism towards which such a large part of the American public is now moving.

REFUGEES IN AMERICA, by Maurice R. Davie. Harper. \$4.50.

William S. Bernard

AT A TIME WHEN INTERNATIONAL attention is focused sharply on the resettlement of displaced persons and the establishment of the International Refugee Organization, Maurice R. Davie's study is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of how refugees have adjusted, and will continue to adjust, to life in America.

The book deals with every possible phase of refugee emigration and resettlement.

The study is based on information received from three sources: existing material in articles, newspapers, and books; statistical records of official agencies, such as the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and many private refugee agencies; direct questioning of the refugees themselves. Questionnaires answered by 11,233

refugees from 638 communities in 43 states constitute the most important body of information.

Certain conclusions are inescapable:

First, the refugees have been absorbed into America's economic life to a highly successful degree. And far from taking jobs away from Americans, a fearful misconception of some of our super-150 percent Americans, they have provided employment for thousands of Americans. Professor Davie points out:

The proportion of Americans among the employees of refugee business enterprises is very high. A 1939 survey of 64 firms established by refugees revealed that 78 percent of the workers were Americans, and a 1941 survey of 715 such enterprises showed that over two thirds of the employees were Americans.

Second, in spite of everything the refugees have suffered, they have made a brilliant social adjustment. Over 95 percent stated that they wish to remain here. Almost all have learned to read English and to speak it adequately. They have joined in community life and been accepted by the community.

In addition to these broad general findings, the author also makes note of individual contributions made by refugees. Not only has America gained twelve Nobel prize winners, but also such outstanding new residents as Franz Werfel, Wanda Landowska, Thomas Mann, Lotte Lehmann, Erich Remarque and hundreds of other businessmen, scientists, sociologists, and writers.

Although the United States has in recent years tightened up on immigration, our far deeper tradition is that of receiving those who have fled their lands because of political or religious persecution.

Mr. Davie asks: "Can the United States justly urge other nations of the world to accept refugees unless it accepts a share of the burden itself?"

The book gives the clear answer: to refuse these people would be a loss to our culture, our economy, and our stature, as well as a negation of our proudest traditions.

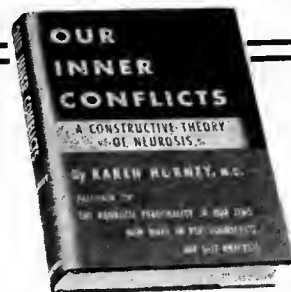
I. G. FARBEN, by Richard Sasuly. Boni & Gaer. \$3.

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Books On Foreign Affairs Continued

gence and liaison branch in Germany, has given us a fiery and spirited account of the historical background, activities, and operating tactics of I. G. Farben, the huge German chemical and industrial combine. But in his zeal to indict international cartels in general, and I. G. in particular, the author falls from one broad generalization into the next.

Written with journalistic ease, Sasuly's phrases lack neither punch nor incisiveness. But while he had a vast amount of material to draw information from, not all of it was chosen with a view toward objectivity or exactness. Thus, a "Baron Bruno Schroeder" (connected with the London banking house of J. Henry Schroeder) "is credited with having introduced Hitler to the principal industrialists of the Ruhr." Actually, SS Brigadier General Baron Kurt von Schroeder, head of Bankhaus J. H. Stein in Cologne.

Having participated in the German industrial investigations myself, I found most interesting the chapters dealing with the fight of the Treasury men under Colonel Bernstein and Russell A. Nixon, his deputy and later successor, for the implementation of the Potsdam decisions.

This fight was waged against the combined forces of the State Department, represented by Robert Murphy, political adviser to the U. S. military governor, the American industrialists and bankers, ably represented by General Draper, formerly of Dillon, Read & Co., and the Nazis, supported most effectively by charming "interpreter-companions." Here Sasuly, the reporter, is in his element, and intimates only too well how we began to lose the peace in Germany within a few months after VE-Day and the Potsdam declaration.

We also agree with the author when he says that Germany could not have started or prosecuted World War II without I. G., as we agree with his conclusion:

Reparations are the key to the control of Germany and its supreme war-producer, I. G. Farben. Relations with Russia are the key to reparations. In the heat of strife between the Western Powers and the Soviet Union, the work of military occupation of Germany is paralyzed—and I. G. Farben gains strength once more.

THE WORLD AND AFRICA, by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois. Viking. \$3.

Alain Locke

SUBTITLED "AN INQUIRY INTO THE PART which Africa has played in world history," this passionate apologia for Africa, its peoples and its cultures, actually does justify its objectives and intentions. W. E. B. Du Bois, veteran of the scholarly polemic, has marshalled strong and detailed evidence from a wide range of sources and authorities to offset not only the superficial popular notions of African history but many still academically held opinions as well. The latter derive, he thinks and proves, as much from limited and derogatory cultural motives as the popular political and missionary libels. In fact, the book is a revealing exposé of culture prejudice as it has reinforced and paralleled the political and economic exploitation of this unhappy continent.

Cultural anthropology has recently reversed many superficial and derogatory opinions of the native African cultures, but the virtue of this study is that it weaves so many of them together into a systematic vindication. Great stress is put on the increasing evidence about the early influences of Ethiopian and Nubian cultures on the civilization of Egypt; also upon the little known interpenetrations of native pagan and Moslem elements of culture in Africa all through the medieval era.

But apart from the details of evidence, the central theme—the necessity in the world today of an acceptance of cultural relativity and the open acknowledgement of cultural reciprocity—is really the important issue raised by this provocative and constructive book. Either we must forego, along with the notions of racism and race superiority, our cognate concepts of culture monopoly, or there can be no world peace or world unity such as we claim we seek.

That point, reinforcing the plea of his last book, "Color and Democracy," pleading for the liquidation of colonialism, is a much needed and valuable

contribution to contemporary political and social thinking, if it is to take a constructive turn. For it is a constructive message which Dr. Du Bois brings, in addition to his vindicating interpretation of things African, as he says:

The broader the basis of a culture, the wider and freer its conception, the better chance it has for the survival of its best elements. This is the basic hope of world democracy. No culture whose greatest effort must go to suppress some of the strongest contributions of mankind can have left in itself strength for survival. Europe can never survive without Asia and Africa as free and inter-related civilizations in one world.

NO PEACE FOR ASIA, by Harold Isaacs. Macmillan. \$3.50.

Maxwell Stewart

FOR A RAPID, HARD-HITTING, VIVID picture of the problems of postwar Asia, the average person can do no better than to read Harold Isaac's book. While his material on China and Japan largely parallels that found in other recent books, his sections on Burma, Korea, Indochina, and Southeast Asia provide some exceptional firsthand reporting.

Unlike many of our present-day reporters, Mr. Isaacs is capable of seeing America's shortcomings as well as those of Russia, Britain, and the other powers. No stronger indictment of western imperialism will be found anywhere than in his factual pages describing the efforts of the French, British, and Dutch, with American support, to reassert their power over Asia's awakening millions.

If there is any weakness in the book, it is the tendency to idealize the nationalist movements. But the author recognizes clearly that a substitution of new nationalisms for the old would not solve the world's problems. Consequently, he urges that Asia's difficulties, like those of the rest of the world, be tackled on a genuinely international scale, with the United States assuming its rightful place of leadership.

The alternative is a catastrophic head-on collision between the American colossus with its economic ambitions in every section of Asia, and the growing political influence of Russia which, at the moment at least, has the greater appeal to Asia's poverty-stricken millions.



Negro Yeoman continued

suppose officers, too. I saw records of men who had been given general courtmartial for being only two minutes late, while others went scot free for several days' absence, without valid reason. In time, we could almost predict the naval base and the name of the commanding officer as soon as we read the sentence. It looked as if every base were a different navy. Some commanding officers obviously tried to give the men a break, while others delighted in "throwing the book" at them.

I counted 1215 men who had entered the navy with advanced rates, varying from petty officer third class up to chief, thereby waiving boot training altogether. Not one was a Negro.

I also tabulated 1008 cases of men who had skipped rates after going through boots; for example, from fireman second class to motor machinist second class or from yeoman third class to yeoman first class. Only one was a Negro.

I saw hundreds of Negroes, with high school education and more, who had been in the Navy three years and longer, with outstanding records, who were being discharged as steward mates and seamen. Some had survived the sinking of ships and held citations, even from the Chief of Naval Personnel. But they had not been promoted.

Except for a few men from Earle, I never saw a Negro's service record which contained even a letter of appreciation or commendation from a division or a commanding officer.

In all my naval experience I never saw a Negro yeoman or a storekeeper who had served a battleship, aircraft carrier, or destroyer. No wonder they put me off that destroyer.

I found the Navy in many ways a great disappointment. I tried to get duty overseas, but never got the break. I tried like hell. I served twenty-eight months for an average of \$73.60 a month, at a time when money was circulating freely and a man with training could do well in civilian life.

I maintained an average of 4.0 in Conduct, Proficiency in Rate, and Ability as a Leader of Men. This is the highest possible mark in the Navy. And yet, I never got higher than yeoman first class, and many considered that excellent for a Negro.



Yet, I found the Navy an enjoyable experience. Shipmates were swell, and many of them are staunch friends of mine today. Most of my officers, too, were tops, and helped me greatly. I count as unforgettable experience—that would have rarely happened in civilian life—my genuine friendship with such men as Commander Tate, Lieutenant Miller, Chaplain Castle, Pinkney, Hardy, and especially the inimitable Old Man who, somehow, kept me on his ship those twenty hectic days.

Britain's Best continued

made the job not one of enticing reluctant industries to the new town but of selecting from hundreds of eager applicants. People of all incomes and interests will share in the making of their town.

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there will be variety, and even important experimentation has been officially promised on types and arrangements of buildings.

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Britain has turned her back on half-way measures to clear away the debris of the nineteenth century. Her dispassionate analysis of her cities' problems has led to basic decisions which, though conceived as amendments to existing systems, have made, in fact, a truly profound change of public policy. The New Towns gain their strength and vigor from their regional setting, from their role in the process of humanizing the worn-out towns, and as part of a farsighted, socially conceived national planning policy. Alone, the New Towns would be of far more than passing interest. Seen in their setting they are symbols of the finest, most democratic, and comprehensive planning effort of our generation.

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SENIOR AND JUNIOR CASE WORKERS WANTED IMMEDIATELY—MIAMI, FLA.! The Children's Home Society of Florida, a state-wide, non-sectarian, child placing agency, is in immediate need of a Junior Child Welfare Case Worker, also a trained, educated and experienced Senior Child Welfare Case Worker in connection with the Society's Southeastern Division, Miami, Florida. Salary range from \$2200 to \$3000 for right persons. Write or telegraph Children's Home Society of Florida, 403 Consolidated Building, Jacksonville, Florida.

SOCIAL CASE WORKER—Female. For Juvenile Court with highest case work standards. Qualifications: School of Social Work graduate plus successful experience in approved agency. Apply Juvenile Court, Toledo, Ohio, stating qualifications and experience fully, indicate beginning salary.

WANTED: Experienced Superintendent for Children's Institution. Write Mrs. Robert Gross, Children's Aid Society, West Pittsburgh Street, Greensburg, Pa.

WANTED at an early date a thoroughly capable, trained and experienced man to become Director of Social Services and Associate Superintendent of a large, privately supported, state-wide, non-sectarian, child-placing and child welfare agency in Florida. Good salary and permanent position assured. Must be capable public speaker, have experience in money raising, public relations, and case work services. Address communications to Children's Home Society of Florida, 403 Consolidated Bldg., Jacksonville 2, Florida.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, one man agency, experienced in all phases of family case work, immigration. Resettlement program pending. Salary \$3,200. A position of varied experiences and offers excellent training for one desirous of such a program. Jewish Family Welfare Bureau, 158 Granby Street, Norfolk 10, Virginia.

PROFESSIONALLY trained caseworker needed for work in adoption bureau. Position open September 1947. Master's degree and some experience in children's field desirable. For details write to Miss E. Marguerite Gane, Executive Secretary, Children's Aid & Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, 330 Delaware Avenue, Buffalo 2, New York.

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Experience: 3 years in the past 6 years of social work in public or private agencies, 2 years of which must have been in the field of child welfare and 1 year in administrative, supervisory or consultative capacity.

DISTRICT WORKER

Salary Range: \$285.00-\$315.00 per month. Appointments at the minimum.
Minimum Qualifications: College 4 years, graduate study 1 year at recognized school of social work which must have included courses in child welfare and public welfare administration and supervised field work in child and family welfare.
Experience: 3 years in the past 6 years of social work, 1 of which must have been in child welfare, 1 year in public assistance and 1 year in a supervisory capacity.

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Salary Range: \$260.00-\$290.00 per month. Appointments at the minimum.
Minimum Qualifications: College 4 years, graduate study 1 year at recognized school of social work which must have included courses in child welfare and public welfare administration and supervisory field work in child and family welfare.
Experience: 1 year in the past 5 years of social work in child welfare.

For application blanks and information write via air mail, supplying minimum qualifications to

ALASKA DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE
Box 2781 Juneau, Alaska

WORKERS WANTED

CASE SUPERVISOR, man or woman, for the International Institute. Professional training and supervisory experience required—also experience in immigration problems or interest in acquiring competence. Salary range \$3,000-\$4,000. Beginning salary dependent on qualifications. Challenging opportunity for person interested in foreign born and displaced persons. One graduate case worker also needed. Salary range \$2,400-\$3,000. Apply, International Institute, 645 North 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

WANTED: Staff members, male and female, for Juvenile Court intake and probation departments. Minimum qualifications: undergraduate degree from School of Social Work with experience in approved agency or Court preferred. Supervisory opportunities in expanding staff for the right people. Apply Juvenile Court, Dayton, Ohio, stating qualifications and experience fully and indicating beginning salary. 8609 Survey.

WANTED — EXECUTIVE SECRETARY — Family Welfare Agency, Amarillo, Texas, qualified for American Association Social Workers membership. Salary \$3,300. Administrative experience desirable. 8608 Survey.

CASEWORKERS — professionally trained for multiple service family and child care sectarian agency. Salary \$2,650-\$3,170. Jewish Social Service Agency, 1131 Spring Road, N. W., Washington 10, D. C.

NEBRASKA — offers opportunity for qualified caseworker in field of child care and placement. State-wide, non-sectarian private agency with excellent reputation is expanding its program. Retirement annuity, excellent supervision, salary in line with training and experience. Give full information about self in first letter. Nebraska Children's Home Society, 3549 Fontenelle Boulevard, Omaha, Nebraska.

WANTED: Professionally trained Case Worker for agency offering both preventive and remedial program to young people. Salary and working conditions in accordance with professional standards. Excellent future in community increasingly aware of need for more complete welfare services. 8605 Survey.

STENOGRAPHIC ASSISTANT (WOMAN) FOR ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF OF THE FRONTIER NURSING SERVICE IN THE KENTUCKY MOUNTAINS. SEND DATA SHEET TO AGNES LEWIS, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, WENDOVER, KENTUCKY.

GROUP WORK SUPERVISOR: Man or woman, graduate school of social work with some experience, for settlement house with Jewish clientele, in the East. Salary range \$2800-\$3500. 8602 Survey.

SUPERVISOR and psychiatric social worker, man or woman (two positions), for child guidance agency where treatment is carried mainly by psychiatric social workers, under immediate and close supervision of an outstanding nationally known psychiatrist. Experience in a child guidance agency or related psychiatric work desirable. Interesting and challenging opportunity. Apply Jewish Child Guidance Bureau, 682 High Street, Newark, New Jersey.

WORKERS WANTED

SOCIAL SERVICE WORKER (WOMAN) FOR FRONTIER NURSING SERVICE IN THE KENTUCKY MOUNTAINS. FOR INFORMATION, WRITE AGNES LEWIS, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, WENDOVER, LESLIE CO., KENTUCKY.

CASEWORKER for a Protestant children's agency in a Chicago suburb with foster home, institutional and adoption services. Progressive program, personnel policies, good supervision. Minimum requirements, three quarters of field work. Salary \$2,200 to \$2,700 depending on training and experience. 8603 Survey.

PERSONNEL NEEDED:—Catholic Case Work Supervisor. Requirement: Graduate from Graduate School of Social Work; experience in supervising case workers in family or child welfare. Opportunity to assist in defining and developing a new service program. Beginning salary \$3600 per year. Write Catholic Welfare Bureau, 246 East Town Street, Columbus 15, Ohio.

EXECUTIVE for Community organization. Must be graduate of accredited school of social work and have had experience in working with volunteers. Salary \$3600. Write qualifications to Board of Religious Organizations, 807 Equitable Bldg., St. Louis 1, Mo.

MATRON for small children's Home in North-eastern Pennsylvania. Mature woman with genuine interest in children and ability to manage large household needed. Salary commensurate with training and experience. Write to United Charities, 107 Madison Avenue, West Hazleton, Pa.

CASE WORKERS (2) professionally qualified, for agency giving children care in foster homes and in cottage type institution; also adoption service. Interesting opportunity for varied experience including direct work with emotionally disturbed children under psychiatric consultation. Write The Children's Center, 1400 Whitney Avenue, New Haven, Connecticut.

CASEWORKER—needed in small private non-sectarian agency placing children in foster family homes for day care. Graduate training required. Must be able drive automobile. Salary based on training and experience. First Family Day Care Association, 311 South Juniper Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

WANTED—Social case workers and supervisors to fill positions in Lutheran children's agencies located mainly in the Middle West. Progressive programs, personnel policies, good supervision. Minimum requirements are at least three quarters of field work. Opportunities for work-study programs with some agencies. Experience in children's field, although desirable, is not necessary. Salaries range from \$2,000 to \$3,600 per year, depending upon training and experience. For further information write Rev. R. A. Marquardt, Chairman, Recruitment and Training Committee, Associated Lutheran Charities, Addison, Illinois.

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8614 Survey

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WOMAN, well educated, thoroughly experienced in child care, physical and training, desires institutional position, in or near New York City. Work with unadjusted children, foundlings or orphans preferred but suggestions welcomed. No cooking or sewing. Denomination immaterial. 8610 Survey.

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"Make Do" continued

United States without cutting off their purchases of the same products from all other countries. If, for example, they want to save dollars by buying Australian fruit instead of California fruit, the loan agreement would compel them to stop all purchases of fruit from abroad. Such a modification probably would require an act of Congress, and will bring loud protest from our farmers.

The coming months will call for public understanding of the British position, for public support of the Marshall program, and for unexampled effort to keep the United States fully employed and prosperous here at home. Our American system is on trial in the eyes of the world; and economic depression would dishearten our friends abroad and make the recovery of Europe, including Great Britain, all but hopeless.

But when all is said and done, the American people and the government cannot pull the British out of their present economic troubles. We cannot get more coal out of the ground in South Wales, we cannot make more economic use of British labor and resources; we cannot bring about the fundamental change in attitudes that is needed if England is to produce more, sell more, earn more. This time it is primarily up to the British people and their leaders to show that they can help themselves.

It is one of the many merits of the Marshall conception that it encourages the British to find new and constructive ways to help themselves. It holds out some hope to them that America will help if they first make better use of British resources of materials and men, and if they pool those resources with those of others in Europe.

At last there is some prospect of breaking the vicious circle of production failures which lead to shortages and deprivations which, in turn, lead to further production failures.

It is an American as well as a British interest to see that the British do not have to tighten their belts again. Our own future, as well as theirs, depends on their recovery. The challenge of reconstruction can only be met by a joint effort of the New World and the Old. A future Toynbee will not be able to say that the challenge was too great if we meet it and master it together.

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HOMESTEADERS interested in cooperative, democratic community within commuting distance of New York City write Skyview Acres Cooperative, Inc., Apt. 25, 564 West 160th Street, New York 32.

A Voice of the New India *continued*

The new government has extensive plans for education, but of course it will take years to put them into effect. Meanwhile, 70 percent of the people live in villages, and the great majority of them are poor and underfed and superstitious."

TREND ITSELF MIRRORS MUCH OF THE editor's forthrightness and breadth of vision, something of the charm and color of her personality.

The cover of a recent issue shows a smiling Hindu child, a caste mark on her forehead.

The first page is devoted to "Trend Mail." The first column of this particular issue has three letters on Pakistan. After the third, the editor observes:

Trend gives three readers' views; its own: Pakistan is undesirable, impracticable. *Trend* contests the declaration that Moslems and Hindus constitute separate nations, agrees progress can result only from a genuine desire for unity, recognizes Moslem India's present lack of competent personnel.

The first article, headed with an 1885 photograph of the first Congress meeting, summarizes the sixty-two years of the sessions.

The second article is a profile of John L. Lewis. A paragraph:

Coal mining is a grim vocation the world over; God's Own Country is no exception. Nevertheless, the American miner remains supremely proud of his profession, aware of his hell-hole pits, but aware, too, of his safeguard—the union; his weapon—the strike; his hope—John L. Lewis.

"The Picture of the Month" is of "the nation's first Constituent Assembly . . . in the Library Hall (stripped of former Viceroy's life-size portraits), Central Assembly, New Delhi."

An illustrated article on "The Indian 'People's Set'" shows the manufacture and use of small, inexpensive radios, now being produced in quantity by National Radio.

"Page Nine" of each issue is devoted to signed comment by the Editor. This one, "Food for Thought" . . . is a vigorous condemnation of that blind, middle-class selfishness which, unfortunately, is not unique to India:

A signed "Letter from London" introduces "a series of monthly reports." Eleanor Billimoria, "well known Bombay ciné-photographer" describes and pictures "The Crafts of Mexico."

There is an inscribed, full page photograph of "Clare B. Luce, American Congresswoman," who "played an important role in the introduction of the Indian Immigration bill which was recently passed by the United States Government."

The editorial of the month, "The Labyrinth," concludes:

What India has got to have, and have quickly, is a singleness of purpose, an inward unity . . . We want to encourage the gifts of freedom, exercise ordinary civil liberties; we want to encourage individual enterprise, uphold human rights; we want to create and sustain a constitutional form of government. Let us fashion such a pattern, by ourselves—*now*.

The "Meet the People" feature in this issue introduces a fire-fighter, "representative of Bombay's 350 firemen," on duty, testing equipment, rehearsing techniques, fighting a fire, shows him in his station house, at home. After thirteen years' service, his salary is Rs. 36 (\$10.80), plus a "dearness allowance" of Rs. 26 (\$7.80), a total of \$18.60 a month.

The next article describes erosion control under our American Soil Conservation Service, and how local programs are developed.

There is an interview with Mrs. Mitha Lam, Bombay's first woman sheriff, who "thinks her appointment is a recognition of women's rights in India."

"Accent on Shoes" shows a variety of feminine footwear, designed to be worn with dresses, "lounging in your garden in a pair of slacks or with shorts," or with a sari, the long, draped garment of the Hindu woman.

The "back of the book" is made up of literary and motion picture re-

views, and a brief discussion of Indian film scripts.

Another recent issue has a New York skyscraper as its cover, a third has a shocking picture of a "labour camp denizen." This issue features an article on the filthy and congested municipal labor camp at the edge of Bombay where 15,000 workers and their families live in "mud and poverty," in tragic need of decent housing, elementary sanitation, medical care, and schools.

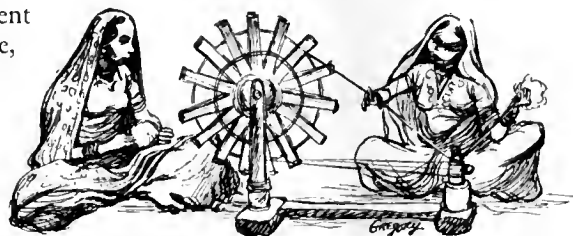
Trend takes an American reader behind the political headlines to the life in India today. For Indian readers, it is an open window on other parts of the world, particularly the United States. But more important to Indians, it is at once a "fact finding journal" and a call to action. For words and pictures not only direct attention to urgent problems, but show that something can be done about them, "by Indians—*now*."

By the time this article is in type, Miss Talyarkhan will be back at her desk in Bombay. "It is hard to know what to expect from day to day," she says, "but one thing is certain—the old order is changed. Whatever happens, things will never again be as they were.

"No Indian really wanted division," she said, her face shadowed. "But the leaders of each party have accepted the proposal, and I suppose the fact that they have gotten together on *something* represents progress. Of course we can only try the scheme, but I, for one among many, expect it to fail—simply because it is impractical. The tension seems to be growing, in spite of the attitude of the leaders. I regret this, and there are many who agree with me. We would do anything—absolutely *anything*—for peace and harmony, but this does not seem the way.

"Dispatches indicate a growing fear of the possibility of civil war in the north. Already there is more than rioting in the Punjab. For once, Congress acted in a statesmanlike way, accepting the British proposals and at the same time calling Jinnah's bluff. It remains to be seen what can be worked out."

Of another thing Frene Talyarkhan is sure: "There must be better understanding between Indians and Americans. We have so much in common. We have the same kind of sense of humor, the same love of freedom. Those are very strong bonds."



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GRAPHIC

SOCIAL THINKING SINCE THE WAR



**A PROGRAM FOR
THE UNDISCOURAGED**

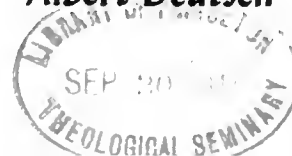
— A. A. Berle, Jr.

THE GENEVA AGREEMENTS

— J. B. Condliffe

THE MENNINGERS OF TOPEKA

— Albert Deutsch



EDUCATION FOR OUR TIME

—*November Special Number*

—*Calling America XIII*

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- . . . how can we get better teachers and more of them?
- . . . can we break the bondage of "marks" and "points"?
- . . . how would compulsory training affect education?
- . . . and a dozen other urgent questions

Next Month on This Page Look for More Details

About This Challenging Issue

SURVEY
GRAPHIC

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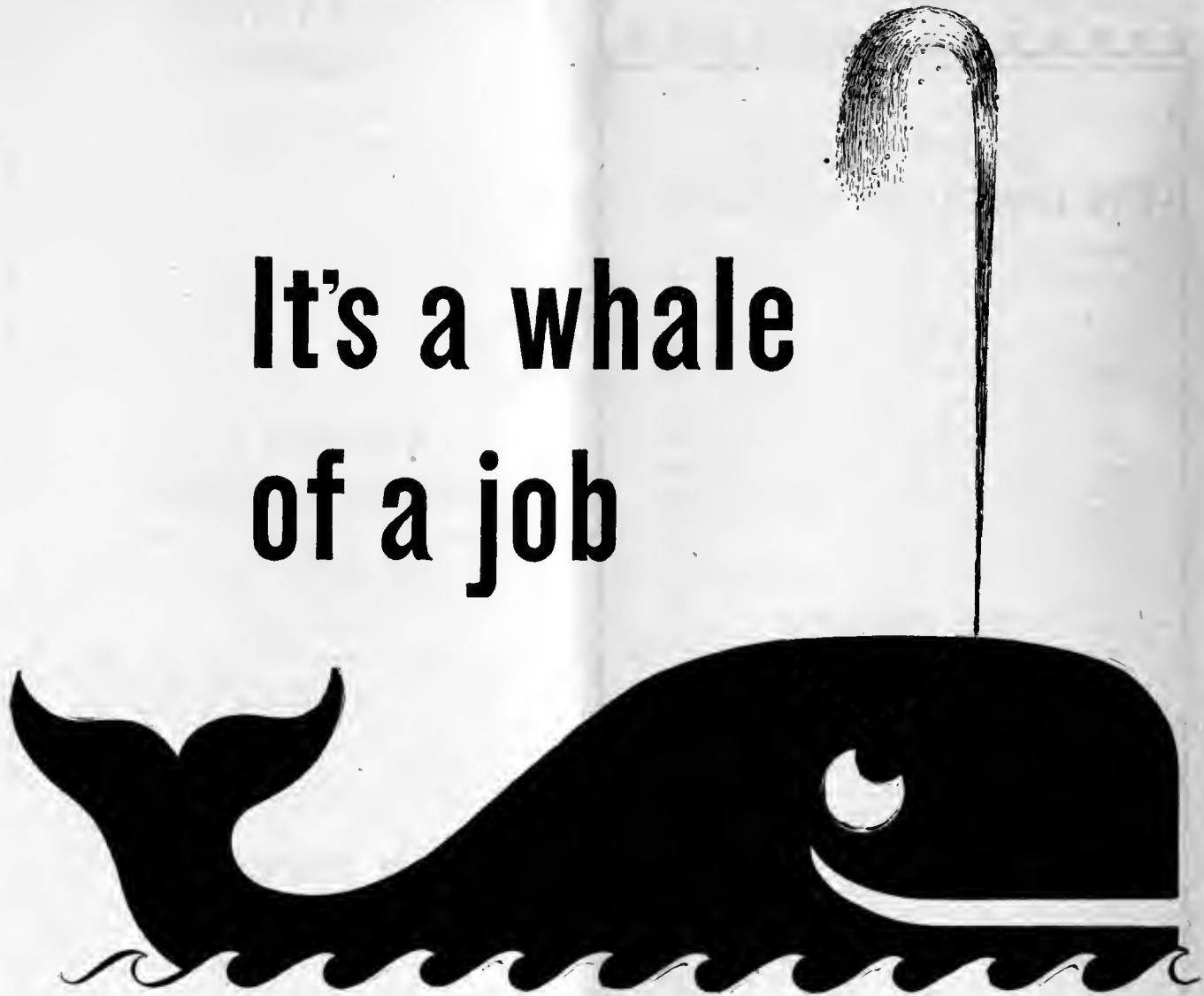
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BELL TELEPHONE SYSTEM



THE GROUP OF ARTICLES THIS MONTH collectively titled "Recent Social Thinking" is the foreshadowing of several new ideas for the fall which promise interest beyond the ordinary. The attempt to catch up with what observant people have thought about since the war is to be carried on not necessarily as a rigid and invariable series, but at least nearly every month until spring, as often as fresh and stimulating social perceptions are located. If any of these glimmerings can light the postwar path, they ought to be uncovered and put to work. Such is the intention.

A particularly needed sort of social thinking, by all reports, would be in the field of education, and the whole of the November *Survey Graphic* is to be devoted to that subject. This is to be a full dress "Calling America" issue, the most recent of that series having been "Segregation" in January. *Survey Graphic's* last education special was the notable "Schools, the Challenge of Democracy to Education," later republished as a book, which appeared in that war-darkened October 1939. The forthcoming issue, as the one before, will have our associate editor, Beulah Amidon, as special editor.

Then as another item in the fall schedule, *Survey Graphic* is looking forward to a series by some conspicuously authoritative writers on the burning question of Mental Health. You can take Albert Deutsch's account of the Menninger Clinic this month as a journalistic prologue. The scientific series is to begin in October. These varied prospects, among ourselves, give a certain sense of excitement to the office.

"DON'T REPEAT THE NOTICE; THE REPRINTS are all gone," said the business office with reference to the offer last month of distribution copies of "Time for a Positive Morality" by Dr. Henry A. Murray, from the March *Survey Graphic*. Requests flooded in from more than a dozen states, from California, Washington, and Texas, Indiana, and Minnesota, as well as the ones nearby. Copies were wanted for college and high school discussion groups, "to send to our board of directors" and to give to friends. It is a satisfaction to discover such agreement with the editors' original appreciation for this notable article.

PRAGMATISM AND YOGA ARE NOT EXACTLY kindred schools of philosophy, but when Albert Mayer's manuscript on India came in, with its accompanying quotation on "results" from "Common Sense about Yoga," it rang an editorial bell. And back in memory the trail led to William James.

The philosopher of Pragmatism is quoted, from an 1868 letter to Thomas W. Ward, in that fine anthology, "The Practical Cogitator," by Charles P. Curtis, Jr., and

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Ferris Greenslet, as follows:

"I have been growing lately to feel that a great mistake of my past life—which has been prejudicial to my education, and by telling me which, and by making me understand it . . . someone might have conferred a great benefit on me—is an impatience of results. . . . Results should not be too voluntarily aimed at or too busily thought of. They are sure to float up of their own accord, from a long enough daily work at a given matter; and I think the work as a mere occupation ought to be the primary interest with us."

You might like to turn directly over now and read the box on page 485.

"A VOICE OF THE NEW INDIA" in *Survey Graphic* last month, the profile by Beulah Amidon of the lovely looking, modern young woman in Bombay who edits a trail-blazing magazine, *Trend*, produced

practical results in Brooklyn. From that city came an inquiry about how to subscribe to this voice of new India. In case others are similarly inspired, here is the information. *Survey Graphic* does not take subscriptions for *Trend*. It is published in the Laxmi Building, Bombay; 11 rupees a year, or \$1.98.

FROM WESLEY HUSS OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE section, American Friends Service Committee, Warehouse, 23 and Arch Streets, Philadelphia, has arrived a letter of thanks to *Survey Graphic* subscribers. In the June issue was carried an appeal for used copies, both current and of back date, which would be sent by the Quakers to reading rooms, neighborhood centers, and similar public places in central Europe. The response has been large, said Mr. Huss, and the magazines are on their way to their second public of appreciative readers.



. . . Among the Undiscouraged



Recent Developments in Social Thinking

AFTER the spasmodic action of war and now the reaction of postwar anticlimax, where do we stand? Our budgets, our jobs, our governmental functioning and our social relations need to regain their balance—surely our minds also. Our thinking needs to catch up with the times. Our vision needs to look beyond. The times themselves have just gone through catastrophe and upset beyond any comparison in human memory, and no one is untouched by the shock. What now?

“A liberal program,” writes A. A. Berle, Jr., in the article immediately following, “thinks of people.”

There, perhaps, is a clue, to emphasize the social side of social thinking, the part that works out in personal relations as a chaos settles into place.

It is along the line of people and their pressing needs, together and from each other, that these questions are approached

here as such questions have been approached traditionally by *Survey Graphic* in the past. In the articles here brought together and in other groups on allied subjects from month to month hereafter, it is the intention to think of people in relation to their political, economic, and religious needs, their intercultural and industrial problems. Here is to be found an applied form of social thinking—freshly conceived ideas by writers who have taken stock of the times, presented not merely in theory but each analysis accompanied by an exhibit and demonstration.

The matter of the present four articles is political. Along with the program of the first article—no sweeping manifesto but a sharp reminder of tried resources available to meet some of our blackest fears—are tangible guides to action in flood-control, housing, and soil conservation. Does this dispel our political gloom? It is, at least, a light in the darkness and confusion, by which the seeds of hope can begin to germinate.

The lessons of the past, then, are being examined and thought over in these articles, and the same method will be applied in later months in economics, social welfare, and other fields, to attempt a relocation of our minds to face the world in which we find ourselves today.

Number 1.

A Program for the Undiscouraged

A. A. BERLE, JR.

THE YEAR 1946 ENDED, TEMPORARILY, liberal development in the national economy of the United States. Liberals disappeared from the national government. The word “planning” was banned. “Controls” were anathema, and private initiative and normalcy were the watchwords.

As a political development this was not wholly bad, because it gave liberals a chance to get back to their own affairs and do some serious thinking. Universities, regional developments, and local organizations had been drained of the men who did the studying and the scientific work which underlay such progress as had been made. Time to overhaul

ideas and do some more studying was emphatically needed. Every period of progress in the United States has been rooted in a previous period of study and thought.

Hauling off for a long view, most liberals agree that the public has definitely learned certain facts about itself; and has pretty definitely indicated the areas in which the next big job will have to be done. The first public conclusion has been that the United States does not look forward to a centralized, statist economy with enthusiasm, but it will accept statism for emergency work. The evils of private enterprise on the loose are beginning to be understood; but it is

equally clear that a wholly statist economy can unloose abuses as great or greater.

For liberal politicians, the conclusion has been both philosophical and practical. Philosophical: the country wants responsibility thrown as far back as possible, upon individuals, communities, regions, on the sound ground that this kind of organization develops and educates individuals to higher capacity, happiness, and responsibility. Practical: the government, federal in certain matters and in other respects regional and local, must supply a central core of regulation and organization, and a kit of tools, and must be ready with stand-

Social Thinking

by machinery so that the economic system shall at all times provide for the jobs, needs, and wants of 140,000,000 Americans through intelligent use of their natural resources and their human ability.

In reactionary circles — as also on the extreme left—theoretical debates go on as to the role of the state in the national economy. Joe Doakes seems equally unimpressed by both groups. Where the government can do a better job than private capital and enterprise, then he wants the government. Where private enterprise can handle the situation, in general, he prefers that. On principle, he does not give a hoot in Hades whether his water supply is provided by New York state or by the American Water Works, or his electric light by Pacific Gas and Electric or by a government owned dam—provided the service is good, the product moderately priced, and the organization courteous. But he is afraid of concentrated power, either in the hands of a centralized bureaucracy, or in the hands of a centralized corporate monopoly.

Most of all, he wants an economy that works continuously. "Depressions" or if you like, "recessions," are not, to him, valleys in a statistical chart. They are real, violent—dangerous ugly diseases, spawning unemployment, misery, and fear. Congressmen can fulminate against "planning." Economists can talk about the glory of free capitalism; but the citizen does not want alternations of "boom" and "bust" if he can help it.

He has a pretty clear idea that these evil times are somehow connected with the phenomenon of badly distributed national income; and he has learned that, in proportion as you raise the standard of living of the lower income groups, you relieve the violence of "boom" and "bust." So go to it, and get a result. Therewith, Joe Doakes signs off, and leaves it to political and economic liberals to work out ways and means.

That is about the state of the political discussion at date of writing.

2

LIBERAL THINKERS HAVE ACCEPTED these general premises, and have attempted to get down to practical measures. The more thoughtful have done a solid job in getting facts.

Aside from the mass of data collected by various government agencies (among which special mention should be made of the data of the Committee on Economic Development gathered under the supervision of Dr. Gardiner C. Means, and the President's Economic Reports from his council of Economic Advisers), the greatest piece of research was done by Dr. Frederick Dewhurst and his associates for the Twentieth Century Fund.

The resulting volume, "America's Needs and Resources," not only brought the statistical picture up to date, but undertook to prophesy the probable course of events through the year 1960, contributing an almost encyclopedic review of what America consumes now and of what it would consume *if a modestly respectable standard of living were assured to everyone.*

This last goal has never yet been achieved in any large country, though the United States more nearly approaches it than any other. With these, and a large number of other studies, the factual data for solutions are reasonably blocked out. American liberals, in consequence, are now able to look at social and economic problems not from the point of view of doctrinaire politics as Europeans do but from the point of view of reasonably well equipped social engineers.

This alone is an almost revolutionary result. It will be remembered that social problems in the past have been met with "guess" solutions, as the panic of '73 was met with greenbacks, the depression of the '90's by Bryan's free silver, and the panic of 1907 by a justifiable but clearly inadequate reliance on breaking up trusts and monopolies. In none of these cases was there any scientific

evidence demonstrating that the cure really adequately fitted the disease.

Out of the mass of data, a few main line solutions are beginning to gain general acceptance. They start from the demonstrated fact that the United States has adequate resources and capacity to provide not only for the present consumption but for an increase of production and of consumption capable of giving an adequate standard of living and opportunity for every man, woman, and child in the country.

That fact appears to be proved beyond reasonable doubt; and the problem resolves itself into finding methods for social and economic organizations to do the job. Where a European wonders how on earth he can get the necessary material, the American progressive is figuring out how capacity and resources can be organized to act continuously, and adequately distribute the product.

IN THIS SEARCH THE FIRST PREOCCUPATION of progressives is to assure a continuing and more or less even flow of capital into necessary requirements. They are clear that the national income, and with it a level of employment (60 Million Jobs"), is directly dependent on steady reinvestment of savings in actual capital goods. This, plus the spending for normal consumption, keeps the economic plant running at or near capacity, and at or near full employment. When the flow of capital into productive enterprise falls off, unemployment begins, and is followed by contraction of consumption, and the down-spiral of recession.

Actually the business cycle, so far, has been a series, a greatly stimulated capital flow, followed by a drying up; and industrial life has been for both employers and workers a series of alternations of prosperity and distress.

Assuring continued expenditures of capital is thus the first line of attack on eliminating depression. It is here that the cleavage begins between the liberal and the conservative. The conservative says that if conditions are made attractive enough to capital, it will go on flowing and no one need worry. This, of course, is romantic; conditions were entirely to the satisfaction of private capital in President Hoover's time—but it stopped flowing nevertheless.

The liberal says that when it stops flowing or begins to do so, the gov-



ernment must assure a flow in any event, spending itself, if need be. Capital can go into cold storage for a time without serious loss, but human beings cannot remain unemployed without terrible consequences. Liberals, therefore, have been giving a great deal of thought to outlets for capital investment when and as private capital is unable or unwilling to move out.

FOUR MAIN METHODS HAVE BEEN DEVELOPED along this line: each has several ramifications. All four are worth looking at.

The first, and least controversial, is for the government to provide capital to private enterprise which needs, wants, and can use it in those times when private banking does not fill the need at a reasonable rate and on reasonable terms. This was actually one of the first and most successful developments of the Roosevelt administration.

Riders on the Pennsylvania railroad between New York and Washington may not know that the electrification of that line was the fruit of the first public works loan made by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. This sort of thing could be done on a large scale. Thus, it is calculated at present that the electric power industry alone could presently use about five billion dollars of additional capital to develop services which are urgently needed now. At the moment there is a ready flow of capital for that purpose. But if private capital should dry up, the mechanism of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation or some similar agency must be there to pick up the slack. The country needs the additional electric power. Labor needs the jobs. The suppliers of material need the markets. The unfilled need for consumption is demonstrated by the figures.

Point One on the list of liberal thinking is simply this: *The supply of capital must never be closed.*

Public credit for private operation is the easiest hurdle to cross. But it is not adequate by itself: private organisms may not wish to develop; so the second mainline solution is more controversial, though well demonstrated. Through governmental action, certain great resources can be developed on a regional basis as a combined means of greater employment, production, consumption, and improvement in living standards.

THE author happens to be chairman of the independent political group, based principally in New York, which is known as the Liberal Party. His use here of the word liberal, however, is with a small "l" and his article is not a party platform but a personal report.

A. A. Berle, Jr., learned his politics by practical experience. A lawyer and associate professor of law at Columbia University, he was brought in early as an adviser to Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt. Later he was City Chamberlain of New York under Mayor La Guardia, then Assistant Secretary of State and Ambassador to Brazil. He also is a member of the board of Survey Associates.



The typical project of this type is the development of river valley systems. Such projects combine protection against floods and soil erosion with additional development of power, and the rise of industries with them. A number of such developments have been surveyed; one—the Tennessee Valley Authority—has already been a huge success.

THE TEN PROJECTS MOST COMMONLY named are, respectively: the TVA, (partly developed at a net expense of \$718,000,000); the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence project; the Connecticut and Merrimac Valley New England development; the Ohio Valley development; the lower Mississippi project; the Arkansas Valley project (one of the most promising from many points of view); the Missouri Valley development (which would cost less than the flood damage of this Spring alone); the Pacific Northwest plan, already begun but not filled in by the Grand Coulee and Bonneville dams (which are the completed uppermost and lowermost of a proposed system of eleven major dams with some seventy-five additional projects on the Columbia tributaries); the central valley of California project for developing the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers (both already begun); and the added development of the Colorado Basin.

Over a period of fifteen to sixty years, between \$40,000,000,000 and \$50,000,000,000 could be profitably spent on these projects. Capital assets fully equal to the expenditure would be the result. These ten do not exhaust the list; they are merely major proposals which are more or

less worked out. Of these, the Missouri Valley Authority seems to be the most pressing from the standpoint of need of the project. At date of writing there is clearly no need for additional capital development to maintain a stable economy; but the need is there that the work should be done, as many a washed-out Missouri Valley farmer can testify.

Most liberals have studied the famous controversy between David Lilienthal and Harold Ickes about organization. That controversy, it will be remembered, was whether projects of this kind should be centralized, as Ickes wished, in a Washington administration (say in the Department of Interior), or decentralized as separate regional developments, based on the activation of local interest, following Lilienthal's ideas.

That debate was won hands down by Lilienthal. Again the principle: throw the responsibility as far back as possible. Regional development is more comprehensible to Joe Doakes if it is run from the region itself. More men are developed by it; the work done, more nearly conforms to the needs and capacities of the community it serves.

This line of operation is controversial. Private utility companies have as yet been unable to find a way of doing the job of these great regional developments; but they do bitterly resent, and finance violent propaganda against the doing of it by public or semipublic authority. Joe Doakes holds the deciding vote in the controversy. Liberals believe, I think with reason, that Joe will support them when the need for action comes.

A SECOND GREAT GROUP OF PROJECTS which can be uncorked to maintain an even flow of capital is that revolving around urban development. Here no end of expert work has been done, a good deal of it under the auspices of the Federal Reserve Board by Alvin Hansen and Guy Greer. This has been supplemented by the work of a good many planning commissions: the New York City Planning Commission has made a very respectable beginning on the problem of metropolitan New York.

But clear agreement on method is still to be attained. Redevelopment acts have been passed in New York, Illinois, Michigan, Kentucky, Maryland, Wisconsin, Missouri, Indiana, and New Jersey. It is plain that these

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acts need further revision. Nevertheless, an area of capital expenditure for which your money's worth will be received lies already at hand.

A demonstration program would be carried out if the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill became law; the experience under that, or a similar act, could be drawn on for unnumbered uses in the event of a national depression. In this class of project, as in the case of the river valley developments, you kill two birds with one stone. You maintain capital flow, and with it employment and commercial activities when private capital goes to cover. And you get houses—and the Lord knows we need houses—and better cities to live in.

Still another set of projects is found in the conservation field—one of the desperately neglected fields of American endeavor. This subject is technical and it is connected with an allied problem which is humanly pressing: the problem of the tenant farmer. This last, a dangerous development in American agriculture, is a preoccupation of all liberals. Actually, nearly 40 percent of American farms are operated now by tenants, and they till nearly 30 percent of the farm land. The combination of land rehabilitation and a tenant purchase program is very nearly a "must" in the next phase. It can be combined with the problem of preventing or curing depression.

This does not exhaust the kind of projects which liberals have been studying. Enough has been said to show that there are ample ways in which American productivity can be put to work through capital expenditures, when and as the purely private operations do not fill the bill. None of this is boondoggling. All is worth doing for its own sake, and doubly worth doing as part of a program to keep the economy working at all times.

Most liberals regard it as a plain crime that modest expenditures have not been made to draw accurate plans and specifications for a considerable number of these projects. Were a depression to be threatened tomorrow, and were the public to demand action (as it would), six months or a year would be needed to do the blueprint engineering and draw specifications so that work could actually start. The cost of doing this elementary

work now is small. The cost of doing it and keeping several million men on unemployment relief or dole, while the plans are being drawn or finished, would run into staggering figures.

Few will forget those congressmen who, in 1944, voted down an appropriation to draw such plans on the ground that this meant "planning"; and "planning" meant socialism; and therefore down with it all. That memory is not pleasant. We shall have to pay a heavy bill for that piece of almost illiterate shortsightedness.

3

LIBERAL STUDENTS HAVE OTHERWISE had to face and think out the problem: "What are you going to use for money?" In this field the theorists and academic students have given precious little help. Experience, on the other hand, has given a plain demonstration (1) that money can be obtained whenever there is need; and (2) that the oft raised cry of "inflation" is unfounded *so long as men are idle and productive facilities are unused*.

If academic studies have been lacking, the public has learned that inflation comes only after money has outrun production. In short, you do not get inflation in time of depression. Government credit can safely be used when production slacks off. The time to worry about use of government credit is when production is at its top, and cannot readily be increased. In general, experience shows that Americans, though congenital optimists, underestimate their own ability to produce. The figures we have (I rely again on the Twentieth Century Fund study) indicate that even today we have still untapped resources of production — though there is at the moment no pressure of unemployment requiring unusual measures.

Further, the experience of the New Deal experiments of the '30's (which today seem small compared to the possibilities we now know exist) suggests that expenditures of the kind proposed are anything but losses.

In point of fact, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation operations have shown a profit. Even a purely protective operation like the Home Owners Loan Corporation (which did not construct but merely took over mortgages from frightened owners and worked out the situation with time

instead of by foreclosure) likewise winding up better than even.

It is demonstrable, I think, that the United States is making, and not losing, money on the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Grand Coulee, the Bonneville, and the Boulder (now Hoover) dams.

Clearly, when government debt is as high as it is now, liberals—who, contrary to the usual impression, are rather canny in money matters—prefer to find ways of using private accumulations wherever possible; but they will not abandon a project rather than use government credit. The liberal thinking and studies have demonstrated that money and finance ought to be considered as a means of transportation, organization, and exchange, not as a private hoard. There is simply no use in facing modern civilization and engineering with the half savage conception of an Indian hill Rajah who thinks of money as a hoard of gold and jewels in a palace hiding place.

As a result, liberals who think about these things have been consistently in favor of keeping the Reconstruction Finance Corporation standing — though at present its operations may not be great—of keeping the Home Owners Loan Corporation available for future use and possibly extending it to take care of a collapse in consumer credit (for instance, household furniture bought by veterans on the installment plan), and of maintaining the not dissimilar mechanism of the War Plants Corporation, which financed the building of the country's additional war production. What is needed still more is the location of informed and capable staffs for these and like institutions, which can be called together when the time arrives to begin operations.

MOST LIBERALS WHO HAVE STUDIED OUR currency and credit system are shocked to find that it took World War II to educate even technicians in its possibilities. The greatest of peacetime economic programs ever dreamed was microscopic by comparison with the draft on the productive system and its companion, the money and credit system, involved in the war. A peacetime economic program produces values for expenditures made, whereas wartime expenditures are mainly destroyed or wasted.

The problem "What are you going to use for money?" has ceased to be

question of whether it can be done. *we now know by experience that it can be done.* The problem is how can it best be done — done with least danger, least waste, greatest conservation of values, financial, economic, and social, for all concerned.

4

THERE REMAIN THREE OTHER FIELDS not strictly connected with economic stability and certainly far afield from control of depressions and unemployment, though the third of them lies closely in that range. Of these, the most pressing is that of medical care. And Surgeon General Thomas Parran has taught the country that a far higher level of health can be had if and when the country wants it badly enough to pay for it. Various experiments, like the New York City experiment in group health insurance, demonstrate that ways can be found to assure that illness does not mean bankruptcy to a family which though not rich, is not so poor as to claim pauper's care. So far as I know, there is no single measure yet worked out which meets the general

need. Partial measures do exist; and at least one is ready for introduction in the Congress.

Here, liberal thinking becomes doctrinaire. If health is worth having, it is worth having now. There is no point in waiting. There is, for example, no solid reason for permitting the continuance of venereal disease at the present rate; or for failure to make available throughout the whole country the methods by which the common diseases are controlled; and no reason for permitting malnutrition in childhood to exact a terrible toll in later weakness.

This is not a "self-liquidating" expenditure, but a human obligation. You do not get your money back. You want health. You want it as badly as, say, you want a movie. Of the national expenditures, less is spent on medical care (\$4,000,000,000 in 1940, including everything) than on tobacco (almost \$8,000,000,000). Here is a straight case where Joe Doakes must decide what he wants. The liberal has a job of education as well as a job of technical planning.

And education. Here also the liberal is doctrinaire. He knows that the

greatest single reason why the United States is as successful as it has been is the fact that Jefferson gave it a system of universal education. American human resources have thereby been developed more widely than those of any other great country. He knows, too, that in certain areas education is not keeping pace with the needs of the country. Probably the local and regional governments ought to be doing this job, but they are not. Education is one of the matters in which you cannot take a chance. For this reason, the liberal wants federal aid to education. He wants the inequalities of opportunity which prevail in various regions wiped out, because he knows we cannot have any part of the United States begin to degenerate without affecting all.

To permit the continued lack of educational opportunity for Negroes, for instance, is not only a crime against the Negro; it is a danger to the nation. A noble state like Virginia violates the tradition of Jefferson by being close to the bottom in education for everybody, and it rejoices in an average salary of \$987 for a white teacher and \$605 for a Negro teacher. Well, Virginia ought to do better; but if she cannot, the rest of us must help her.

The third measure liberals want is still in process of formation. Though liberals chiefly rely on sound handling of national economy to avoid depressions and to level off booms, unemployment will still exist to some ex-

"NOT THE QUININE . . . but . . . keep the patient healthy instead," advises ROBERT M. MacIVER.

For the sake of varied perspective, *Survey Graphic* sent a copy of Mr. Berle's manuscript to the Lieber Professor of Political Philosophy and Sociology at Columbia University and author of the recent highly praised volume, "The Web of Government." Professor MacIver's comment follows:—

WITH THE TENOR OF ADOLF BERLE'S ARTICLE I AM IN hearty accord. I like particularly his statement concerning the stand of liberalism against theoretical extremes. The world is sick with the clash of abstract "isms," inflexible dogmas that demand all or nothing and see everything in the light of sheer irreconcilable opposites. These irrationalities, the irrationalities of communism and of reaction, refuse to look on the growing, pulsing life of our changing society; they see nothing but their own flaunting banners and the march of power.

True liberals call a plague on both their houses. They do it not in negative fashion—that was the curse of traditional liberalism—but with constructive vision, the vision that builds TVAs, that works for the physical and social health of the people, that brings to the people what the people need, helping them to help themselves, avoiding centralization where possible, and thus making the great state the flexible agent of the well-being of the community.

When, however, we turn to Mr. Berle's practical prescriptions we must point out that they do not adequately present the mission of liberalism. Mr. Berle is mainly concerned with a pump-priming technique to

rescue us from depressions. It is of course a very important issue, but liberalism does not stand or fall with the success or failure of a particular economic device.

Whatever the merits of that device, the emphasis of liberalism should not be centered on it. It should put first not the quinine that may restore the fevered patient, but the regimen that will keep the patient healthy instead. For one thing, it must take its stand against the economic bars and fences that self-seeking interests set up, both domestically and internationally, to impede the flow of trade and to limit the benefits of technological advance. Already, since the war, one important American industry has sheltered itself behind a prohibitive tariff and then proceeded to boost its prices.

IT IS THE FIRST TASK OF LIBERALISM, IN THE ECONOMIC sphere, to see that the gains of scientific and technological advances are shared by all the people, at the same time enacting provisions so that a minimum, an increasing minimum, of health, of income, of security becomes the right of every citizen. Mr. Berle is strongly in favor of these things—but the space he gives to a particular economic formula puts them out of focus.

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tent. In part, we can meet this by widening the system of social security (a standard liberal measure), but more is needed. You cannot satisfy a man who wants a job either by a dole or by a discussion on national economic policy. He wants to be put to work. This was LaGuardia's idea when he dealt with the problem of unemployment relief in New York City.

In other words, any man who really wants a job ought to have a place where he can go and get it; and certain public work ought always to be available for that purpose. In the case of rural development, reforestation, and certain kinds of soil conservation, this was roughly the principle of the Citizens Conservation Corps, though that was limited to youth. Charles W. Taussig adapted the principle to the large and successful operations of the National Youth Administration. In good times, the necessity of ready employment for particular groups would not be greatly used; in bad times, it may be essential as a bridge between jobs. Consequently the liberal wants this sort of machinery worked out and ready.

He has another reason for wanting this. Being of a ranging turn of mind, he does follow scientific developments. He knows that we have had a run of technological development whose proportions are hardly suspected. On top of that, atomic power for civilian use is undeniably coming up. This means, unquestionably, both a great increase in productivity and a great shift in employment. Granted that in the end there will be more and not less employment—but Joe Doakes is not interested in a statistical result. He is thinking about his job and his family, not someone else's, for he must. So, provision for ready funds, for immediate employment, with training for youth, or retraining for new types of employment, must be very much on the minds of liberal thinkers.

5

WE BEGAN WITH THE PHILOSOPHICAL conception that a liberal program thinks of people. Everything from there out has been a mechanism for developing individuals. The liberal does not want to make a dictatorship of the proletariat. He wants to abolish the concept of the "proletariat." The

U. S. has a fair chance of doing this. The liberal is preoccupied with practical methods of getting this result.

He would begin by trying to stabilize, educate, and strengthen the private economic machinery—though he gets precious little help from the conservatives who fundamentally don't want to be bothered until they are in trouble, and then want to be saved at public expense. He is equally prepared to work with private enterprise—if it liberates and develops individuals; and with semi-governmental or wholly governmental operation if need be.

If a depression were to begin tomorrow, the measures outlined above, and others besides (for this article cannot be complete), unquestionably would become the active program of the country in just the time it takes for the country to register its desire in effective political action. There is no question about this. Never again will the country wait in dumb misery as it did from 1929 to 1933, praying for a change of economic weather.

The point has been made: the job of meeting economic and social misery can be done, whenever the United States wants to do it. The technicians have the knowledge on demand.

Exhibit A

Flood Control—or Pork Barrel?

THEY TELL A STORY DOWN IN Mississippi that sums up the first fifty years of flood control in the United States better than a bureauful of statistics, though there's not a word about flood control in it.

One hot summer afternoon, near Yazoo City a traveler found a car parked on the shoulder of the highway. In the back seat sat the late United States Senator John Sharp Williams, placidly reading his newspaper in the shade. Applying himself to a front tire, which was sadly flat, was the Senator's chauffeur. With perspiration dripping in the oven-like heat, he was rhythmically operating a tire pump. What intrigued the passerby's fancy was that as fast as air was pumped in, it came out through a large hole in the tire.

"Don't you know," he said, "that

RUFUS TERRAL

—Rivers and floods and the development of valleys have been a principal subject for the author since his days as a reporter and editorial writer on the Chattanooga Times just when TVA was being launched and getting its first growth. From there he went on to the staff of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, where he remains.

He found time of late to produce a book on his specialty, "The Missouri Valley: Land of Drought, Flood and Promise," which the Yale University Press is bringing out next month. Mr. Terral is a native of Mississippi and a graduate of the Pulitzer School of Journalism, Columbia University.

air's coming out as fast as you're pumping it in?"

The chauffeur looked up and

smiled with patient tolerance. "Yes, I know," he said, "I know. But the Senator says pump it, and I pump."

What many of us in the Mississippi Valley call pumping on an unprecedented scale was urged by President Truman in a special message to Congress this summer. Aroused by the May-June floods which cost thirty-eight lives and \$164,000,000 in damage (according to the estimate of Army Engineers) the President proposed that Congress complete its authorized flood control projects in the Mississippi Valley, amounting to four billion odd, in the next ten years, and begin by adding \$250,000,000 to its current appropriations.

There you have the same old pork barrel, the same old partial planning and divided execution. Mr. Truman even adopted the peculiar bias of the



Harris & Ewing

River on rampage, town flooded out, a saturated solution of irreplaceable topsoil! This, the Ohio near Cincinnati, but repeated hundreds of times a year.

Army Engineers in his proposal for apportionment of the funds. Of his proposed \$250,000,000 immediate addition, he wished to assign \$237,000,000 for the engineers, leaving \$10,000,000 for the Reclamation Bureau and \$3,000,000 for the Soil Conservation Service.

Yet according to Soil Conservation figures the flood damages of May and June which related to soil conservation amounted to \$1,200,000,000, or just about seven times what the Army Engineers considered flood damage. This greater loss consisted of soil washed away, gullyng, damage to land and crops, damage to earth on highways and railroad rights of way, and deposit of earth refuse and destructive silt on farmlands and in drainage ditches and reservoirs. Loss of topsoil in Iowa, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, and South Dakota amounted to \$660,000,000, at the ultra-conservative estimate of one dollar a ton. Enough was carried away from the first three states alone to supply the topsoil for 3,650 family-size farms of 160 acres each.

The Department of Agriculture, which has jurisdiction over the Soil Conservation Service, has estimated that merely to make a survey and plans for what should be done about soil conservation in the Missouri Valley—to say nothing of the rest of the

Mississippi system — would cost \$1,000,000 and that execution of the plan probably would cost a total of \$350,000,000. And remember—the soil loss from this year's flood alone was \$1,200,000,000.

To conserve the soil against floods—to tackle the causes of more than 80 percent of the flood damage in the 1947 disaster—President Truman proposed to provide a little more than one percent of the funds. For the favored Army Engineers' flood work he proposed more than 90 percent of the total.

Congress granted about 39 percent of the President's request. It added \$93,000,000 to the Army Engineers appropriation, \$6,500,000 to the Reclamation Bureau, and \$2,000,000 to the Soil Conservation Service. All told, original appropriation plus the \$93,000,000, the Army Engineers have nearly \$213,000,000 for their flood control work in the Mississippi Valley this fiscal year.

WE FIRST TACKLED THE FLOOD PROBLEM sixty-eight years ago by adopting a method which China had been demonstrating for the past 4,000 years wouldn't work. Applying the most modern knowledge of the twentieth

century A.D., the enlightened United States decided to rely upon levees, and levees alone. China's experience with levees on the Hwang-Ho or Yellow River had had two outstanding results. First, floods had continued to do business as usual. Second, so much silt had been deposited by the muddy Hwang-Ho, in flood and out, that the river bed had risen twenty feet above the neighboring terrain.

It would have seemed obvious that controlling floods after they happened wasn't enough—that the ultimate answer was to prevent them, in whole or in part. Wasn't it obvious that one of the most damaging effects was the scouring off of topsoil from the land, where it was needed to produce food, and its deposit in the riverbeds, where it did harm? Wasn't it obvious that flood control had to begin by prevention, way back before the waters had a chance to turn life-sustaining land into wasteland?

The answer is that it was not obvious to the President and Congress and to the agency entrusted with administering orders.

A policy of levees-only for flood control was adopted by the first federal flood control agency, the Mississippi River Commission, when it was



Bureau of Reclamation

Multi-purpose Hoover Dam on the Colorado, for flood control, irrigation, and power

organized in 1879, and by the Corps of Engineers of the United States Army, though an engineer seventeen years earlier had recommended using reservoirs and diversion channels as well. In the construction of levees, local governments, local taxing districts, and local individuals joined in, until the levee system became to the government what bloodletting had once been to the medical profession: a vested interest in a basic fallacy.

Along the lower Mississippi it was not quite respectable to advocate any means of flood control other than levees. The levee, like the Democratic Party and quinine, was a known specific for a prevailing ill, and to be treated with equal veneration.

As late as 1913 it was still possible to sneer at the idea of reservoirs to prevent floods or to whittle them

down to size, and to sneer at forestation to soak up rainfall, keep the topsoil where it belonged, and prevent that much silt and water from aggravating the floods. In that year the president of the Mississippi River Levee Association dismissed both these methods with airy scorn, declaring:

If I attempted to quote the opinion of every engineer who has condemned all plans of flood control of the lower Mississippi, except levees, I would be here all day. I have referred to the false methods, that you may know that they have been investigated by scientific authority and have failed to meet with its approval.

As the floods continued, levees were raised to meet them—seventeen feet at Memphis, Tenn., and Helena, Ark. From the first levee built at New Or-

leans in 1717 by the French engineer LeBlond de la Tour, the system had grown, by 1927, to more than 1,324 miles of levees, averaging eighteen feet high. They had cost the federal government \$71,000,000, and state and local organizations \$167,000,000—\$238,000,000 in all.

Behind the levees, in the areas which the river formerly spread out to in flood time, farms were developed, houses were built, towns sprang up. If the levees should break, much more damage would be done than before they were constructed, because there was more property to be damaged in the natural flood area. For another thing, water pouring from a levee crevasse flows faster and with greater force than natural flood flow.

THEN 1927 CAME, A YEAR FOR WHICH Congress and its flood control agency had had forty-eight years and \$86,000,000 — including \$15,000,000 in Delta contributions—to prepare. Were they ready? Were the farms and cities secure? Did the levees tower strong and safe beside the river? Was the only flood control policy which Congress ever enunciated a success?

The Mississippi swept aside its levees to flood 28,500 square miles in Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri, an area the size of Ireland. It killed 308 people. It made 700,000 homeless. Damage was estimated at \$208,000,000. "The greatest peacetime disaster the United States has ever known," Herbert Hoover called it. It was a disaster that had been building up since the year 1879 when the Mississippi River Commission decided, against the evidence of forty centuries of human experience, to depend on levees alone.

No one could pretend any longer that levees alone provided flood protection, or ever could provide it. The very agency which was responsible for sole reliance on the levee said so. In a report to Congress in 1928, eloquent in its way with frustration, the Chief of Army Engineers, Major General Edgar Jadwin, said:

The plan heretofore pursued has been the construction of levees high enough and strong enough to confine all of the flood waters within the river channels. . . . This reclamation had been pushed so far that insufficient room was left in the river for the passage of the unprecedented volume of flood water. . . . The confinement of flood flows by levees has

substantially raised the flood heights. . . .

The levees are now close to their practical limit as to height. This is shown in every flood by the sand boils which develop behind the levees, and by the settlement of levees on bad foundations. . . . The levees must be strengthened but a halt must be called on further material increase in their height and the consequent threat to the inhabitants of the areas they are built to protect.

General Jadwin then proposed a semi-revolutionary change. The levees should be raised, but only about three feet. The major features of the Jadwin Plan were floodways and spillways. Floodways were enclosures within a secondary line of levees to be built; they would let the river out to a width of five to ten miles through

woods and swamps. Spillways were engineering works which permitted flood waters to be diverted into other waterways. One spillway would allow Mississippi River flood waters to be shunted into the Atchafalaya River in Louisiana. Another would divert floodwater into Lake Pontchartrain, upstream from New Orleans. For realization of the plan Congress appropriated \$325,000,000.

The policy makers had ventured part of the way toward really coming to grips with the flood problem. But still they were thinking in terms of flood control rather than flood prevention. Still, they were doing nothing to prevent the Mississippi from carrying over 406,000,000 tons of silt to the sea yearly and pushing the land

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out into the Gulf of Mexico a mile farther every twenty-one years.

When floods covered farms, factories, and towns, that was flood damage as Congress and the Army Engineers understood flood damage, and they cast their votes against it. But when floods carried off the soil that made the farms, factories, and towns possible in the first place, that was not flood damage as the policy makers understood it.

The Army Engineers were cool to these phases of flood prevention work outside of their province and experience, and within the purview of the Department of Agriculture. Nobody

(Continued on page 493)

Exhibit B

Housing: Let's Not Kid Ourselves

GUY GREER

WHY ARE PROSPECTS FOR IMPROVEMENT of the housing situation in the United States so gloomy for everybody except families with plenty of money? Why do we have no clearly defined national policy on housing? Or should we have one?

Put these questions to a dozen average citizens, and you will get more than a dozen different answers. But the responses will be alike in that they show a high degree of confusion, plus exasperation—not to mention the distress of those who happen to be hunting for habitable dwellings or tormented by the fear of higher rents.

You will be reminded, no doubt, that the Senate of the United States does have a policy. In 1946 it passed the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill, designed to deal in some fashion with all principal phases of the problem. But the bill failed of passage in the House and never even got out of committee. The House held no hearings; apparently did not consider it worth bothering about.

You may then be given an embittered account, pro or con, of the abortive emergency housing program of Wilson Wyatt in 1946. If so, you will be unable to escape the human side of the problem. Scientific detachment

—Housing and the layout of cities had long been an avocation with Guy Greer when he went to Washington in the 1930's to work with the Federal Reserve Board and later with the Federal Housing Administration.

As a young man he spent five years in Paris on the staff of the Peace Conference and the Reparation Commission, later represented an American investment banking house in Europe. He is author of the current book "Your City Tomorrow" and was for several years an editor of Fortune. He is now professional consultant on housing and community planning, and an active free lance writer.



will be hard to maintain. For you will be shown a picture of millions of young people—war veterans and the finest of the generation that will make or mar their country's future—thwarted in their efforts to establish homes because there are not enough houses to go round and especially because those available are beyond their means.

You will surely be told that substantially the same bill as was passed by the Senate in 1946, now renamed the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill, is again before Congress. A Senate committee reported it out, and in the

House it received the same brushoff as before.

What kind of a problem is it that could lead to such an impasse? The short answer is that it is certainly not simple. But whatever our political predilections, housing is something in which our government simply must play an important role. And playing it in the dark, guided by emotion rather than fact, would not make very good sense. (In this discussion an effort is made to clarify only the rock-bottom essentials. The full story—in voluminous details with chapter and verse cited for many important things not mentioned here—is available in recent publications. Notable are the "Hearings" in 1944-45, running to over two thousand pages, of a Senate subcommittee and the "Report" of that subcommittee—only twenty-three pages—to the Banking and Currency Committee of the Senate, in August 1945).

TO GET THE PROBLEM INTO PERSPECTIVE, we had best think of first the emergency and then, the fundamentals. But we must always remember that the two are closely related. Today's shortage is partly a result of the war. It differs from other shortages only in that it affects more people. It

Two who have been lucky. Millions of others won't be—until the fundamentals of the thorny housing problem are met and understood by us all



is more acute than others, and it is therefore marked by an even greater rise in costs. But it is also the result of conditions of long standing, under which a shortage had been accumulating for ten to fifteen years before the war. By standards now considered adequate, the deficit has been piling up for much longer.

As of the end of 1945, official estimates indicated a requirement of something like 3,000,000 dwelling units to be constructed in 1946 and 1947 just to ease the emergency shortage, particularly for veterans. The great majority of the new houses, moreover, needed to be for sale at under \$6,000 or for rent at less than \$50 a month. Thereafter, for ten years or so, new construction needed to be at least 1,000,000 units a year, preferably 1,500,000 or even more, to replace the millions of substandard

dwelling units that ought to be torn down.

The immediate emergency might have been managed by retention of both price control and rationing for two or three years, *plus* something like the abandoned Wyatt program. But all that is water over the dam. Neither Congress nor Administration (nor apparently the people) cared in 1945 and 1946 to face up to the necessity of continued controls. The Wyatt program never had a chance. Actually the new construction of 1946-47 is not expected to reach 1,500,000 units, not even half of the estimated requirement; and hardly any of these dwellings will be purchasable at \$6,000 or under, or rentable at \$50 a month or less. It looks now as if the overwhelming majority will sell at over \$10,000 or rent at well above \$80.

New construction costs are so high that the building industry has "priced

itself out of the market." Scattered here and there about the country, considerable numbers of new houses are standing vacant for lack of purchasers able to buy. Keen observers are predicting a slump in construction, which may accentuate a marked recession if it does not precipitate a depression. Even if such dark forecasts prove mistaken, there is every expectation that the present housing shortage will continue for years, with families doubling up or otherwise making the best of a bad situation.

Hope for improvement would seem to lie in a simultaneous attack, not only on the immediate emergency but on the fundamentals. And such indeed is the avowed purpose of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill. But before examining this proposal, let us briefly review the facts.

TO STATE THE PROBLEM IN GENERAL terms is easy enough. It arises out of the fact that dwelling accommodations of currently accepted standards cost a great deal more than many American families—at least a third and probably over half of them—can afford to pay. If incomes in the lower brackets were raised sufficiently, or if the cost of occupying an acceptable dwelling were lowered sufficiently, or if both happened together sufficiently, the problem would soon be solved. There would be no occasion to ask help from state or federal governments, except as regards some far reaching reforms in taxation and expenditures to relieve the critical financial position of cities and towns. Inadequate income of a large proportion of families comes close to being *the* problem of American economy.

The excessive cost of living in an acceptable dwelling results primarily from backwardness of the residential construction industry. In the modern sense this is not an industry at all, but a congeries of small businesses operating by methods nearly as primitive as those of a hundred years ago. Scarcely any of the advances which have resulted in mass production and greatly lowered costs of other durable necessities (or luxuries) have taken place in the building of houses.

Small scale builders, however, build most of the residence houses in America and they are up against large scale organization of a peculiarly unfortunate character, both in labor and in building materials. In neither case is the builder in a position of anything



Photos by Charles Phelps Cushing

Knickerbocker Village, recent housing project, New York City—good because it exists—minor panacea because there aren't enough like it

like equal bargaining power. He must operate under conditions which he cannot control.

In such a complication, the temptation is great to hurl curses at everybody. Building trades labor might be damned mildly for high wage demands, but certainly with utmost severity for its multiplicity of working rules and practices that greatly raise the cost of construction. Manufacturers of building materials might be threatened with dire punishment, in some instances for monopolistic crimes, but especially, and well nigh universally, for their methods of distribution. A chain of middlemen adds from 40 to 150 percent to the cost of materials delivered, and the *average* increase over manufacturing costs is estimated at not less than 100 percent. Small builders might be blasted for sins of omission—for neglecting to get together and form big and efficient construction companies.

Wholesale condemnation, however, cannot be justified by objective analysis. Let us glance briefly at the setting in which each of the three groups must perform its functions.

Building trades labor (apart from racketeering, to be dealt with in the criminal courts) can present a case so

strong as to be, under past and present conditions, unanswerable. The workers are caught in a vicious spiral. For decades they have been forced to try to prevent any falling off in the amount of work available, and to demand higher and higher wage rates, all in an effort to maintain or increase their take-home pay. In both cases the upshot is to increase the cost of a new dwelling, and probably to reduce the volume of construction; whereupon the annual take-home pay may be less than before. A new round of wage raises, or new working rules, will be fairly sure to boost building costs still higher, to restrict still further the volume of construction, and to lower again the take-home pay.

UNTIL THERE IS A CHANGE IN CONDITIONS that make this unavoidable, building trades labor (except for the racketeers) must be considered deserving of pity rather than blame.

Manufacturers and distributors of materials are also enmeshed in circumstances, and again the reason is the small scale character of the residential construction industry. Manu-

facturers must sell their output. But since most of the ultimate buyers can take it only in small quantities, there must be the jobbers, wholesalers, and retailers—none of whom can stay in business without making very substantial markups. The retailers must keep on hand stocks of a wide variety of materials, and then, commonly, those materials must be reworked on the building site, with great waste and expenditure of labor. If we contrast this with the manner in which automobile makers buy their steel, glass, plastics, and so on directly from the factories, cut to exact size, the inordinate cost of building materials is not surprising.

If the manufacturers tried to sell to small builders, through their own organizations, the distribution costs would be about as much as through the customary chain of middlemen. Even to the occasional very large builder they can rarely afford to sell directly, because then their regularly established dealers would be deprived of an often precarious livelihood, and the bulk of their distribution arrangements might be destroyed.

To preserve the existing setup, al-

Social Thinking

most every conceivable form of restraint of trade has been common, including price fixing and exclusive dealership agreements among manufacturers, jobbers, wholesalers, retailers, contractors, subcontractors, and even labor unions. Such agreements are enforced by boycotts, strikes, and physical violence. Several times in recent years the participants have been prosecuted for conspiracy or other violations of the antitrust laws, occasionally with convictions and punishment. But there is little to indicate that the antitrust laws can be made really effective in curbing practices that result well nigh inevitably from the chaotic mixture of organization and its lack in residential construction.

In behalf of the builders it must be said that they cannot readily adapt their operations to mass production. For they have never been able, thus far at least, to count on a reasonably stable mass market. People just don't buy or rent newly produced dwellings at a steady rate. Instead they can and do get along for extended periods, either by doubling up or by continuing to live in substandard quarters. Chief items of the explanation are: varying expectations of income; hesitation to undertake the major job of

moving; and, apparently, a preference for other enjoyments or indulgences over a better place in which to live.

It is true that somewhat similar obstacles to continuous operation have been overcome in the case of such things as automobiles, refrigerators, radios, and so on. Perhaps they can be overcome with respect to dwellings for rent and for sale. But they involve problems a great deal more difficult. They present to American industry the sharpest challenge of the twentieth century, a challenge that has not yet been met. And meanwhile there is no sense in threatening to shoot the small builders, who, like the piano player in the mining camp saloon, are doing the best they can.

The foregoing, of course, does not cover all the reasons for the excessive cost of occupying an acceptable dwelling. For example, it says nothing of the cost of land, financing costs, and the nearly unbearable burden of taxes on real estate to provide public services that ought to be paid for in other ways. It begs the whole question, moreover, of housing standards. These are of much more than passing importance, because of the possibility that American families have been led to demand a great deal more than most of them ever can afford to pay for—in the way of gadgets that high

pressure salesmanship would supply as fast as the cost of essentials could be lowered.

But enough has been said to show that the cost phase of the problem cannot be solved until something like a revolution has taken place in the business of producing houses for rent and for sale.

LET US NOW TAKE A CLOSER LOOK AT the TEW bill, which purports to be precisely the double-barreled attack on the housing problem required for improvement both of present conditions and of future prospects. It is counted on by its advocates not only to result in substantial relief of the present emergency but to lead to a solution of the basic problem as well.

The bill's provision for a consolidation of all federal housing agencies appears to have been accomplished by a recent presidential order. Apart from this, the measure is notable for three novel features designed to deal with fundamentals—which we shall examine presently—and it would enact several provisions to liberalize mortgage insurance. Finally, it proposes to revive the subsidized housing program of the late 1930's to the extent of 500,000 dwelling units during a period of four years.

(Continued on page 495)

Exhibit C

Shelterbelts—for Dustbowl Control

MORRIS LLEWELLYN COOKE

AS I FIRST HEARD THE STORY ABOUT a dozen years ago, the late President Roosevelt was supposed to have been cruising off the Pacific Coast one afternoon when he received an urgent wire from a White House aide.

"YOUR NAME DISAPPEARING FROM HEADLINES. SUGGEST DO SOMETHING."

Thereupon, according to the wit who conjured up this yarn, the President wired back:

"RELEASE SHELTERBELT PROJECT."

Needless to say, the entire story is apocryphal.

I bring it up deliberately to illustrate, in one of its mildest forms, the avalanche of criticism and ridicule

—A long career as consulting engineer and public servant, with intimate observation as chairman of the Great Plains Commission, gives special equipment to the author of this report on the Shelterbelt.

In Philadelphia more than thirty years ago, he was the city's director of public works. In Brazil five years ago, he was chairman of a technical mission dealing with that country's natural resources. In between, his work has included service as chairman of the Mississippi Valley Committee and of the water planning committee of the National Resources Board, and first administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration.

that was loosed on the President and on the Shelterbelt when that project was launched. Few undertakings of the New Deal were subjected to more abuse. Only "That Man" would have the effrontery to try such a fantastic whim! A shelterbelt, indeed! One cartoon pictured F.D.R. pulling a rabbit out of a tall hat.

A lot has taken place since the first few million trees were planted and the cries of the wounded politicians were shrilling back and forth. What has happened in the meantime to the famed and defamed Shelterbelt?

In the first place, there is no solid belt of trees, one hundred miles wide,



Soil Conservation Service

running straight and true from the Canadian border to Texas. That belt existed only in the fertile imagination of the objectors. What was actually proposed, when the program was launched in 1934, was the planting of many million trees as wind barriers—within a hundred-mile-wide zone—extending from Canada into Texas, through the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, and Oklahoma. Belts were to range from about four to twenty rows wide, averaging about ten rows.

It was a perfect setup for controversy, to be sure. But those who once referred to the plan as an “air castle” or as a “criminal waste of the taxpayers’ money” would now rather let the subject alone. This, because the trees in the shelterbelts are growing in the Great Plains—more than 200,000,000 trees in fact. They are helping to do just what Franklin Roosevelt claimed they would do. They are helping to divert the winds, and thus wind erosion. In summer they are giving protection to crops against the hot, sharp blasts. In winter they protect livestock from chilling blasts. They are making the plains country a more attractive place in which to live. And along with their many other attributes, by no means least, they gave new hope to many a despondent plainsman who, once on the verge

A ten-row five eighths mile shelterbelt planted in 1940 near Waco, Nebraska, which combines field and farmstead protection—besides being good to the eye

of turning back his dust-ridden farm to nature, is now helping to produce food there for a hungry world.

Opposition to the proposal came not merely from outside but even within the so-called “rubber-stamp” New Deal Congress. The program began in 1934 with WPA funds. From then until 1942, when it was still being financed mainly by WPA, Congress never made a regular appropriation for Shelterbelt work. Then in 1942, Congress finally did vote \$300,000. On July 1 of the same year, the project was transferred from the Forest Service to Soil Conservation, where a few months later it was terminated because of war.

Much of the congressional opposition was on the argument that the Great Plains project meant an unequal distribution of the taxpayers’ dollars. Certain state interests furthered this opposition.

Most of the opposition, however, was based on the old theory that trees just would not grow in the Great Plains. This opposition did not greatly bother the President because first and always, he had faith. His faith was well placed. A survey in 1944 gave the impressive count—more than 200,000,000 trees which the For-

est Service had helped farmers plant had become well established. About 78.4 percent of the belts were rated good or better; only 10.4 percent, unsatisfactory. The main reasons for unsatisfactory results, where they did occur, were insufficient cultivation (which was partially due to wartime shortages of manpower and machinery) and improper management, which permitted livestock to graze the belts. For the area as a whole, seemingly about 8 percent of the damage was caused by cattle.

ACTUALLY LITTLE WAS KNOWN OF THE tree-growing capacity of the Great Plains prior to 1934. The opposition recognized this weakness and made capital of it. Opponents became authorities overnight and claimed that trees would grow on the Great Plains only under quasi-hothouse conditions. They pointed out that settlers were forced out of eastern Kansas by drought as early as 1860, that in the early Seventies the same thing happened again, but on a much larger scale, and that in the Nineties many farmers moved out of the plains, abandoning their farms.

During the Nineties, many farmers were led to believe that a Demo-



In South Dakota, Farmer Ed Casey saw that shelterbelts made sense. Cottonwood trees were planted—and had the proper nurture, and since cottonwoods are well adapted to Dakota environment (an important factor in successful shelterbelt evolution) they thrived to tell a tale.

It's a tale the Plains people all repeat—the sting taken out of winter winds, harsh, hot summers made more pleasant and cool, livestock protected by the windbreaks, crops doing better on the lee side of the planting.

And the Casey children now have their own part of the tale. Trees for swings had been rare. Ed Casey put this one up, climbing the tree to do it, marveling, he said, that a seedling could have grown so tall in his lifetime.

Forest Service Photo

cratic government brought on drought and that election of Republicans to Washington would bring rain. Thus, when many farmers gave up and returned to the more favorable rainfall of the East, they had placards on their wagons, such as: "I'm going back to my relations." "Damn Cleveland's administration."

Nature, it happened, was in a Republican mood when, shortly afterwards, McKinley was elected president. With him and his Republican administration in office, the rainfall swung to 50 percent above normal. The first Roosevelt raised the rainfall even higher in 1902 and 1903. The drought of 1933 and '34, to many Republicans, was merely another "Democratic" drought to be taken care of by the next election.

Those seriously wanting to help the plainsmen out of their plight examined history more carefully. It showed that plainsmen had been planting trees for many years, and with considerable success, considering the limited information available on the species adapted to the region. Plantings usually had been successful, how-

ever, only after farmers accepted the fact that trees had to be treated with a certain amount of care as a crop, if they were to survive.

For some time before white men first explored the plains, there must have been a somewhat extensive tree growth, especially in the eastern portion. Early pioneers wrote of extensive tree growth along the North Platte River and the Missouri River. Early river boats which plowed up to Fort Benton, Montana, the end of the line, used wood from along the river banks as fuel. The Union Pacific used cottonwood trees from the North Platte for railroad ties when the line was extended westward, later replacing this soft wood with a harder variety. According to early reports, the first man-made plantings of trees in the Great Plains were done with seedlings taken from along the streams. These proved successful when planted in carefully prepared soil and protected from grazing and fire.

About 8,000,000 acres in Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas had been taken up in the latter quarter of the nineteenth century, in compliance

with the terms of the Timber Culture Act, passed by Congress in 1873. The act authorized giving 160 acres to every farmer who planted 40 acres of it to trees. Quite a little tree planting resulted. After considerable controversy, however, the act was repealed in 1891. Trees planted in the westward or more arid section needed cultivation and protection from livestock. Where this care was not given, they soon died. There was poor survival, too, of the large number of seedlings brought in from the higher rainfall areas of Iowa, Wisconsin, and Michigan; these seedlings simply were not adapted to plains conditions.

WHEN THE FOREST SERVICE WAS GIVEN administration of the Shelterbelt Project in 1934, it immediately made a survey of the proposed zone—the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas — to determine climate, soils, native vegetation, and results of past plantings. The survey showed that of the 114,700 square miles of land within the proposed zone, 56 percent was favorable to tree life, 39 percent would be more difficult to plant, and only 5 percent was unfit.

Thus, the Forest Service had considerable basic information on which to develop its final plan. Its foresters also had the advantage of tremendous experience. The plan provided that deep rooted trees would be planted with those of shallow roots so that a greater soil area could be used to obtain moisture for growth. Different species were to be planted according to soil and moisture conditions. Spacing and height were combined to trap snow for moisture.

Some of the opposition accepted the Forest Service report as accurate and were compelled to develop a new line of adverse propaganda. Many espoused the notion that the plains should be completely replanted to grass—that the area was good only for that purpose. Although surveys which would have scientifically combated this line of thinking were not available at the time, the Soil Conservation Service somewhat later completed studies which showed that more than half of the land in farms, in the six shelterbelt states, was suitable for cultivation under careful conservation treatment—a higher percentage than is the average for the land in farms of the nation as a whole.

So controversial was the Shelterbelt
(Continued on page 497)

The Menningers of Topeka

A healing community for the mentally sick on the plains of Kansas,
built around two brothers and their team-application of Dr. Freud.

ALBERT DEUTSCH

THE MENNINGER BROTHERS ARE TO Topeka what the Mayos were to Rochester, Minnesota. The Mayos brought surgical skill and a dream to Rochester, and the world beat a path to their door. The Menningers brought Freud to the plains of Kansas and made Topeka one of the world's great psychiatric centers. Everybody in Rochester came to know the Mayos as Dr. Charlie and Dr. Will. The Menningers in Topeka are Dr. Karl and Dr. Will. The Menninger Clinic, like the Mayo Clinic, was developed by the sons of a pioneer country doctor, and like the Mayo, again, it represents the triumph of a modern therapeutic ideal: teamwork or group medicine. The Menningers have applied it as successfully to psychiatry as the Mayos did to surgery.

The Menninger Clinic has been the initial force in making a psychiatric mecca of Topeka. On the other side of town, Karl Menninger, with the help of the clinic staff, is molding the army's former Winter General Hospital into a model psychiatric center that is the pride of the Veterans Administration. Dr. Will serves as general director of the Menninger Foundation, a post he assumed in August 1946, when he laid aside his brigadier-general's uniform as wartime chief of the Army Medical Corps psychiatric division.

The Menningers today represent the most famous brother team in American psychiatry, if not in the whole range of American medicine. Both have served as president of the American Psychoanalytical Association. Last May, Dr. William C. Menninger was elected president of the American Psychiatric Association, while Dr. Karl A. Menninger headed the reorganization committee which brought about the biggest reform of the past half century.

Along with the hopeful throngs, attracted by their vision and energy, have come acute problems. The clinic

is no psychiatric Eden. It suffers from the ubiquitous housing shortage. The expanded psychiatric training program has outstripped the new homes and offices. The clinic is seriously short of trained personnel. It has been short of funds from the very start, because the imagination of its operators has always run ahead of available finances. The doctors don't know all the answers; they have thrown no miracle bridges over the uncharted seas of mental phenomena.

But there is one immediate difference here. I have seen overcrowding in many mental hospitals, but none like that at Menninger—where it is the professional staff, rather than the patients, which feels the pinch of tight quarters. I found three doctors jammed into a single office barely large enough for one.

There is no autocratic rule at the clinic, as one finds in too many "medical kingdoms" throughout the land. The pattern is cooperative and there is a generous recognition of talent aside from the famous brothers. There is no hierarchy. Doctors don't look down at nurses. Nurses don't act uppity to attendants. Attendants don't take it out on the patients. There is discipline, but there is occupational democracy.

—The newspaper PM calls Albert Deutsch its "scholar in the city room." Joining PM staff in 1941, he brought the benefit of years of social research in public welfare, medicine, and psychiatry to his unique position as the first daily welfare columnist in American newspaper history.

To his growing list of awards and honors for courageous appraisals of social ills, more were added this year (apropos of his series on shameful conditions in state mental hospitals), among them a citation by the New York Newspaper Guild "for the most distinguished and effective humanitarian crusading in American journalism."

"My philosophy about running a hospital," Dr. Karl explained to me, "is that every employe is a member of the team. Every member must have a clear idea of the purposes and objectives of the team and also of its tactics and methods."

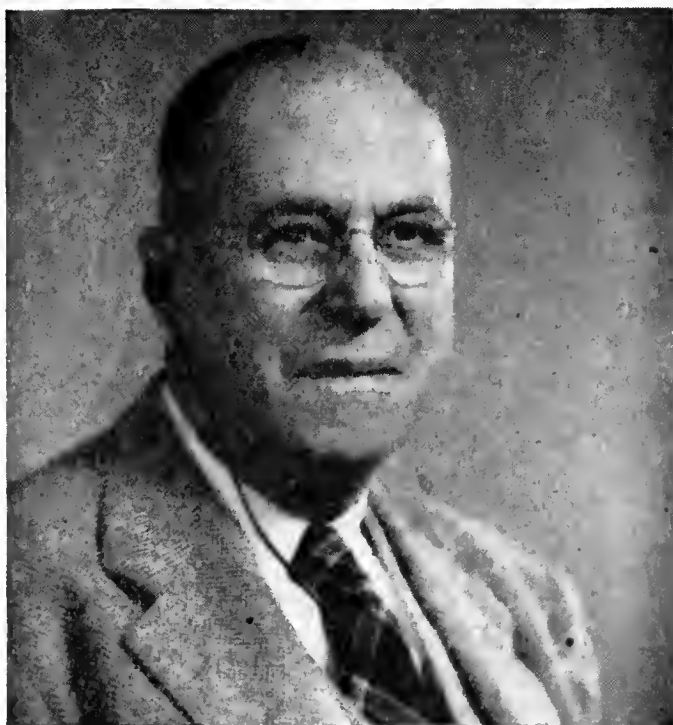
PSYCHIATRISTS, NURSES, SOCIAL WORKERS, research scientists, occupational therapists, and other members participate on an equal plane in periodic staff conferences. Professional jealousies and resentments that poison the atmosphere of many another mental hospital are rarely in evidence. The ideal of group practice is fully realized—the pooling of skills, knowledge, and techniques toward a common goal: optimum improvement of the patient in shortest possible time.

The Menningers and their associates conceive the mental hospital as a "therapeutic community," not as an institution. The day's activities for both patients and staff are "socialized" to the closest possible approximation of everyday "normal" living. Patients, doctors, and employes mingle, so that it is often difficult for the casual visitor to tell which is which as he makes the rounds of the sanitarium.

Even visiting relatives, instead of getting the usual brushoff, are coached on how to make their visits most helpful, what kind of letters to send, and how they can best aid in readjusting the patient to home life when he returns.

Patients are brought together in group play and group discussions, where they gather strength and self-knowledge through talking out their problems.

The Menninger Clinic is dominated by no psychiatric cult, nor on the other hand, is it characterized by vague philosophies and opportunistic techniques. The staff, in general, follows Freudian psychonalysis. But Freud, in Topeka, is respected as a great scientific pioneer, not worshipped as a medical Moses or Ma-



DR. C. F. MENNINGER

homet; his writings blazed trails but are not holy writ; his system is accepted as a science, not a religion. A stream of celebrated leaders in psychiatry, representing many schools of thought and treatment, flows through Topeka, keeping the staff current on the latest trends in the theory and practice of their craft. This cross current of ideas prevents stagnation from setting in.

The Menningers themselves are Freudian-oriented eclectics. They have avoided the rigid sectarianism that has divided many of Freud's disciples into camps of warring, intolerant doctrinaires.

Sanitarium patients are charged \$650 a month for treatment—a stiff tariff. The Menningers are sometimes criticized for this high rate; the truth is that patients' fees have never amounted to enough to put the place in the black. If a sizable endowment could be raised, the Menningers would be able to expand and take in patients regardless of ability to pay.

The high rate goes strictly into psychiatric treatment, not into luxurious accoutrements. The staff tells you the place is a hospital, not a country club. Patients aren't coddled, the surroundings and the fare are plain. There is no amusement for amusement's sake; recreation is integrated into a therapy program. The Menninger Sanitarium is not a "rest home." Dr. Karl, at a recent meeting of the American Medi-

cal Association, lashed out severely at the "abuse of rest" in treating psychiatric cases, blasting the celebrated "rest cure" for neuroses and citing proof that prolonged rest often did more harm than good to tensed-up patients with unsolved emotional problems.

The sanitarium has room for only fifty-five patients, an infinitesimal fraction of the millions who need treatment. But the enterprise has national significance for two special reasons: it is a focal point for training psychiatrists in the face of an appalling shortage (there are less than 4,000 of these specialists in a country which desperately needs a minimum of 20,000); and it is a vital research center to help dispel the vast mystery that still hangs over the field of mental disorder.

MENNINGER CLINIC IS THE NAME loosely applied to a group of enterprises that make up a compact psychiatric center operated on a non-profit basis by the Menninger Foundation. There is the clinic proper, which gives psychiatric services to mental and nervous patients who live off the grounds. There is the sanitarium, comprised of several recon-verted dwelling houses. The Menninger School of Psychiatric Training is developing more doctors in the psychiatric specialty than any other American teaching center. There is

A father

began

a team—

training for psychologists and social workers, conducted in part in cooperation with nearby Kansas University at Lawrence. And the affiliated Southard South, named for the Harvard psychiatrist who gave Dr. Karl his early training, is a year-round boarding school for problem children of normal or superior intelligence.

Menninger doctors also staff Topeka's municipal mental hygiene clinic, giving out-patient service to emotionally disordered Topekans who can't afford private treatment. I attended one of these clinic sessions with Dr. Harlan Crank of the Menninger staff. Among the run-of-the-mill cases that day were these:

A thirteen-year-old boy who reacted to his emotionally disturbed mother's obvious attitude of rejection and hostility by chronic bed-wetting and unruly behavior at home and school.

A middle-aged ex-denzin of a house of ill-fame who had developed paresis, a frequent end result of untreated or poorly treated syphilis.

A three-year-old who was mute and mentally backward although there was no apparent organic cause of either condition. Investigation had revealed that a too doting mother had smothered its initiative by anticipating every desire without giving it a chance to learn to ask for things.

THERE IS A CLOSE TIE-UP BETWEEN Menninger Foundation and the Winter Veteran Hospital, which Dr. Karl has managed since January 1946. He accepted the post on the challenge of Veterans Administrator Omar Bradley and his medical aide, Major General Paul R. Hawley, to take over this abandoned army hospital, and transform it into a model center for mental and nervous disorders. There are now 1,200 patients, all veterans, most of them neuropsychiatric cases, with a sprinkling of general medical and surgical cases.

Also, some 125 young doctors, veterans themselves, are becoming specialists in psychiatry at Winter. They work under the faculty of the Menninger School of Psychiatric Training, supervised by Dr. Karl. The significance of this enterprise may be gauged by the fact that the 125 Winter residents in training represent half the total being trained in the entire VA program, and a third of the number being trained in all American medical institutions.



DR. KARL A. MENNINGER



DR. WILLIAM C. MENNINGER

carried
on by
two famous
sons

These young doctors taking the three-year psychiatric course under the Menningers are remarkable in their own right. They have been selected by rigorous tests which rejected two out of every three applicants. As a group, they probably represent the cream of the crop of potential psychiatrists.

I have seen many medical men in my day, but never a group so fired with enthusiasm, so filled with the spirit of teamwork, so progressive in social and scientific outlook, so untiring in their zeal to use and improve their skills in behalf of their patients. Their working day is a grind, beginning with a lecture at 7:30 in the morning and winding up about 9 o'clock at night. I spent a day following these trainees in their routine. At the day's end I was dog-tired; the trainees seemed fresh enough to do it all over again.

WINTER VETERANS HOSPITAL IS GOVERNED by the "total push" approach. Every detail is aimed at speeding recovery; every form of modern treatment is utilized—electric and insulin shock, sodium pentothal, hypnosis, occupational therapy, drama therapy, and so on. Underlying all treatment, however, is the basic idea of *psychotherapy*—stressing psychological over chemical or mechanical methods.

The re-socializing process implicit in the "therapeutic community" plan

is advanced by developing teamwork among the patients. Wards form basketball, softball, and table-tennis teams. Ward teams compete in carefully scheduled games: uneven contests are avoided to prevent loss of self-esteem by the losing team and the ward it represents. Self-government is stimulated by having the patients elect ward committees to promote orderly behavior and transmit ward gripes to the authorities.

Group therapy is encouraged at Winter, partly because it represents another aspect of teamwork. The central figure in a group therapy session I attended was a schizophrenic patient with a deep sense of guilt and inferiority. He never had been a success, had had a "nervous breakdown" after a few weeks in the army, and felt he was a complete flop.

In halting language, this young man "confessed" his failings to the other patients. He seemed scared and ashamed but gradually warmed up as first one, then another, of his fellows admitted similar experiences. Some didn't participate; a few gazed blankly into space or held their bowed heads in their hands, self-absorbed and withdrawn. The psychiatrist beside me remarked that many of these deeply indrawn patients actually soaked in every word. These men were drawing confidence and insight from one another. By talking out their fears, inhibitions, and frustra-

tions, by learning that their symptoms weren't unique, by relaxing tensions through friendly exchanges, they buttressed each other.

AT WINTER I WITNESSED A DEMONSTRATION of a variant of group therapy known as psychodrama or drama therapy. A group of patients from the disturbed ward were gathered on a stage to act out their problems while a young psychiatrist—who happened to be a fine showman—served as stage director, artfully pointing the action toward therapeutic goals.

The play revolved around a schizophrenic by the name of Tommy, admitted after trying to kill his mother.

"This is going to be a ball game," the doctor-director explained. "You'll be the batter, Tommy. George will pitch. Jim will catch. Sullivan (an attendant) will be umpire. Play ball."

The play went on with remarkable realism, as other patients looked on. The pitcher wound up and hurled an imaginary ball. Tommy swung.

"Strike one!" called the umpire.

Tommy scowled, muttered something about the umpire needing glasses. Another imaginary ball.

"Strike two!"

Another violent protest, with heckling from the bleachers.

"Strike three, you're out!"

Tommy threw down his "bat" in disgust. The players huddled around

(Continued on page 500)

The Keystone—Geneva

Trade negotiations are vital to America as to other nations, for on them depends the cooperative world community that we must have.

J. B. CONDLIFFE

THE UNITED STATES IS FIGHTING ON the diplomatic front to create the kind of world in which American political liberties and economic enterprise may be preserved. Primarily the struggle is one for self-preservation. The United States can remain free in a world where it does not need to impose regimentation on its citizens in order to mobilize resources in a continuing system of economic warfare. It can remain prosperous if it can give rein to the enterprise which has created the most productive community the world has ever known. To do so it must have a cooperative world community in which to work.

The institutions of political democracy and freedom of economic opportunity are intertwined in the American tradition. However Americans may disagree on specific policy issues—and no people disagree more vociferously than we do—there is an impressive degree of unanimity upon the broad principles of political and economic liberty. Anything which savors of a police state, or which seems to threaten the civil liberties assured by the Bill of Rights, is repugnant to American opinion. The regulation of economic activity for political ends is equally repugnant—largely because ultimately such regulation threatens civil liberties.

It is well to be clear on this point. There can be legitimate differences of judgment about many forms of organization or regulation in specific fields of economic activity. Some Americans fight zealously against cartels, the new code-word for monopoly capitalism. Others protest against every extension of government activity.

We live in a time of developing technology when economic change is more rapid and its social consequences more disturbing than in the industrial revolution that followed the application of steam-power. Every innovation in economic organization—whether by private enterprise or by

—Professor of Economics at the University of California, the author has come logically to a world viewpoint and a position of authority on world trade. A native of Australia, he began his college teaching in New Zealand, was a member of the League of Nations secretariat at Geneva, was professor of Commerce at the University of London, and previously a professor at the University of Michigan. Except for book reviews, Professor Condliffe now is making his first appearance in Survey Graphic.



government—will be debated vehemently in our democracy.

There is a clear trend toward the creation of public corporations such as the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Port of New York Authority. In the same way, there is a widening range of regulation such as that exercised by the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, the Securities and Exchange Commission, and the Civil Aeronautics Board.

OPINIONS are quite sharply divided about the merits and demerits of particular devices and extensions of public authority in such fields. But this is a different question from those raised by action designed to strengthen the powers of government for reasons of state—action that constitutes the negation of all that the history of the United States stands for. On this point Americans are firmly united.

The main economic battleground of the diplomatic struggle in which the United States is now engaged is international trade. There are others, and defeat at any major point would endanger the whole line. Lending is more spectacular and attracts public attention. Reconstruction is desperately urgent, in Asia as well as in Europe. But of the efforts in progress this summer—the Anglo-French call to Europe in pursuance of the Mar-

shall proposals, the European and Far Eastern Reconstruction Commissions of the United Nations, and the Geneva Conference on Employment and Trade—it was the latter which had to set the keystone of the American rebuilding program.

There can be little or no effective reconstruction and the loans will not be repaid, unless we can create a freer flow of world trade. All the technical institutions of the United Nations—the Fund and the Bank, the FAO, the ILO—will collapse if this keystone cannot be firmly placed.

The underlying purpose of the International Trade Charter which the United States has proposed to the countries now negotiating at Geneva, is to secure an agreement that will outlaw the use of trade as an instrument of national policy. The charter is an attempt to set forth the conditions in which trade may be conducted by economic rather than political principles and criteria. It will pledge the signatory nations to abolish the devices of discriminatory regulation that in the recent past have converted trade into an adjunct of high diplomacy operating in a climate of economic warfare. Quotas and exchange control are to be abolished—not immediately, but in pursuance of a pledged policy. These have been the instruments of the bilateral bargaining by which trade has been negotiated to an ever-increasing extent since the depression of 1929-1933.

The facts of the postwar trading developments are simple and easily summarized. Since V-J Day, little more than two years ago, a complicated network of these bilateral trade bargains has been negotiated in Europe. It is not possible to give an exact count, since it is difficult to distinguish between the principal agreements and the supplementary accords; but a count some months ago listed over 120 bilateral agreements in Europe alone since V-J Day.

Financing of U. S. Exports in 1946

(In \$000,000's)

Recorded Exports	9,739	Recorded Imports	4,936
Other Transfers of Goods	2,401	Other Transfers of Goods	328
Services Supplied	3,124	Services Received	1,867
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	15,264		7,131
		<i>Gifts:</i>	
		UNRRA	1,522
		Lend-Lease	161
		Occupation Costs	554
		Private Donations	673
		Other Government Aid and Unilateral Transfers	200
			<hr/>
			3,110
		<i>Loans:</i>	
		Cash Credits (net)	1,272(a)
		Lend-Lease Pipeline	546
		Surplus Property	860
			<hr/>
			2,678(a)
		Gold and Dollar Exchange	1,829
		Miscellaneous, including private investment	516
			<hr/>
			15,264

(a) Excluding the United States subscription to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

Europe is blanketed by these barter arrangements. Every trading transaction involves a series of official policy decisions in matters of detail. Apart from the restrictive and delaying effect of such controls, the power they place in the hands of government officials is exceedingly dangerous. The temptation to use it for political ends is ultimately irresistible. The highest political end is the security of the state. Trade therefore becomes an arm of diplomacy.

Nor does this power affect only external trade. Authority to decide what shall be imported and exported means power to decide what shall be produced within the country. This kind of regulated trade creates a very definite iron curtain which has already fallen over eastern Europe and may fall still further west if we do not bestir ourselves.

The United States is vitally interested from many points of view in getting rid, as quickly as possible, of these political forms of trade.

They constitute a major hindrance to European economic recovery and therefore prolong the drain on American resources for relief and reconstruction.

They interfere with the free flow of United States exports to world markets both for agricultural and for manufactured goods. This is true even though at the moment exports

from the United States—financed by occupation expenditures, gifts and government credits—are running at record levels.

They interfere also with the exports by which European countries might pay for their imports. Direct export prohibition, and, even more, the high export prices that result from currencies maintained by ex-

PATTERN
FOR
BOOM
AND
BUST



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

change control at over-valued parities, are preventing a return flow of goods in payment to the United States.

The statistics of United States trade in 1946 reveal a most precarious development, which has become even more precarious in the current year. They may be summarized conveniently in the table at left.

IT DOES NOT NEED A VERY EXPERT ACQUAINTANCE with economic theory to grasp two facts that are of great importance for the future prosperity of the United States.

The first is that we cannot go on indefinitely selling our goods to foreign countries by lending or giving them the dollars to pay for them. Sooner or later, the dollar resources which enable foreigners to buy from us will be run down to the point where we must either lend them some more chips or the game must stop. The bad news is well known already.

The second fact is that large sections of the country are deeply involved in this export prosperity. The case was put quite bluntly in California by a merchant who said publicly, in May 1947:

I buy for the British Purchasing Commission. Last year I bought twenty million dollars worth of dried fruits in this region. The price of raisins was twenty-one cents then and is now about twelve cents. What do you think it would be if I hadn't bought that twenty

The Keystone

million dollars worth? Where will it go if I cannot continue to buy an equivalent amount?

HAWAIIAN PINEAPPLES, CALIFORNIAN prunes, pears, apricots, raisins, tomato juice, canned fruits, juices, and vegetables; cotton from Texas and all across the south; lard and pork products from the Middle West; tobacco, films, machine tools, and a whole range of manufactured goods—these are just an indication of commodities that would be forced on to the domestic market at lower prices if exports cannot be sustained at a reasonable level.

No doubt the present level is too high to be maintained permanently; but a sudden drop in exports would precipitate a sharp fall in agricultural prices that would spread quickly over the whole economy. Such a drop in exports, moreover, might lead to the permanent closing of United States export outlets.

If the British have no dollars, they must try to buy where they can sell—cotton from Brazil and the Sudan, dried fruits from Australia, and so on. Other countries must do what they can in this direction. No doubt the need for United States goods is such that we could bargain too; but we should need to make bilateral agreements, and this would mean licensing imports and exports. We should then have lost our battle for freer trade.

The negotiations at Geneva are an attempt to stave off this calamity. Broadly speaking, we are making a deal by which other countries agree to trade by our methods and therefore to get rid of their exchange controls and quota systems, of their preferences and subsidies. Part of the deal is a reduction of tariffs on both sides, negotiated by a series of reciprocal trade agreements.

Only seventeen countries are at Geneva. The USSR was invited but did not come. Between them, however, these seventeen countries conducted 53 percent of world trade in 1938.* The USSR does not count very heavily in world trade. In 1938 it counted little more than one percent, and all the countries in the Soviet orbit counted for about five percent, and now much less.

William L. Clayton, the leader of the United States delegation, is on

sound ground, therefore, when he asserts that the trade negotiations can be successful even without the participation of the USSR. We can create a great area of freer trade, including with all the dependencies of the colonial powers and with neutrals who may confidently be expected to join, about 75 to 80 percent of the total of world trade today.

In order to secure the agreement of foreign countries to the charter which pledges them to our trading methods, and to the reciprocal trade agreements which reduce their tariffs, we must reduce our own. We must also persuade them that our economy will not go into a tailspin and leave them defenceless in a major crisis caused by a sudden drop in American imports.

THERE IS SOME HARD BARGAINING going on at Geneva on both these major issues. The United States negotiators are experienced and tough. Despite the predictions (of some congressmen) that they would sell out American interests to promote a soft internationalism, the exact contrary is true. In some respects they have the whip hand, since the whole world urgently needs American exports at the moment. They are using the whip and driving hard bargains both in the tariff negotiations and in the general provisions of the charter.

The result of any such bargaining is likely to be a series of compromises that will be satisfactory neither to the convinced protectionists nor to those who advocate freer trade. Of one thing we can be sure. The negotiators for the United States do not have the power, nor do they wish, to commit the United States to any measures for the prevention of unemployment beyond the mild Employment Act passed by Congress in 1946.

Inevitably, they will be bound to reduce the tariff on many items—in

regard to which the producers concerned, and protectionists in general, will raise loud protests. The list of tariff items on which notice was given of intention to negotiate is long and substantial, covering about two thirds of present dutiable items.

What is in preparation at Geneva is a very considerable reduction of the schedules of the Hawley-Smoot tariff, the modern tariff of abominations. It has already been reduced somewhat by earlier trade agreements; but the negotiators have power to cut duties up to 50 percent, even where they have already been reduced by that amount.

The wool incident provided a foretaste of what may be expected when the revised schedules are published. Wool is a declining, high-cost industry in the U. S.; heavily protected by a complicated schedule of duties ranging up to 34 cents a pound. The number of wool growers who own more than fifty head of sheep apiece is less than 100,000. The amount of employment given by the industry is very small; but the industry is important for a number of thinly populated states. It is highly organized and operates a powerful lobby at Washington. For many years it has not produced enough wool to meet the domestic demand, and production shrank during the war. Production costs are high, especially labor, so that, despite the tariff, domestic wool cannot compete with the imported material.

The price of domestic wool is supported by a kind of parity legislation at levels which have resulted in the mills buying imported wool more cheaply even after paying tariff duties. The bulk of the domestic clip in recent years has passed into the ownership of the Commodity Credit Corporation at prices well above the domestic price of imported wool.

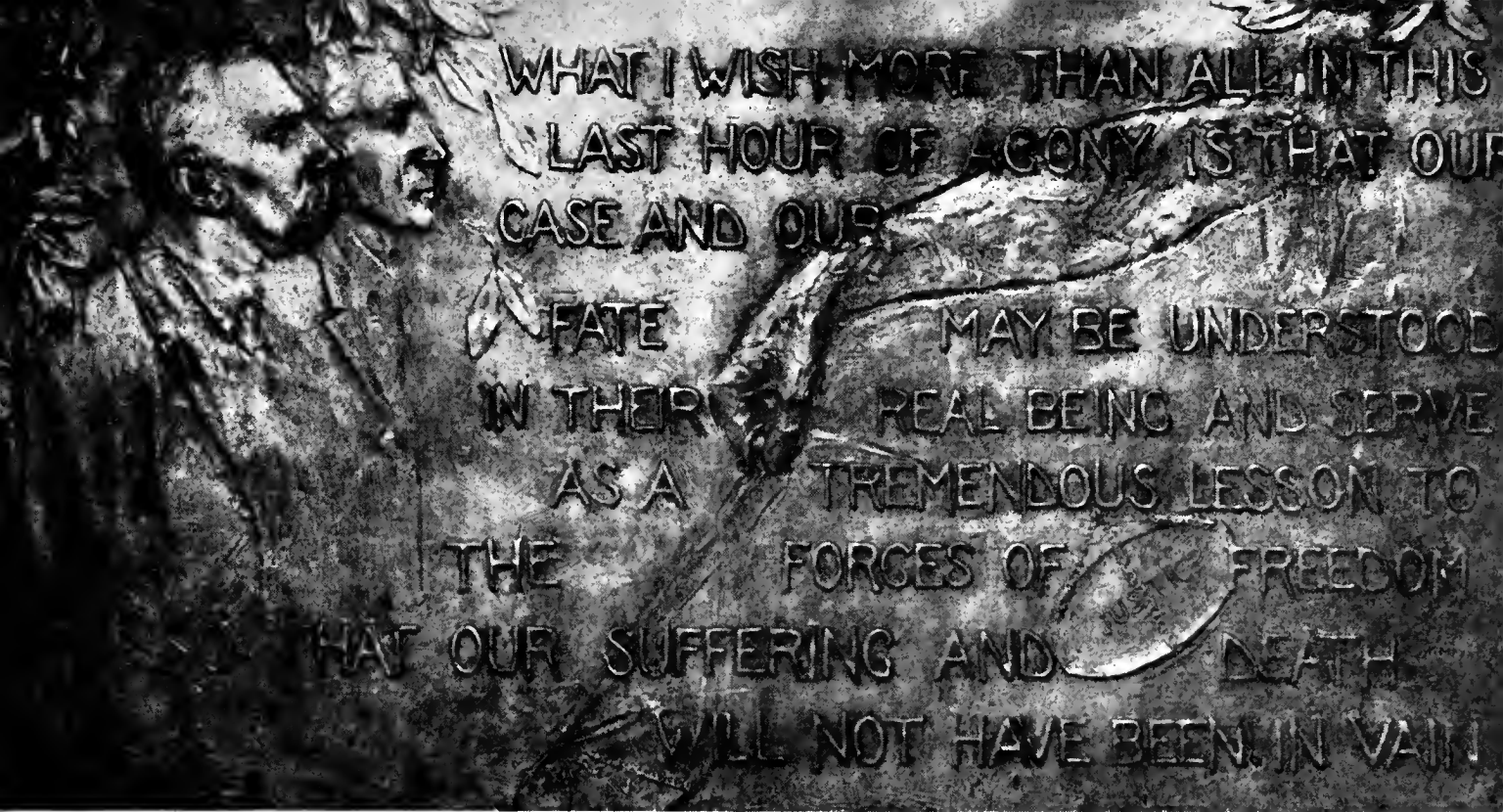
At the same time there are stocks of wool, mainly in Australia, which are calculated to represent a surplus that will require thirteen years to dispose of at the present rate.

Wool and woollen goods are among the commodities on which foreign countries are asking reductions in the United States tariff. Wool is particularly important for Australia, whose imports from the United States ran, before the war, at seven or eight times the value of Australian exports to us. In other words, we bought

(Continued on page 504)

*The countries and their share of world trade in 1938:

United States	10.66%
United Kingdom	13.84
Australia	2.20
Belgium-Luxembourg	3.19
Brazil	1.26
Canada	3.46
Chile	.52
China	1.98
Cuba	.53
Czechoslovakia	1.38
France	4.69
India	2.43
Lebanon (Syria-Lebanese Customs Union)	.12
Netherlands	2.87
New Zealand	.95
Norway	1.02
Union of South Africa	2.08
	53.18%



SACCO-VANZETTI AND BOSTON COMMON

THERE are a score of monuments in and about Boston Common erected to New Englanders who, one generation after another, have given their uttermost for human liberty. The most impressive memorial is to Robert Gould Shaw. In imperishable bronze he leads his Negro command in the War for the Union—and for freedom of their kind.

A quarter century ago, a new struggle for justice centered not in the Deep South but fairly under the eaves of the State House on hard-by Beacon Hill. It concerned not traditional Yankees but two Italians of humble station, a shoemaker and a fish peddler. They were philosophical anarchists (in no sense terrorists) and they were charged with murder.

Their fate hung fire for seven years, as the case dragged through courts and official investigations; years of closed minds and hysteria, slashed with hate and fear; years of mounting but unavailing espousal, first by immigrants like themselves, then by Boston Blue Stockings; by leaders in a commonwealth which had sprung from men's yearnings for freedom of thought and worship, their cause espoused ultimately by men and women of conscience the country over—and overseas.

August 23 marked the 20th anni-

versary of this electrocution. Some of those active in the case, then, felt that "positive values in a bitterly divided world" might be served, now, not alone by rallying public interest once more to their cause, but by driving home how this tragic betrayal of American justice and the Bill of Rights bears on aggressive and coercive forces at work in the postwar world. Individual freedom was basic to the philosophy of Sacco and Vanzetti. Today, more than ever, the affairs of mankind "call for active devotion to methods aimed at safeguarding each individual member of society in enjoyment of civil rights."

HENCE an offer to Governor Robert F. Bradford of Massachusetts and to Acting Mayor John F. Hynes of Boston, of a large bronze bas-relief of Sacco and Vanzetti (shown above) by the sculptor Gutzon Borglum, for permanent placement on Boston Common. Among the signers:

Roger N. Baldwin, Mrs. Gutzon Borglum, Mrs. John S. Codman, Albert Einstein, Dr. Alice Hamilton, Robert M. Hutchins, Gardner Jackson, Horace M. Kallen, Paul Kellogg, Philip Murray, Mrs. Wm. Z. Ripley, Eleanor Roosevelt, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Dorothy Speare, Gertrude L. Winslow.

Hence, also a manifesto, over such signatures (among many others) as those of:

Gordon W. Allport, professor, Harvard University; Joseph and Stewart Alsop, columnists; Jack Altman, vice president, Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Employees of America, CIO; Wendell Berge, former assistant attorney general; Barry Bingham, president, *The Louisville Courier-Journal*; James H. Case, Jr., president Washington & Jefferson College; John M. Clark, professor of economics, Columbia University; Mrs. Katherine B. Codman, civic leader, Boston; Albert Sprague Coolidge, professor, Harvard University; The Rev. A. Powell Davies, All Souls' Church, Washington, D. C.; David Dubinsky, president, ILGWU, AFL; Morris L. Ernst, lawyer and author; Lawrence Farnsworth, N. Y. *Daily News*; James L. Fly, former chairman, FCC; Alvin H. Hansen, professor of economics, Harvard University; Leon Henderson, former OPA administrator; Daniel W. Hoan, former Mayor, Milwaukee; B. W. Huebsch, publisher, Viking Press; Wayne Morse, United States Senator; Robert R. Nathan, economist; Malcolm Strong Nichols, executive director, Family Welfare Society, Boston; Reinhold Niebuhr, Union Theological Seminary; Elizabeth Brandeis Raushenbush, economist, University of Wisconsin; Walter Reuther, president, United Auto Workers, CIO; Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., lawyer and AVC official; John Saltonstall, Jr.; Lawrence Spivak, publisher, *American Mercury*; Wesley A. Sturges, dean, Yale Law School; Carl Van Doren, author; Dr. George Wislocki, professor, Harvard Medical School; Chase Going Woodhouse, director, Women's Division, National Democratic Committee.



Photo from European

In the serene values of the village potter lie keynotes of strength for India's future

Footholds for a New India

Factors—from great power projects to village industries—on which hang new standards of living.

ALBERT MAYER

WITH INDIA NOW DIVIDED AND ON its own, Pakistan starts out as essentially agricultural—with little modern industry in these Moslem areas.

Hindusthan, or the India Union, has a much stronger industrial base and, except for agriculture, superior natural resources. Most of my experience lies in these Hindu areas, and my illustrations will largely be drawn from there.

Nor will it be necessary to take up the embryo dominions separately in my brief close-ups on India's social and economic needs and on the prospects for meeting them. Their over-

all and, in most respects, their detailed problems are similar. Thus the problem of problems in Pakistan and Hindusthan alike is to raise the dimly low standard of living of the people—and to do this essentially by

—*This second article of interpretation of the country now entering its vital new phase of national existence (see "India Emerges" by Albert Mayer, Survey Graphic for July) was written during the process of Mr. Mayer's journey back to India, again at the invitation of government officials as consultant in replanning Indian village community life.*

making the most of undeveloped resources, by a vast improvement of productivity, especially in agriculture, with a more equitable distribution of present wealth and the wealth to be created.

The development of dormant natural resources requires big projects and big capital. India has enough capital, including the billion-pound debt of Britain, to make a good start at big projects (and a start has already been made) but not nearly enough to do the whole job.

So at the opposite end from great road building programs, from the initial hydroelectric and irrigation proj-

ects, and the multiplication of heavy industries and the research institutes that have already been set up—at the opposite end from these, each village, each peasant in each village, must get a larger yield from his little land holding. In addition to progress in factory production, “cottage industry” must be stepped up. Such humbler, less spectacular awards are actually the more difficult.

Both the big dramatic jobs and the individually small but cumulatively enormous and pervasive jobs, have two things to accomplish: they must raise the present standard of living and they must create surplus capital to continue and accelerate development which will raise that standard still further.

Moreover, material progress must be achieved, not by destroying or Westernizing but by purifying and enriching the enduring spiritual values of India. Two paramount thoughts must be borne in mind here.

FIRST, INDIA MUST TRY TO AMALGATE into her own ancient matrix the Western world's long time respect for the individual, for the validity of his own self-respect and especially his self-reliance; also the newer Western concept of minimum well-being for all, however lowly—regardless of the fact that we ourselves have yet to achieve it. And India must try to bring these principles to bear without confused anarchy of unbridled individualism.

In this light, the Gandhian emphasis on simple home work in textiles, pottery, leather, is no mere anachronism nor an idealistic vagary. Rather, compared with large scale manufacturing for consumers, to which it is a supplement—it is a way to improve the standard of living with a minimum expenditure of capital.

Second, India should not, will not, and fortunately cannot, join the mad rush of materialism. If she did, India would be failing herself and failing to make that needed contribution to the world of which she, and she alone, seems capable.

India, then, must retain her own inspiring doctrine of disinterested action (see box, page 485); must incorporate the pragmatic disinterestedness and devotion of Western science. This, indeed she has begun to do. Such great scientists as the physicists

Megnand Saha and Sir C. V. Raman, and the biologist, Sir J. C. Bose have begun to establish such a new tradition.

Again, much of the teaching of Manu, the ancient law giver, has become debased, and in some respects a drag on modern life; but India cannot afford to lose Manu's concept of the four quarters of a man's life—Preparation, Creation of a family and household, Public service, and finally Abnegation of material things and spiritual fulfillment.

These are tall words for an American technician to use, and I make no pretense at fully grasping their meaning. The extraordinary thing is that once you get over the initial strangeness of a new physical and spiritual environment, you begin to be strongly affected by these values and the serenity they induce—something to hold to not only during your Indian visit but enduringly. You find you can work with enthusiasm and energy and, in my own experience, with enhanced personal effectiveness.

If you don't grasp these ideas, especially if you are put off by non-

compliance with them (which is fully as prevalent in India as here) you are prone to develop a degree of impatience, of patronizing superiority and vocal skepticism which is the beginning of the end of a westerner's usefulness.

IT IS THE DEEP RECURRENT APPEAL OF the possibilities and the fascinating problems facing India, that has drawn back there after years of absence such a brilliant British Civil Servant as Penderel Moon. His two thin books, “Strangers in India” and “The Future of India,” are among the most penetrating modern studies available. Americans experience the same tug. First you begin to find that you can absorb Manu's concepts without losing or even diminishing your American sense of urgency. And it is this gift of urgency, fully as much as your technical skill, that India needs.

Another contribution of ours, equally important and indispensable, is our penchant for seeking every man's opinion, and giving it value regardless of his rank or position. The Indian administrative system is

British Information Services



New tools for a new India—part of an important hydroelectric system

A New India

such that there is little contact from up—down, or from down—up; or even, for that matter, from the center out to the field. Hence, the premium put on compliance and docility, and as a consequence, a great lack of feeling at the top for what really goes on, and enormous wastage of actual and potential ideas and abilities among people at the bottom.

Certainly, what can be lumped as the technician's high-level advice, the one-shot advice, the big-project advice, are important to India. So is worm's-eye-level participation, intimate village work, day-to-day administration. Whoever combines these two approaches is not only helping at more levels, but is more effective at all. Moreover, it is an easy and natural thing to do, because on the big job there are inevitable contacts with officials high and low, with workers and citizens, generally, through which to establish friendly rapport and easy relationships.

My experience is, too, that Indians are predisposed to Americans. They revere our constitution with its rock-like quality combined with flexibility. In modern times it is safe to say that our TVA has had no more enthusiastic visitors, no more devoted students than the Indians who found there exactly what they want and need. Or take the great show of tractors and heavy construction equipment we brought to India during the war—huge tools which did jobs far better and in miraculously quicker time than anything ever seen there before. These, tangibly and as symbols, not only impressed Indian engineers and the industrialists alike, but profoundly affected the ordinary workers who were taught to operate them.

So much for background. What are some of the large and small adventures in modern pioneering which India is embarking on in the mid-twentieth century? How are Indians going about them?

Priority number one is doubtless for hydroelectric and coal-powered electric projects. As in our great river basins, the three major purposes of the hydroelectric schemes are power, flood control, and irrigation.

These are words. Words are abstractions. What do these words look like in time and place; what do they do? Power is needed to industrialize

India, and a great increase in industry is needed to take people off the overcrowded land. The land itself needs power, for even in the fertile areas there has had to be complete reliance on the seasonal rains brought by the monsoon. Sometimes that fails. Even when it doesn't fail, it generally permits only one crop.

Adequate water by power-driven wells, where canal water is unavailable, can produce two crops in this favorable climate. More spectacular results spring from irrigation when, as in the Punjab and Sind, it converts the desert into verdant fruitful land, just as we have seen it do in Arizona. Even now, there are sixty million irrigated acres in India.

THIS THE PEASANT READILY UNDERSTANDS. He knows what results he can get, and he is glad to pay for them. When you visit a village where there is no irrigation, that is what they clamor for. That, and quite unexpectedly, education. Yes, education.

Flood and erosion control — how desperately they are needed in India! In the summer before the monsoon, there are places where you can cross the mighty Ganges on foot, wading in only a few places. In flood time, and not in extraordinary floods at that, the Ganges may be three miles wide. I have seen flood water cut as much as a hundred feet into a river bank, day after day. Great chunks of precious earth break off and disappear before your eyes; great trees plunge into the stream.

During the War the United States Army built triplicate and quadruplicate railroad sidings so that as the outermost was removed to make way for the flooded river, the next one could be used, and so on. This, unfortunately, was not even an emergency, but the expected thing. And as we moved, we saw pathetic peasants dismantle their makeshift huts, gather their handful of belongings, and move back too.

This is what hydroelectric and storage dams must prevent in India.

One of the farthest advanced of the multi-purpose hydroelectric projects is that of the Damodar River, flowing between the provinces of Bengal and Bihar. There borings have been made and actual plans are well under way. The American engineer J. L. Voorduin, formerly of the TVA, has been in India three years piloting this

through; our well-known dam builder, John Savage, spent some two years in India advising on this and other dam construction. One of the ticklish problems here—as at another power site at the Duduma Falls between the provinces of Orissa and Madras—lies in political jurisdiction and jealousies. How are costs, power, and other benefits to be allocated between provinces? Here again American interstate struggles and solutions, as on our Colorado River, have been of help in affording procedures.

Probably none of these rivershed developments—and there are numerous smaller ones, such as the Rihond and the Sardar in the United Provinces—will develop all aspects after the American pattern set by TVA—afforestation, recreation, resettlement, rural electrification. This unlikelihood of going the whole hog at once is part of a larger question which has bothered me a good deal in India: how far is one country capable of jumping over thirty or forty years spent on trial-and-error-and-progress in another country—saving that much time by adopting and adapting the latest solutions? Or must it make over again some, most, or all of the common mistakes before it can itself grasp the final solution, evaluate it, and know how to manage it?

As of my present state of observation, this strikes me as one of the most delicate problems that has to be faced in any new region. In almost every case, the answer is different in degree, depends on one's sense of the situation, and involves some degree of education and adaptation.

WHATEVER CREATIVE ENTERPRISE THE British Raj introduced into India was largely in the nineteenth century and early in the twentieth. That was the time of the real empire builders, of the bold and—yes—imaginative approach. Since then, policy has been timid, confused, preservative, retreating.

The empire builder's heyday coincided with the conquest of distance by the steam locomotive; before the gas engine ushered in motor cars, trucks and buses. The result is that India's railroad system is far ahead of its road system, which is primitive in three major respects.

No adequate crosscountry highways connect its main centers. Over 90 percent of its villages, lacking passable

all-weather roads, are isolated during the four months' rainy season.

The delivery (and hence cultivation) of perishable farm products is impossible.

Winding and primitive cart tracks through the centers of towns create problems of passability, safety, and acceptable town planning.

ONE RESULT OF A VISIT PAID TO INDIA by General Fleming of our Federal Works Agency and Commissioner MacDonald of the Public Roads Administration was the establishment in the United States of a special course of observation and training for highway engineers from India. I met some of the first group of twenty-five after their return. They were full of enthusiasm for the care and thoroughness with which the program had been mapped out and conducted. A second batch has completed its training this summer.

The selection of these highway engineers had been made with enough discrimination as to maturity of outlook, so that they were not subject to that dazzlement with American techniques, equipment, and lavishness which too often vitiates the visits to the USA of young students who do not know how to adapt them—what part of them can be adapted, and at what rate—to Indian conditions, Indian resources, and prevalent degree of skill of Indian manpower.

Roads offer a good illustration of this disparity. The problem is so colossal that only a small fraction can be done in any one year. Hence, for example, a system of priorities must be established, as between major roads and roads connecting isolated villages to market centers. Not only that, but the returned engineer, however much he has learned as to the latest developments in fine road construction, must devise for a village the simplest acceptable formula so meager resources will go a long way. Successful experimentation, producing reasonably durable earth roads or stabilized earth roads, using only or chiefly local materials and skill, will probably be his greatest contribution.

In a multi-faceted plan for rural areas which I submitted last year to the government of the United Provinces, one of the central elements was just a scheme of what I call secondary-level research—cheap local roads, better and more durable mud walls, better roofs, elementary sanitary devices,

well pumps. To be of maximum use, realistically, these require little but locally available materials, to avoid not only expense but also further burden on already overused transportation systems. They call for local rural labor, which is underemployed, and methods of maintenance not beyond local capacity. Finding men here or there to handle such a project is a major difficulty, for not only engineering ability and ingenuity is required, but willingness to devote those talents to what at first sight appear to be modest and unspectacular purposes.

Before leaving the matter of roads,

from nowhere. I've seen twenty or thirty men cheerily push one up a grade to the tune of some eastern equivalent of the Volga boat song. The encouraging feature is how willingly cooperation is evoked—not too usual in the East. Then they all disappear, the festival over. . . .

Many observers believe that the bus is doing more than any other one thing to remove "untouchability" and humanize the caste system. If you want to travel in this convenient way, you have no choice but to rub up against untouchables or whoever. And they do not have Jim Crow buses or

WORKS AND FRUITS

“Work at full speed, with the energy of your whole being; but do not think of the result in terms of success or failure. Avoid being elated at the prospect of success or being oppressed by an anxiety of impending failure; for the sense of success or failure is the outcome of selfishness and egotism—feelings which almost inevitably lead to misery. Work like a giant, but be indifferent to the result. If success comes, that is welcome; if the result is failure, that also does not matter. Finally, if you can, work in a spirit of worship—worship of the divinity in each man however wretched. . . .

“When a person's sole objective in work is success, the fear of even possible failure worries him so much that he cannot devote his whole energy to the task. One who can be indifferent to success or failure is usually calm and serene; it is obvious that such a person will work better—especially during crisis—than one who is always in a feverish anxiety about the result.”—From “Common Sense about Yoga.”

“In works be thine office; in fruits let it never be. . . . Be not moved by the fruits of works; but let not attachment to worklessness dwell in thee.”—From “The Bhagavad Gita” (Song of God).

I can scarcely refrain from speaking of the buses, which, filled to the brim and beyond with eager villagers, have become a characteristic of the Indian landscape. Ancient and battered vehicles are the rule in India because of cost and scarcity. Even in Calcutta, trucks of vintage 1918 were still in use by the city in 1946. But there is another reason for their longevity. The amazing thing is how the supposedly unmechanical Indian mechanic keeps a bus running on the bumpy roads, doing a fairly reliable job, seemingly tying it together with string.

Again, one of the most amusing and encouraging sights in India is the helpless stalled bus or truck. Passengers alight and start pushing. Workers from the fields turn up and help. The more heavily loaded a truck, the more people seem to appear

any segregated sections.

A third type of large scale endeavor is registered in a vast increase in light and heavy industry. A good deal or most of the purchasing—big generators and prime movers, rotary presses, large quantity factory equipment—is negotiated at a high level.

Numerous American engineers of standing have been invited to India; and eminent professional Indian missions have visited us.

But a great deal of work is done by resident representatives of American manufacturers. There are notable exceptions, but by and large these are not an impressive lot. Too many have imbibed (an unpremeditated pun) the British colonial club viewpoint, easy going, slightly superior, not knowing too much or wanting to know too much, and in particular not anxious

(Continued on page 503)

Tragedy in White

MICHAEL M. DAVIS

I SHUT OFF THE MOTOR BOAT ENGINE A quarter of a mile from shore, where the wide curve of our bay spread before me in the brilliant afternoon sun. The forest cover rose up the familiar slopes, but no longer unbroken as it used to be. For above the leafage of maple and hemlock, by the lakeside and beyond, the happy summer green was broken by the bare white boughs of dead and dying birches. All the length of Lake Memphramagog, from Magog Town, Quebec, eight miles to the north, to Newport, Vermont, twenty miles south, angular and tortured limbs rise white against the green, or dark against the skyline, witnessing the tragedy that has befallen the loveliest tree of the northland.

Does the health of trees belong with the human interests of "health today and tomorrow"? Health means living. It means the first tool wherewith to make a living. It means science. It means beauty, joy of living. On these four counts, the answer is yes.

An epidemic has moved slowly but persistently, these past ten years from the eastern provinces of Canada through Maine, northern New Hampshire and Vermont. It has spotted Massachusetts and New York and is extending in southern Quebec. Its agent is a tiny beetle. Its victims are white and yellow birches. It does not cut a sudden swath of death, as the black plague or yellow fever did among human beings generations ago. It kills rather as tuberculosis or leprosy does, slowly, over a period of years.

The bronze birch borer is the instrument of this death. Though I have looked upon its results over many miles of countryside in several states, I have never seen one of these beetles. It lights mostly in the treetops. It's only three eighths of an inch long, say the experts, dark brown to black above, bronzed beneath. After the beetle has hatched from its chrysalis, it flies to a birch tree and feeds awhile on the leaves. This does little harm. Then, however, the beetle lays its eggs in some crack in the outer bark. The larva that hatches from these eggs is the evil doer.

For as soon as it gets going, this

HEALTH—Today & Tomorrow

—A series by the chairman, Committee on Research in Medical Economics; associate editor, *Survey Graphic*.

larva begins to bore through the inner bark, the soft, vital tissue that, under the birch's hard protective outer skin, carries sap and sustenance throughout the whole tree. As the grub grows, the tunnel it bores becomes wider and longer. It tends to zigzag or spiral around the limb, thus girdling the flow of sap. Gradually this limb dies. The tree's available leaf surface is thus diminished and as year after year more and more of its upper branches suffer, the tree is literally starved. The dying process may take four, five, six years.

Sometimes the beetle does its egg-laying on the main trunk, but much more frequently deterioration begins, as with unretired professors, from the top down. That is why we commonly see the skeleton branches standing out above the leaf-cover on the hillsides.

If you study the forest closely, you will find that the beetle picks his trees. He does not attack young ones. Birches that have had to struggle for existence on ridges or slopes where the soil is thin seem to be infested sooner, as though they had less resisting power, than trees growing in more fertile spots. Birches left on the border of a cutting and thus deprived on one side of protection given by adjoining trees, seem also to be favored victims.

THE BRONZE BIRCH BORER IS A NATIVE insect. Why has he become so much more destructive during the last decade? We do not know. It is known, however, that certain foreign pests, particularly some that eat the leaves of birches and other trees, were imported a decade or more ago. Their depredations are not usually deadly, but have weakened many birches and given the bronze borer the start that has led to a vast increase in its numbers.

If we were birches, what could we do against this blight? We could not

move, we could not fight, and though some of us in close stands may have put our heads together, there is nothing in our heads but twigs and leaves. Would we be in any worse case than the humans on some South Sea islands, when measles was imported amongst them and they died like flies of a disease which was lethal in a wholly unimmunized population?

Or think about the terrified families that fled New Orleans when yellow fever struck the city, jamming overcrowded trains, cold with fear of the plague behind them and of the chance that they might still get the infection from their neighbor on the next seat! Or remember that less than a hundred years ago, the first report on sanitation in Massachusetts had to combat those who objected to proposals which would interfere with typhoid fever and other visitations of illness imposed by an inscrutable Providence. The authors of that report found it necessary to argue at length against that attitude, expounding in substance the theme: Put your trust in God, fellow citizens, but keep your water supply pure!

IF WE WERE BIRCHES, WE WOULD HAVE had from Mother Nature—if we could but know it—one method of slow but probably sure victory over the plague. In the respective germ-plasms of each of us would be the source of differing powers of resistance to the beetle and its larvae. So, although the pest decimated us, some of a resistant strain would survive. From the millions of seeds produced by these few, and from the shoots that sprouted from their stumps, a race of birches untouchable by the bronze borer might beautify the northern woods in another generation.

Even if "natural selection" would work thus, what a cost in life and time! Human beings must be mindful of the workings of heredity and selection, but do not, will not, lie down passively with these forces. In the main, the growing body of health services represents as much a planned interference with the order of nature as it does cooperation with the powers of nature to heal, restore, and prevent.

SINCE WE ARE MEN AND WOMEN, NOT vegetables, what can we do for the birches? Their loss is much more than aesthetic. Tool handles and furniture, toothpicks and toys, and many other articles of utility and pleasure come from the hard, tough, fine-grained wood of the yellow and white birch trees. The borer threatens all the birchwood industries. There are many towns in Maine and some in northern New England and New York which have been dependent largely on these industries and in which the chief employers and a large part of the working population face disaster.

The Maine hardwood industries have raised a fund, which they expect will be matched dollar for dollar by the state, for a program combining remedy and prevention. The life history of the deadly beetle must be studied in detail, to find the points at which the creature is vulnerable. How far will spraying help? Since much of it would have to reach high treetops over a large area, spraying by airplane would be necessary. How much is it practicable to extend the use of beetle traps? What parasites can be discovered and cultivated that will kill the beetle or its larvae? What types of tree, soil, and site prove most resistant to attacks? Answers to these questions might enable men to prevent the continuance of this pestilence.

Meanwhile lumber operators and owners of birch lands can be educated in ways of cutting and of forest management that will reduce the amount and rate of infestation. The incursion of the pest into areas not previously affected can be watched for through an inspection system of foresters afoot and in the air.

Those familiar with the "campaigns" against certain human illnesses, particularly occupational diseases like lead poisoning and "phossy jaw" will perceive parallels. Evils have to become serious before men will stir their minds and devote their money to discovering and applying remedies. Research, "demonstrations," and education have to move along together. Individuals, private organizations, and government have to work together.

Thinking of health on its lowest plane of mere survival, only an infinitesimal fraction of the seeds scat-

tered by the winds from birch forests every year ever come to maturity. The reproductive processes of humankind are less wasteful. Yet among some primitive peoples and some ignorant and disadvantaged groups within civilized ones, a quarter to a third of all the babies born do not survive their first twelve months. The difference between these and the people among whom the infant mortality rate is only three per cent is due to the deliberate application of intelligence—and to the resources which make that application possible.

HEALTH IS ALSO A PRIME PREREQUISITE to making a living. Yet what we know and do about the economics of health has lagged far behind our accumulated knowledge about disease. The losses of income due to sickness among workers and to premature invalidism and death amount to billions of dollars annually in the United States. One of the reasons why we are slow to take action is that remedies require social as well as individual action and tread on the toes of established institutions and interests.

Health depends today more on science than on instinct. The continuance of human life in cities would be impossible without the constant scientific checking of water, milk and other foods, and the arts of medicine and hospitalization. Human life in rural communities is less wholesome than it should be because of common deficiencies in these applications of science. Science means the patient study of the atom, of the life history of a beetle, of a mosquito, of methods of lumbering, of the costs of medical care. The measure of men and of societies is the degree to which they

search for knowledge and the courage with which they undertake to apply it.

The proposed law setting up the National Science Foundation excludes the social sciences because some people fear their "political" implications. Yet without dispassionate study of human beings, we shall lag painfully in putting other knowledge to work for human benefit. Entomologists cannot save babies, administrators cannot extend health services, except through social as well as individual action.

Health means beauty. Beauty in repose: the sleeping baby, the composed face of serene age. Beauty in action: the abandon of singing children, the graceful swoop of the diver, the sure stroke of the surgeon, the rhythmic skill of the lathe-tender, the smile of the grandmother as she cradles her daughter's child. The joy of living is beauty. There is a joy of living attainable at each age and characteristic of it, and a conduct of life in harmony with the individual's needs and powers.

As we thus turn back from the mass to its supreme constituent, the individual, I think again of our birches and in especial of the best loved one near our summer home. We cut the underbrush long ago so that we might see its full majesty. It is the largest birch tree I know, one hundred inches in circumference a yard above ground. Before its age we are as children. It must have been a sturdy young tree when George Washington took command of the American armies.

NOW IN THE SUMMER MOONLIGHT THE shining column of its bole rises forty feet without a branch, dividing then into twin trunks springing smooth and symmetrically for thirty feet again: subdividing then, and more and more often until, a hundred feet high, its last twigs are lost amidst its foliage and its crown of leafage patterns against the stars. Upon it too the blight has fallen within the past three years, and a few of its topmost boughs are bare.

What can we do to save it? As with aging men and women, the time for prevention is past. Only care will serve and we have fertilized the soil about its roots, in the hope that this thing of beauty may be a joy a little longer.



Luke Gwilliam

They Do Say—

HARRY HANSEN

NO GENERATION IN THE WORLD'S history has been so extraordinarily sensitive to rumors as the present. A rumor is an unfounded report, spread by word of mouth from one man to another, and changing its content according to the emphasis or distortion given it by the individual bearer. Gordon W. Allport and Leo Postman, of the Department of Psychology in Harvard University, say a rumor lacks "secure standards of evidence." The implication that a rumor is practically always harmful is a part of the definition.

These two psychologists have isolated the rumor in their laboratory and observed its antics under a microscope. They have seen it fly in from nowhere, sting half a dozen persons, and go forth refreshed and stronger than ever. It may change its color and its purpose, but whatever it does, it is not going about doing good. Reports that someone has done a kind deed are not freely repeated. They do not, apparently, cause the individual bosom to swell with satisfaction. It would be well if we could believe that kind deeds are so commonplace that they are not news—and possibly they are.

But this book, "The Psychology of Rumor," (Holt, \$3.50) is itself a phenomenon of our times, for it indicates the concern of scientifically minded men at the prevalence of rumors and the social calamities that sometimes follow. An extraordinary crop of rumors gained circulation — and often credence — during the world war, partly because society was in flux, with a feeling of instability. The authors are interested in determining what makes a rumor live and expand. In the course of their inquiry they have found some remarkable American folkways.

Rumors must have roots; they must be related to our way of living, and reflect, as the authors found, our

prejudices and expectations. It would mean nothing to me if I were told that the canals on Mars were destroyed, because I have no basis of interest in the subject. But the housewives who, perplexed by the lack of help, circulated rumors that Negro maids were organizing Eleanor Clubs with the motto "Every white woman in her own kitchen in a year," reflected "fear, guilt and economic bewilderment," the authors say, seeing feelings of economic and social insecurity relieved by these stories. "Suffering a vague anxiety, they justify the jitters by pointing to Negro aggression, and derive a melancholy consolation from alerting one another to the menace."

The reports of sexual offences committed by Negroes also are sweet morsels to be circulated by whites and taken for granted; Allport and Postman believe this proves that we make the Negro the scapegoat for our own sins against the Puritan code.

THE THREAT TO STABLE SOCIAL POSITION is the basis for all sorts of "devious mental maneuvering," so that we may say the aggrieved one comforts himself by circulating reports that he knows or hopes are not true. And just as economic security is vitally important to us, so all matters pertaining to sex affect our emotional well-being.

The authors have made a study of "rumor publics," persons who are "suggestible," who do not scorn or criticize, but lend the willing ear. We must agree that this public is large and "includes many poorly educated individuals," but what bothers me personally, even more, is the willingness of well-educated, technically trained men to accept rumors without basis of fact. Invariably there is reference to an authority: "John Smith told me so; he must know," for John Smith is an honorable man.

If you call a man a friend you do not doubt his word; what he tells you must be true, for why should he lie to you? We do not inquire farther and ask: Why should he lie to himself? Perhaps he is not aware of it, for he, too, can refer to authority—the John Jones who told him, and who, in turn, is an honorable man.

The Harvard psychologists do not have to go far afield for subjects for study. We can, each one of us, put in a profitable hour setting down our bases of belief in matters of which we have no positive proof. I, as a newspaperman, often have observed the attention given my words when I repeat to a group in my community some late bulletin that has reached the office after press time. The logical remark that follows is an appeal to my supposed special knowledge, such as: "What do you think the President will do now?" The answer is not fact, but opinion, yet someone is likely to quote what is said as fact, and start a young rumor on its way.

The knowledge that you are on the inside gives you special satisfaction and you must watch yourself to see that you do not meet the expectations of your listeners by embroidering the incident. The authors of this book are aware of the temptation. They know that one cannot always recognize an ill-founded rumor, because it is not labeled; hence we have little immunity against it. They write:

Much of history has been determined by people's reactions to hearsay, and many of their beliefs are the product of age-old legends and myths. The deceptive quality of rumor lies in the fact that although it is evaluative and incitive in significance, it usually masquerades as the provider of objective information. In reality, its hidden expressive functions are more important than its alleged informative functions.

Rumors are self-starters and therefore differ from propaganda, which is

consciously directed and propelled. Public opinion is a more formal expression of what the mass thinks about current affairs. Sometimes propaganda mills make use of rumors, spreading false reports, as the Nazis did. Psychological warfare, aimed at the emotions and prejudices of specific groups and strata, may use both truth and misleading statements; Americans, we are told, relied little on planting rumors; the very nature of their mission made it unnecessary.

One of the distressing social phenomena of our time is the attention we give to rumors. We have become extremely sensitive to unfavorable reports, even when they deal with possibilities rather than accomplished facts. In the twentieth century the communication of trivialities has grown with lightning speed. Granted that this is "the human touch" in news, it must be protested that the innocent public is often misled by the emphasis given them. Gossip is not merely shipped from Hollywood; it is picked up in the capitals of the world and expedited with the urgency of stop-press news.

Another factor that keeps the pub-

lic on the jump is the news comment on the radio. A newspaper may scream in headlines and remain unheard, but the speaker on the air forces his news upon you by his eagerness to make every statement sound significant. The relative importance of his information differs from day to day, but his delivery is the same and blurs the line between what he knows and what he implies. The spread of direct quotation has given opinion the authority of fact.

THE PUBLIC, ASSURED OF AUTHORITY of the speaker, can hardly be blamed for confusion. Bombarded on all sides, it seizes on news that fits its prejudices and repeats it as fact.

When nations are at peace and men are active at their tasks, unrest dwindles and with it the capacity of rumor to work ill. But we shall never be quite free of anxiety until we remove the inequalities in American life that make us ready to believe the worst of others. For, as Messrs. Allport and Postman have found out, our readiness to give ear to false rumors about others advertises our own blame.

ON JUDGING BOOKS, by Francis Hackett. John Day. \$4.

George Britt

FROM THE TITLE YOU GET AN INADEQUATE measure of this volume, for its concern is with judging humanity and from it the reader comes also to feel that he can judge the author himself.

It is made up of an introductory essay on criticism with five others about writing in somewhat general terms, relatively longish, and then something like eighty book reviews reprinted from that period up to a year ago when Mr. Hackett on the *New York Times* was considered by many of us to be about the best critic practicing in America. So the book changes its subject fast, yet its subject always is the same thing—which is Mr. Hackett's concern with the personal verities that men try in fleeting style to put down on the ink-streaked page.

It composes the picture of a good man—one of cultivated but severely sensible mind, shunning clichés and speaking a gay and forthright prose,

openly hating the evils he hates and expressing opinions by his own most independent standards. His creed is humanism—not the academic posturing of recent or remote past but the humanism of loyalty to the bold, free human spirit. He is a man sympathetic but fastidious, as un-grubby as you'll find in a year's reading, steadfastly refusing "to make democratic a synonym for popular."

Mr. Hackett, at least nearer than most men, is impressed only by quality. So he spots his hero G. B. S. when he is being a crank and Gertrude Stein when she prattles. He deflates Noel Coward indulgently when he puts on the airs of a social pretender. He spans a young writer as a vulgarian, with nail points of urbanity added to his paddle, and exposes another in the act of making "desperate lunges to break into thought." He has deep respect for the responsibility and importance of criticism.

Taking Russia as a touchstone—as items are lined up nowadays—one reads that W. L. White was wrong-headed and not up to his

father's standards, and that William Henry Chamberlin was confused. But for the special pleading of "The Great Conspiracy," the critic's quick title is "Snow-White and the Seven Dwarfs."

At times Mr. Hackett seems to tangle himself up in his own logical spiderwebs, but on any issue of freedom or taste, his voice rings like a bell. Dealing with literature as distinct from journalism, he is at his best. In his comment on novels and on poets he accepts the risk of becoming an artist himself.

TOTAL WAR AND THE CONSTITUTION, by Edward S. Corwin. Knopf. \$2.50.

Jane Perry Clark Carey

FOR THOSE WHO QUESTION HOW AMERICAN constitutional development fared during the war, Edward S. Corwin has provided a wise and learned answer, always delightfully written so that even those who are not constitutional experts may understand and learn. The book's 182 pages are rich with understanding of trends in constitutional development and the exercise of judicial review, particularly in wartime.

The author's viewpoint is never hidden but not offensively thrust forward; it is always clear and wise and sane, and not infrequently enlivened with flashes of wit. All the chapters are important, tracing as they do the "war before the war," the impact of war on the powers and structure of government and on constitutional and individual rights, and the effect of the whole on current and possible future developments.

As the events of World War I dug deep into our constitutional pattern, so those of World War II dug even deeper. To put the matter somewhat differently, the Constitution flexed more markedly in this war than in the last, as for instance in the Presidential Message of September 7, 1942, which Professor Corwin says "sets the most exorbitant claim for Presidential power ever made by a President," and in the *Yakus* case in which the Supreme Court upheld a wide delegation of legislative power to the President under the price control legislation. This case, as the book shows, not only highlights the incompatibility between the requirements of total war and the principles thus far

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deemed fundamental to government under the Constitution, but also extends the possibility of wide delegation even to peacetime.

The volume succinctly shows that as a result of two world wars the institution of judicial review suffered marked impairment—an impairment likely to survive the war. The last chapter, "The Postwar Constitution," explains how wartime developments intensified and extended trends already set in motion before the war, so that no pronounced swing away from the constitutional thinking of the war years may be expected. The Constitution of 1947, showing a growing concentration of power in the hands of the federal government and of the President and administrative agencies, is the same as in World War I and as developed by the New Deal.

For the first time in our history, following a great war, there is no peacetime Constitution to which we may expect to return; the Constitution of peacetime and the Constitution of wartime have become "thanks to the New Deal very much the same Constitution."

Realizing that change has come to court and government and world, Professor Corwin reminds us that, among other values, the idea of liberty against government is one which we cannot allow to go under. It is true that the survival of the human values the American Constitution was meant to preserve depends on other things than constitutional arrangements alone. But they have their important place.

THE SOVIET IMPACT ON THE WESTERN WORLD, by Edward Halliett Carr. Macmillan, \$1.75.

Cornelia Stratton Parker

A PHILANTHROPIST WITH THE PEACE and cooperation of the world at heart could do worse than hire Professor Carr to give the six Oxford lectures, on which this little book is based, in every college in the USA. As set down in 113 compact, brilliant pages, they breathe the sanity of a broad and social mind. There is no single word of fear or suspicion.

The Bolshevik revolution is one of the great turning points in history, molding the world in new patterns. We who live in the midst of this shattering historical process rarely are furnished with any tools to help in

our judgments and reactions. Books and lectures which bolster the worst of our frights, however groundless, which turn us into irrational handicaps to any constructive evolution, are scattered broadcast, adding to our own and the world's chaos and confusion. Along comes "The Soviet Impact on the Western World."

Reading it conscientiously (and this reviewer has gone through it word by word four times) is a momentous experience for the mind and a stabilizing influence on the emotions.

It is no part of the task the author set himself to pass moral judgements on Soviet achievements. He wants it understood that Bolshevism cannot be regarded as a foreign product of a strange eastern way of life—it has western origins and lies in the main stream of European history as much as the French revolution. Beyond doubt it has relevance and lessons for the West—including the USA.

The political impact of the Soviet Union has resulted in making millions throughout the world more conscious of the weaknesses of western political democracy ("the pre-occupation of voting in elections"). Social and economic democracy must be added to political democracy before the needs of modern man in mass civilization can be met. The economic impact can be summed up in the single word "planning." Professor Carr himself accepts planning as a necessity in the modern world, for the good of the individual and the state. The loss to the few in individual freedom is the gain to the many.

Internationally, the Soviet impact has tended to bring diplomacy back from the decorative verbiage introduced since World War I to the Soviet frankness which shocks the western world. To Professor Carr this doesn't mean Soviet demands are more exorbitant than those of other Great Powers in the past or even perhaps the present. Less trouble is taken to drape them in the fashions of modern diplomacy.

The last two chapters, "The Ideological Impact" and "Some Historical Perspectives," concern themselves with the age-long problem of the place of

the individual in society and of the relation of society to the individual, as we find ourselves in today's world of mass civilization. Almost the last words of the last chapter read, "... the forces of individualism have somehow lost their potency and their relevance in the contemporary world."

To some that may sound a mournful ending, but Professor Carr is in no sense mournful. The whole book is stimulating, challenging, a call to the mental and emotional flexibility without which no valid compromise between the Soviet Union and the western world can be worked out.

FROM CALIGARI TO HITLER: A PSYCHOLOGICAL HISTORY OF THE GERMAN FILM, by Siegfried Kracauer. Princeton University Press. \$5.

John J. Honigmann

STIMULATED BY THE WORK OF ANTHROPOLOGISTS like Margaret Mead, Gregory Bateson, and Ruth Benedict, social science has been busily developing new techniques for grappling with the problem, by no means novel, of national character. World War II found our government utilizing these contributions and it was during this period that attention turned to the cinema of a nation as yet another aspect of culture which reflected "the deep layers of collective mentality" below conscious group thinking.

If Margaret Mead had written this book she probably would have spoken of the film as partly revealing the *ethos* of a people. Mr. Kracauer has essayed to show how the German cinema, designed (like the films in other nations) to appeal to a multitude, from 1918 to 1933 reflected the psychological dispositions, hopes, and fears which swept Germany after World War I.

Although the films of this period can be divided into periods, each emphasizing particular psychological themes, the whole era can be broadly characterized as one in which the German world-view hesitated to accept the possibilities of a democratic social order, swayed toward, and eventually embraced anew, authoritarian forms. This is scarcely a novel interpretation of German character, but the film analysis tends to confirm the interpretations of students like Fromm, besides demonstrating a new technique for social study.

Following the period of acute postwar confusion, the dominant emotional trends in German life made



their first appearance strikingly in "The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari" (1920), in which democracy is symbolized and the antagonists of authority are depicted as the mentally ill. Throughout the ensuing decade the theme of anarchy was to recur, notably through the symbolic use of street scenes, whose confusion represented the world from which the middle class philistine fled to security or about which, eventually, he ceased to concern himself.

Heretical tendencies were short-lived, like the heroic "Maedchen in Uniform," whose dramatic opening shots of Potsdam set the tone for a sharp attack on Prussian authoritarianism. Following the world's economic collapse and the end of the Dawes Plan, such thinking became lost in the frenzy of groundless, "hymnic" optimism that culminated in the rise of Hitler.

Many questions can be raised about this pioneer study in film analysis. At times the interpretations seem gratuitous; often they have an *ad hoc* flavor. An important shortcoming is the absence of any explicit conceptual theory by reference to which the facts and conclusions could be independently verified and validated. Perhaps the book is best considered as the initial presentation of a new social-psychological technique inviting research and as an ambitious and promising hypothesis which still requires considerable testing.

THE INDIVIDUAL, THE STATE,
AND WORLD GOVERNMENT, by
A. C. Ewing. Macmillan. \$4.

Mildred R. Blake

IF, AS A CITIZEN OF A DEMOCRACY AND a would-be citizen of the world, you would like to have a logical foundation for your beliefs, both for your own enlightenment and for sound argument with others, A. C. Ewing, lecturer in Moral Science in the University of Cambridge, has written the book for you.

The book devotes two thirds of its 300-or-so pages to the individual citizen and his existing governments. The main value of its major argument is thus in illuminating and buttressing what a practicing democrat already believes. But to this reviewer, and perhaps to most seekers after light and leading in this hour, the most useful part of the book is the last third, subtitled "International

Government and Prevention of War."

The questions raised are all valuable; the answers up to a certain point likewise. Professor Ewing makes a thorough case for a world federation with actual governmental powers. He disposes of dozens of the currently fashionable objections. Thus to the Reinhold Niebuhr argument, which has kept so many liberal minds immobilized of late, namely, that a sense of world community must come first, he remarks that

—the sentiment of a supernational unity can be acquired only by working together, and if you wait till this sentiment has developed before starting a supernational organization of government you will never start at all.

But when he comes to his recommendations for changes in the United Nations, he fails to go all the way with his own arguments and convictions. He recognizes the privileged and lawless position accorded the Big Five by the veto. He sees the near-impossibility of reaching decisions, when "unanimity means that the pace of the Big Five will be on the whole the pace of their slowest member." But he looks at the one-nation-one-vote rule and cannot see over the top of it. The veto is obviously necessary under that rule, or the Big Five, with almost half the people of the world and only five votes, could be outvoted by the small nations, who are now rewarded for their lack of unity by a majority in the Council and fifty votes in the Assembly.

The author admits, as everyone must, that large groups of people ought to have more to say in world

affairs than small ones. But since representation by population would lead in practice to government by the representatives of China and India, he can see no way out of the dilemma. He concludes unhappily that we will have to put up with the veto, perhaps giving it to any two instead of any one great power.

His trouble is that he has refused to take a path marked "this way out," simply because it is bordered by unfamiliar looking bushes which might contain thorns. He says:

The veto, though rough and ready, has the great advantage of avoiding the very intricate and invidious negotiations which would have been involved in working out in detail a system that gave a different number of votes to different states and yet did not fix the number by the straightforward method of counting the inhabitants.

This assumption of "intricate and invidious negotiations" needs to be examined. Suppose units of production, such as can be found in a world almanac or statesmen's yearbook, were adopted along with population. What is invidious about setting down that one nation has produced, in its best year, so many less kilowatts of electricity, pounds of uranium, tons of steel, tons of shipping, and dollars worth of agricultural products than another? What needs to be negotiated about the use of such figures? There they are, with probably even less room for argument than population figures.

Those who have advocated the use of attractive intangibles such as "education and progress" will find that any chart they can make of those factors

September Reviewers

Mildred R. Blake: *Chairman, Executive Committee, United World Federalists*

George Britt: *Managing Editor, Survey Graphic*

Arthur R. Burns: *Professor of Economics, Columbia University*

Jane Perry Clark Carey: *Assistant Professor of Government, Barnard College, Columbia University*

John J. Corson: *Director of Research, Washington Post*

Harry Hansen: *Literary Editor, New York World-Telegram; Associate Editor, Survey Graphic*

John J. Honigmann: *State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington*

Cornelia Stratton Parker: *Author of "Wanderer's Circle"*

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will be amazingly close to the chart afforded by production figures.

Professor Ewing will recall that "numbering the people" once seemed so intricate and invidious that it was believed to be against God (I Chronicles XXI). It now seems the most simple and natural way in the world to determine the voting power of any group. For the sake of justice we need such a population measure in world government, but as long as power and productivity influence world decisions, why should they not also be measured?

Then the veto will be seen for what Professor Ewing actually admits it is, a piece of political nonsense which was adopted in a shortsighted attempt to balance another piece of political nonsense.

PLANNING AND PAYING FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT, edited by Abba P. Lerner and Frank D. Graham. Princeton University Press, \$3.

John J. Corson

"WHAT WILL IT TAKE TO GET FULL employment?" The reader who seeks an answer to this pragmatic question will be especially interested in the first and last chapters of this book. In the first, "Toward a Full Employment Program: A Survey," Albert Halasi summarizes and ties together the views of his association in this symposium. In doing this he makes clear how tax, wage, monetary, and credit, private and public investment, anti-monopoly, and foreign trade policies all must be designed to create jobs.

The last chapter, "An Integrated Full Employment Policy," is a brilliant essay by Abba P. Lerner, who first explains the much discussed theory of functional finance. Then he succeeds in weaving together into an integrated full employment policy the diverse thoughts and suggestions of his partners in this symposium. He who reads while he runs can take this chapter and leave the balance of the book. Yet he must read carefully, for Lerner's reasoning is tight and his exposition is not simple.

Between these chapters, nine other labor economists and academicians offer papers which were first presented in the summer of 1944 at the Princeton-American Labor Conference on International Affairs. Each discusses a separate segment of the prob-

lem of assuring full employment with a minimum of governmental intervention. Henry Simons, for example, writes of necessary federal tax reform. Broadus Mitchell describes the importance of full employment in the U. S. to maintenance of foreign trade.

All in all, the book is very uneven. A few of its contributors offer original ideas and push forward the thinking as to how to achieve full employment. Most chapters simply rework the ground in specialized phases of this problem. The technical economist will find here a worthwhile exercise in keeping abreast of modern economic thinking. The lay reader will have difficulty determining what these writers have to tell him as to how to have jobs, a high standard of living, and freedom, all at once.

Yet despite its inadequacies, this book suggests that a decade of debate as to how to achieve full employment is yielding fruit. It does not prescribe an oversimplified "patent medicine remedy," and it admits the brutal complexity of the American economy. Ten years of discussion, it implies, have reasonably well defined the complex of actions—public and private—which must be taken if the national economy is to yield jobs for all.

TOWARD WORLD PROSPERITY, Edited by Mordecai Ezekiel. Harper, \$5.50.

Arthur R. Burns

"TOWARD WORLD PROSPERITY" WILL be a guide and stimulant to those anxious to plan a world in which there can be no World War III. The major part of the book consists of regional studies by twenty specialists defining the conditions for economic security and progress. They particularize the present miserable economic state of the world, somewhat lightening the gloom with hopeful appraisals of the economic potential of the various countries.

The war-ravaged countries suffer primarily from physical destruction and economic disorganization. Although the northwest European countries have made remarkable recovery since the fighting ceased, return to their full prewar standard of living

is hampered by uncertainties as to the kind of world in which they must adapt themselves.

The future of Germany is in part their future. America's attitude to foreign trade will also determine their future. England and France have suffered economic damage but, even before the war, they were paving the way to decline by restriction of production and failure to adjust to a changing world. Reform, as well as reconstruction, is necessary.

Russia, the subject of a sympathetic study, has revealed how rapidly industrialization can be pushed without much outside financial aid but with considerable natural resources. The human costs of economic development have been heavy, yet Russia must now remake some of its past achievements. It has both the will and the technique.

In the Middle East, the Far East, Africa, and South America, there are considerable differences in well-being, but also many common patterns. Nationalism and lack of supplies from customary sources have produced some wartime industrialization. Profitable wartime trading has yielded funds that will be available for development in some countries. But the majority of the population is too poor to provide an adequate home market for expanded industrial production. Too many of these countries are run by classes who see little charm in removing this poverty.

The present volume insists upon the interdependence of peace and prosperity. The industrial revolution must be completed throughout the world as part of a balanced expansion of both agriculture and industry. Otherwise, ideas—and especially socially destructive ones—will travel and multiply. Moral obligations apart (though not denied), America cannot afford not to play the leading role in assisting with capital and experience.

But there remain some difficult questions. Will efforts to develop the most backward countries be frustrated by more increases in population? Can we improve our methods of measuring the cost of development? Do we have very precise tests of the feasibility of development both as to speed and pattern?

The book will have served well if it mobilizes thought and skill on these questions, and urges us along the only available road to world prosperity and stability.



Recent Developments in Social Thinking

EXHIBIT A

Flood Control

continued from page 469

denied that forestation and erosion control were excellent, paying for themselves many times over, exclusive of flood control. Everyone agreed that they reduced the amount and retarded the speed of rainwater than ran off into flooding streams. It was acknowledged that holding the soil on the land was preferable to letting it constrict the river channel during floods, raising the crests, and emptying into the dammed up reservoirs and decreasing their usefulness.

STILL THE ARMY ENGINEERS AND CONGRESS insisted on carrying flood control to an arbitrary stopping point instead of to a logical conclusion. General Jadwin's view was that forestation and soil conservation could do too little for flood control, and too slowly, to be embodied in a flood control plan, and that reservoir control was useful only in special circumstances.

Forestation, he also observed, was recommended by the Department of Agriculture because it would promote "a better timber supply, soil conservation, improved agricultural conditions, betterment of the livestock industry and protection of publicly owned grazing lands, prevention of stream pollution, increasing opportunities for outdoor recreation, and the protection of game and fish."

It never occurred to the Army Engineers, apparently, that all these benefits might make forestation worth doing also for its effect on flood control. "While forestation . . . is a step in the right direction . . . it cannot be considered as a measure warranting inclusion in a comprehensive flood-control project," General Jadwin wrote. In rather patronizing tones, he also wrote that the reservoir theory "is an ideal one when it fits." He went on:

It expects to hold the water where it falls, on comparatively cheap land, and where it can be held without harm to anyone. It aims to attack the problem at the starting point of the trouble but cannot always do this because sites and cheap lands are not always available

where the bulk of the rain falls. Some excellent plans for small reservoirs have been consummated successfully on this theory. The principle of reservoirs is sound within its field of application.

AS FOR THE MISSISSIPPI, GENERAL JADWIN said it was so big that flood control measures by means of reservoirs on the tributaries would cost too much and do too little. Apparently he was thinking solely in terms of controls on the tributaries for the benefit of the main stream. But why not flood control on the tributaries for their own sake, letting them add up to flood control for the parent river? The policy makers had not begun to think in these stupendous but natural and necessary terms.

If the Army Engineers and Congress could not see the importance of land treatment to floods, there were plenty who could see it.

Farmers whose soil was washed off to the Gulf of Mexico could see it.

Americans living along the Rio Grande, a levee-held river which is rising a foot a decade by filling with silt, can see it.

Westerners of the cattle country can see it, for overgrazing has stripped the soil of its protecting grass, letting rainwater race toward flood and carry the soil with it—and in the instance of sheep overgrazing has often tamped the earth hard shut against the rain, speeding the runoff down an impervious slope, as do the Badlands. The only river on which this knowledge has been put into practice is the Tennessee.

Nearly two decades after the Army Engineers got the money for the plan that was supposed to fix everything, flood disasters are still ravaging the Mississippi system. The flood of 1935 took 125 lives and cost \$39,000,000. Starting in 1943 there has been a flood disaster every year, costing \$104—\$93—\$106—\$45,000,000's. In 1947, the cost soared to \$164,000,000. Since the turn of the century, flood damage in the Mississippi River system has totaled more than a billion dollars.

For the idea of mainstream flood control by means of tributary control

ever to gain financial plausibility, a still further novel and knotty idea had to come into acceptance: *that a dam and reservoir might well be operated for more than one purpose.* Reservoirs on the tributaries, if built for flood control alone, would cost so much that no one could ever seriously propose them. The situation would be changed if two or more purposes could be served, particularly if they included some income earning activity which would pay for itself and help to pay for the others.

The good sense of making electric power such an income earning function of public dams had been asserted by Theodore Roosevelt, but the multiple-purpose-dam idea was slow in catching on. One reason was that privately owned electric utilities opposed it. They did not want scarce, high electric power to be replaced with abundant, cheap power. Their engineers maintained that a dam could not efficiently serve more than one purpose.

The conclusive answer was the construction and operation of multi-purpose dams. Already in 1918, Wilson Dam, at Muscle Shoals, Alabama, had been built for power and navigation, and Boulder Dam, on the Colorado River, for flood control, irrigation, and power. Since 1933 the entire Tennessee River has been harnessed by dams built for navigation, flood control, and electric power. As all these dams, from the Wilson forward, are going and successful concerns, the argument against multi-purpose dams and reservoirs is now a quaint relic but is still being pushed as propaganda in the hope that there are people who haven't heard.

THE MULTI-PURPOSE DAM IDEA STILL remains to be applied to a second river, and so does the idea of controlling a main stream through its tributaries. These are big ideas, new ideas. What is more serious, they are ideas that cannot be placed into any of the government agencies without leaving major parts sticking out at inconvenient places.

The Army Engineers, slow to be interested at all in multiple-purpose dams, now are interested only for flood control and navigation, which are their special assignments, and to a lesser extent, for power—the army never having been an ardent advocate of public power. The Reclamation Bureau is interested almost entirely

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for irrigation and power, its own special assignments. The idea of controlling floods at the tributaries is coming nearest to realization on the Missouri, where army and reclamation have united their plans into the Pick-Sloan Plan, named after its authors.

THE PICK-SLOAN PLAN FOLLOWS MODERN ideas for control of the Missouri by control of its tributaries. It falls short of the idea that floods and flood damage — including the loss of soil and siltation of streams—should be prevented by setting to work as soon as a drop of potential flood water falls on the land. This shortcoming adversely affects its single modern idea, the reservoir method, for the reservoirs in the plan are designed on the assumption that soil will be washed into them. Accordingly, the dams have been designed high enough and the reservoirs big enough to take in the silt and still operate. The positive approach is to control the siltation and design the dams and reservoirs on the assumption that they are not to be allowed unnecessarily to fill up.

The plan generously leaves the way open for federal soil control, forestation, and other agencies to do something about flood-control if they wish and can. It has done nothing to have these functions performed or to correlate them into a grand design.

Congress and its flood control agent are still behind the times in applying modern knowledge to flood control. They will continue behind the times, and flood control will continue to be a botch, as long as two things stand in the way.

The first is Congress' attachment to the pork barrel. Congress can't boondoggle with flood control for political advantage and expect the nation to get much out of it.

The second obstacle is the absence of an agency for its administration. The Army Engineers can't tackle all the elements of the job because their authority from Congress is limited to a few phases of it. Through long habit, they have become accustomed to giving first place to the particular phases of flood control that are assigned to them, and minimizing those phases not assigned to them, until they can honestly believe that their limited view is all the view there is.

They are, moreover, so intimately tied in with the pork barrel system, and have been a part of it so long,

that it is difficult to see how either could operate apart from the other.

Some people think the answer is a development corporation similar to TVA, with an assignment broad enough to take the flood control problem and integrate it with all the other controls needed—for power, for navigation, for irrigation, for soil control, forestation, the conservation of wild life, and for recreation. That approach would take in all the modern findings about flood control, as opposed to the historic approach, which takes in as few as is politic.

The basis for something better than the Pick-Sloan Plan is available in the MVA bill which Senator Murray of Montana has introduced in the third version in three years—with the co-sponsorship now of Senators Johnston, Pepper, Langer, and Taylor. Objectors say the Murray bill is too sweeping and does not go realistically far enough in concessions.

On the opposing side are westerners determined that private water rights, enforced by the states, must be upheld at all costs. The chief weakness of their position is that the messed up water rights cannot be brought into a semblance of order without federal intervention—which is just why objectors fight MVA. Federal intervention, in fact, is likely to be one and the same whether it is under the Pick-Sloan Plan or MVA.

President Truman has done little to improve the situation. He has declared himself in favor of MVA and at every opportunity has knifed it, beginning when, as presiding officer of the Senate, he sent the Murray bill to a hostile committee.

WHAT SORT OF CATAclysm WILL IT take to meld these viewpoints? A collapse of the army-reclamation makeshift from sheer futility would do it, and there are growing evidences of dissatisfaction with its faults. A national depression might show up halfway measures as too painfully inadequate to be tolerated. The water-rights objectors might open their minds to the Murray bill, and the Murray bill might be further amended to become acceptable to them.

Floods in the United States *can* be controlled. The science of engineering knows how. Its opportunity to function remains to be decided by the science of politics.

(In answering advertisements please mention SURVEY GRAPHIC)

Housing continued from page 472

Maximum cost to the federal government of everything envisaged in the bill would amount to only \$160,500,000 a year. Hopes have been expressed that altogether the incentives provided would raise the output of private enterprise to at least 1,000,000 dwelling units a year. In that event the subsidy program (during the four years concerned) would not amount to as much as 10 percent of the total.

Subsidized housing is, however, the most bitterly contested provision in the bill. For the question of how to provide acceptable dwellings for American families unable to pay for them in the private market reveals deep cleavages in philosophies. In the view of most real estate interests, the matter should be treated simply as poor relief.

The contrary view—held by a wide range of political opinion including that of Senator Taft and the majority of the 1946 Senate — is that decent housing for every American family is of much greater national concern than are the other necessities of life. A bad living environment, it is pointed out, leads to crime and disease and to impairment of future citizenship.

Families who are unable to pay the cost of decent dwellings, although meeting their other expenses, should not be subjected to charity. It is not their fault that proper housing costs too much. Hence it is the duty of local governments (with federal and state aid) to meet the need. The difference between rents paid and the actual cost should be made up by public subsidies. And this should be done as in the case of education or other public services furnished for less than the individual pays in taxes.

Here then, simply but accurately, is the issue. It loses simplicity only when means are sought (as through the U. S. Housing Authority before the war) to put the public subsidy theory into practice. Opponents not only object to the principle; they go on to criticize almost every phase of the prewar experiment. Their most telling indictment may be summarized as follows. They say:

The least that public housing advocates have proposed or produced under the prewar USHA would result in

dwellings much more costly than the majority of American families — who must pay the taxes for the subsidies—can afford to live in. If this difficulty were overcome, by setting minimum standards and then using the powers of government to see that they were met, the ultimate outcome would be nothing short of socialization of the business of producing dwellings and selling and renting them—an irreparable plunge towards communism.

In the matter of costly houses, it might be said in rebuttal that getting rid of slums, a concomitant part of the program, is an urgent social, as well as economic, need.

As to socialism and communism, logic faces that possibility. But the common sense view is that although these dreadful things *could* happen, they are no more likely than in many another current enterprise, since in any event the program would take a long time; it would be under the control of local governments; and the people could always stop it.

Right now, however, passage of the TEW bill would tend to stimulate private enterprise to produce more dwellings than would otherwise be constructed. This would be relief well worth providing, even though—as appears likely—the new houses would be mainly for well-to-do rather than moderate-to-poor families. The bill would, moreover, provide some low-rent housing through subsidy.

BUT WHAT OF THE FUNDAMENTALS? To arrive at realistic conclusions, let us imagine first an ideal American solution. The outline that follows does, to be sure, dream of an unprecedented *tour de force* on the part of private enterprise, but it would be well within the best of American traditions.

Suppose that one hundred of our largest corporations decided that, in efficiency, the house-building industry must be brought quickly abreast of the automobile industry. Each corporation puts up \$5,000,000 in cash and subscribes \$5,000,000 more on call, to produce dwellings in all parts of the country. Why the concern needs to be so gigantic will appear presently.

Operations would be continuous. All feasible methods of prefabrication of parts or of complete houses would be used, and assembly-line techniques would be applied to erection on the site. No doubt some important technical improvements in the procedure would be made shortly. But methods

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already are available whereby great cost reductions could be achieved at once—if *production were large scale and continuous*. Assume for purposes of the discussion that building codes would not block operations. Sales resistance by buyers or tenants is almost unthinkable now.

This billion-dollar housing company would go first to the building trades unions. It would announce that it was going to hire so and so many thousands of building mechanics. It would train additional ones for the new kinds of operations required. All would be in effect engaged by the year, or at any rate enough employment would be guaranteed to provide a much higher annual take-home pay than building workers have ever enjoyed before. But in return, the unions would have to agree to scrap (for these particular contracts) all rules and practices that might prevent maximum labor productivity during the reasonable number of hours a week agreed upon. Present unions would be invited to accept these conditions, but the company would make it clear that it was going to hire the workers anyhow.

Next, the principal manufacturers of building materials would be informed that the company was going to buy directly from factory to site in large quantities. It would buy from established factories, if possible. If not, it would build its own plants.

Almost certainly, because of its great financial strength, the company would get what it wanted from both labor and manufacturers. Then, assuming good organization and management, it would begin to produce acceptable dwellings at from 25 to 50 percent below the current market. And it would still make substantial profits. The initial backers would find that, instead of having merely contributed to a patriotic undertaking, they had made a sound investment.

In that event, other big housing companies would soon come in. Most of the small builders and middlemen would be absorbed. A few would be left (as there are now a few merchant tailors) to produce custom-built houses for families able to pay for them. But the needed revolution in residential construction would be for all practical purposes complete. The occasional present day large insurance company development falls short of this effect because it does not attempt to re-shape the old system.

Enactment of the TEW bill might help to bring this revolution about, through the three innovations mentioned above. One of them is the provision to insure a minimum yield on the entire investment in rental housing projects owned and operated by financial institutions, such as life insurance companies and savings banks, and by companies organized for the purpose. The guarantee would encourage more of the kind of developments already undertaken by a few New York institutions. Conceivably it might lead to a solution of the problem of rental housing (over half the dwellings in the cities and towns of the country), somewhat along the lines of the private enterprise solution we've imagined.

Apparently for this very reason, however, it is vigorously opposed by the majority of real estate interests and home builders. These groups take the position that the residential construction industry is now the only important field of industry left to "small business" and preservation of it is vital to our American way of economic life.

Sentimentally, and maybe on deeper grounds, the argument deserves consideration. But the fact remains that, without mass production, the cost of a dwelling will remain comparable to the cost of a handmade automobile.

New and potentially important in the TEW bill, also, is the provision for federal housing research. This at the start would be inadequately financed and the research probably too narrow. But it is a start. If conducted with imagination and boldness, then enlarged as experience is gained, it might lead to accomplishments of the utmost value.

THIRD OF THE DEPARTURES IS THE proposed arrangement for federal aid for the redevelopment (mainly by private enterprise when excess property values have been written off) of land in slums and blighted areas. Because of the large scale of the operations contemplated for any given city, and of the improvement in urban living conditions that might result, the proposal is quite as important as anything in the bill. But here again the importance is potential only, since the initial appropriations envisaged are insignificant for the task involved.

It should be evident from the foregoing that all three of these new approaches to the housing problem are

of an extremely cautious, experimental nature. But with the other provisions of the bill, they represent the most ambitious effort ever made in America eventually to solve the problem. The program was drawn up, moreover, after long and careful study of the facts. It represents recognition of the responsibility of government in housing, from both the social and the economic point of view—both as a matter of living environment for American families and of utilization of American productive resources for the satisfaction of one of America's most urgent needs.

There are three reasons why the bill should be passed at once—unless a still more far reaching measure can be devised:

It does promise some immediate relief of the emergency.

It is a start, however timid, toward coming to grips with fundamentals.

And this first step might be followed by others that would really achieve the ends that decent Americans desire.

The 1947 bill, as well as the previous one, has been hailed with enthusiasm, or at any rate sober approval, by large numbers of Democrats and Republicans alike. Not only the "liberal" but also the "conservative" press, as represented by the *New York Times* and the *Herald Tribune*, has urged its passage. It has been praised by an impressive company of columnists and radio commentators.

And yet the House of Representatives refused even to hold hearings on it! Surely *that* is not too much to expect.

One of the last moves of Congress before the July adjournment was the creation of a joint committee to investigate the entire subject of housing. We can only assume that this committee means business and give it the benefit of all doubts in advance.

But its task must not be treated as a perfunctory one. Possibilities are very great if they are only seized upon. The need, as of today, is to review and bring up to date the studies already made by the Senate committees, preferably by extensive public hearings. If these were conducted with wisdom and skill—if all basic issues were brought out clearly and simply, so that as many as possible of the people could be aroused to think beyond the superficial aspects of the problem—if all sides of con-

troversial questions were given publicity — then the democratic process would have a chance to work.

Nobody then would expect the housing problem to be solved overnight. Few would be inclined to count on the TEW bill (if the decision were to pass it) for more than a first short step. But the people at large, and both rather than just one of the two houses of Congress, would be in a position to decide what to do about housing in the full light of the essential facts.

EXHIBIT C

Shelterbelts continued from page 474

proposal that many Europeans felt called on to comment. The attitude of most European foresters could be summed up about like this:

With the magnificent opportunities in America for practical advances in forest conservation, what a pity that such a sum be not spent for more suitable and more promising conservation projects applied to existing forests.

Only a few of the opposition ever took time to visit the plains and survey the conditions. Some who did, recognized that something should be done. Still, most of them lacked the foresight and faith which was necessary to get actual help to the people.

Hilding Siverson, special correspondent to the *Washington Post*, wrote from Lincoln, Neb., in 1934:

No one doubts the sincerity of the proposal or the good intentions back of it. President Roosevelt has seen a vision similar to that of his illustrious predecessor and namesake, with regard to the conservation of natural resources, with special emphasis upon forestation. His dream of a hundred-mile-wide belt, to stop high winds and retain some of the rainfall, is envisaged as a grandiose adventure in idealism, Wellsian in scope.

This was the way it went, even though shelterbelts had been successful in many parts of the world. In 1843, Russia had established a forest experiment station in its prairie region to develop shelterbelt plantings, at the same time hiring a group of German foresters to explore the world for trees. American types were used successfully. From 1843 to 1890, Russia sponsored an extensive prairie-shelterbelt planting program.

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which compelled the planting of trees in its prairie regions. Even today, Poland is launching a shelterbelt program, having obtained the services of E. H. Munns of our Forest Service, who figured largely in our program. Russia, too, is now ready to restart its war-retarded 1937 proposal to plant 5,000,000 acres to shelterbelt in its plains area, to extend from above Leningrad to Odessa.

This history abroad had little effect on the opposition, but to Roosevelt it provided the basis for hope. He could not shut his eyes to the plight of the Great Plains and what effect a continuation of such conditions might have on the general welfare of the nation. And who could forget the great dust storm of 1934? On May 12 of that year, for the first time in American history, the eastern seaboard was darkened by a stupendous cloud that originated in the drought stricken fields of the plains. It had been estimated that at least 300,000,000 tons of rich soil were swept away in this giant dust storm.

ROOSEVELT KNEW THAT THIS LOST TOPSOIL was a serious jolt to the agricultural health and wealth of the nation. If the farmers and ranchers were not given some type of special help, he reasoned, far too many would abandon their fields to the wrath of the wind. Where erosion had already made such a beginning, he knew it would take manpower, care, and personal interest to protect the land and hang on to the remaining fertility. Roosevelt wanted to keep agriculture productive throughout the nation—highly and permanently productive. This left no room anywhere for ruinous erosion or for periodic migrations of families.

A later survey by the Soil Conservation Service confirmed Roosevelt's fears. The Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas, through which the shelterbelt was to be planted, totaled more than 409,000,000 acres. More than half the area had lost from 25 percent to all of its original topsoil, most of it by wind. Roosevelt hoped and believed that properly planted belts of trees would help immeasurably to control this erosion. A study by W. S. Chepil of Canada's Department of Agriculture subsequently verified the President's belief that wind erosion could be controlled at least partially by plantings. The study showed that about 93 per-

cent of the total soil movement by wind erosion is *below the height of twelve inches*. Trees bordering a field on the windward side raise the wind to considerable heights and thus protect the field for a considerable width.

As it turned out, thousands of farmers and their families did move from the Great Plains to California following the severe droughts of 1934 and 1936. Few will forget the "Okies."

Meanwhile, conservation programs began to have a favorable effect on farmers' thinking and in encouraging them to remain in the plains. A November 1936 editorial in a local paper of Haskell County, Kan., expressed the feeling of many farmers:

Here on the High Plains the spirit of confidence and hope and well being (due to the general improvement in agriculture) is reflected, although we have been without a major crop for five years. The irrepensible determination of the people is by way of justifying itself. There is no longer any question of defeat. There is, instead, some planning of how to spread the income from a promising wheat crop over the gaps of the last five years. No widespread splurging is included in these plans. A wheat crop will launch a new era of self-finance, systematic management of the High Plains—because since the last crop the farmers have been doing a lot of reading and the government a lot of organizing.

THIS WAS PROBABLY THE FEELING OF most farmers and ranchers who remained in this six-state, Great Plains area, which takes in nearly a fifth of continental United States. It was this type of faith that farmers in the shelterbelt states had which was justified in 1945 by cash farm receipts of nearly \$5,000,000,000. And it remains the feeling of practically all who weathered the plains crisis and took advantage of the help given by their government in scientific soil and water conservation and measurable wind control.

In 1942, when the Shelterbelt program was transferred to the Soil Conservation Service, only 21 percent of the project area was located in soil conservation districts. Today, more than 76 percent is served by these farmer-governed units. Incidentally, there are more than 1,900 soil conservation districts in the nation, totaling a billion acres and including three fourths of our farms and ranches.

When the Shelterbelt project itself

was terminated, the *idea and value* of shelterbelts and windbreaks of course remained.

The Soil Conservation Service had been using tree planting as a practical measure for wind erosion control since 1933. Up to that time, more than 51,000 acres in the six states had been planted to trees by farmers with Soil Conservation Service technical assistance. The practice has been used, along with fifty to sixty other conservation measures, according to the capability and needs of each area.

AS PART OF THE THOROUGH, ACRE-BY-acre work, the Soil Conservation Service technicians, since 1942, have helped farmers in the Great Plains to plant more than 26,000 acres to shelterbelts, nearly 12,000 acres for other purposes, and continued maintenance of those planted earlier. Had it not been for wartime labor shortages, and a reduction in available seedlings, the rate would undoubtedly have been much greater.

The potential job that remains is difficult to estimate. Some idea of its magnitude can be obtained, however, from the fact that planned farms on soil conservation districts that were unable to plant during the war could now use approximately 32,000,000 trees to bring this work up to date. Farmers have had so much difficulty in securing trees at reasonable prices that one group of soil conservation districts in North Dakota has purchased an abandoned Prairie States Forestry Project nursery and within another year will be in a position to produce 2,000,000 trees.

Plains people say the trees take the sting out of winter winds—the same winds that sweep up the dust storms in times of drought. They tell how their livestock is protected by windbreaks and how crops do better on the lee side of the planting. Others tell how it is easier to shock wheat and how trees make life more pleasant. Trees, grass, and properly used land all soften a harsh country, make it a more rewarding place to work, a more pleasant place to raise a family.

The people in the plains like gardens sandwiched in between protecting rows of shrubbery or trees. They show their tomatoes and cabbages with pride. One plainswoman said: "When we can grow tomatoes like these, you can't call us a lot of dust-bowl makers and gamblers on next year's wheat crop. Fresh vegetables

THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR ON THE JOB

by
Margaret Logan Clark and Briseis Teall

FOREWORD BY CLARA KAISER
New York School of Social Work

● ● ●

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out of the garden make life better out here in the open country."

Also emphatic in praise of the shelterbelt are farmers like Hugh Stemler, near Lagrange, Wyo., who has five rows of trees on his irrigated land.

There isn't much snow in this country. But the snow that does fall, doesn't blow away. It stays between these rows of trees. It melts in the spring and the water soaks into the ground. Since the ground dries out more slowly where it is protected from the winds, I save on irrigation water. And for a distance of about two hundred feet east of each windbreak, crops are nearly double those farther out.

If anyone still doubts the shelterbelts and other wind erosion control practices, and plains are full of memorials to the late President's wisdom in supporting these soil and water

conservation measures. Millions of trees were successfully planted by the shelterbelt program, where trees had never grown before. More than 250,600,000 are growing on more than 31,000 farms in the six states.

Shortly before President Roosevelt's death he received a fresh confirmation of the success of his Shelterbelt idea. Greatly pleased, he wrote back "from the middle of the Atlantic," on his return trip from Yalta and asked for a report to give more detail as to certain by-products of the plantings, including the added charm to heretofore bleak homes and the provisions for attractive picnic grounds and other recreational facilities. He died before the exhibits reached him.

But the shelterbelts live on, and on them, and other soil and water conserving practices, depends the future of the people on the Great Plains.

(In answering advertisements please mention SURVEY GRAPHIC)

The Menningers of Topeka continued from page 477

the umpire. Tommy took a mock punch at him.

"Okay," the psychiatrist said. "Stop the action. Let's talk this over. Isn't it a fact that some guys are just sore losers, blaming the umpire or anybody else every time they strike out?"

This started a discussion, casual at first, gaining momentum. From Tommy, the conversation turned to other life situations, the psychiatrist skillfully relating facts to the patients' own problems.

The Winter spirit cuts across color lines. Dr. Rutherford Stevens, Jr., a young ex-major in charge of a neurological ward, is the first Negro doctor to serve in a non-segregated veterans' hospital. There is no Jim Crow. Negro and white veterans are treated alike in mixed wards.

THE SPIRIT OF MODERN PSYCHIATRY, radiating from Winter, is catching on in other veterans hospitals and helping to transform the VA program, derided only yesterday as "the backwaters of American medicine," into a headwater of scientific treatment. Generals Bradley and Hawley encourage the heads of the growing VA miracle being wrought on the Kansas plains.

"We're putting our chips on Winter and the Menningers," Dr. Hawley told me. "We want Winter to be a model for all our veterans hospitals, demonstrating that the best medical care costs least in the end. Topeka is a proving ground."

This is the remarkable product of a little group of professionals who rejected the blandishments of metropolitan centers to join up with the Menningers in the prairies. It is the fulfillment of a dream of a visionary horse-and-buggy doctor forty years back, a dream inspired by the sight of another country doctor's dream come true.

There is a link more than coincidence between the Mayos and the Menningers. Back in 1908, Dr. Charles F. Menninger, a Topeka physician with an insatiable lust for fresh knowledge, journeyed to Rochester to see at first hand what the growing Mayo Clinic was all about. He talked to Dr. Charlie and Dr. Will and to their father, a surgeon, who had started his sons on their way to group practice. He spent a

week and returned, a convert to the Mayo teamwork idea.

At home again, he told his wife, Flora, and his two sons that medical knowledge had become too complex for any individual to master satisfactorily, and that the way of modern medicine was by groups or teams where skills, techniques, and equipment could be pooled under one roof.

He calmly announced he was going to start a group practice clinic in Topeka. But his confreres turned a cold shoulder to his evangelism, so he patiently waited for his sons to grow up. Karl, born in 1893, got his M.D. at Harvard in 1917, was a navy lieutenant during World War I, returned for postgraduate study, became a brilliant protégé of the psychiatric genius, Professor Ernest E. Southard, turned down tempting offers from the East Coast, and went back to Topeka where he and his father started the Menninger Clinic in 1923.

When Brother Will, born in 1899, took his medical degree at Cornell in 1925, he made the team a trio.

Gradually, they were joined by others who shared their dream. It became a mark of pride to be known as a Menninger-trained man.

The Menninger Clinic, treating mental cases on an out-patient basis, with the patients living off the grounds, steadily expanded and increased in fame. Through the years, this practice turned Topeka into one of the most psychiatry-conscious communities in the land.

THE BROTHERS, SPURRED ON BY THEIR wise and kindly father, gradually acquired renown for their psychiatric work. And here they have built a living, dynamic monument to Freud, founder of the most sophisticated of the medical arts.

World War II separated the Menningers, and marked a new turn in their careers. Dr. Will went into the army and rose to be chief of the Medical Corps Neuropsychiatric Division. Dr. Karl stayed in Topeka, holding together the Menninger enterprises and needling the country on the critical need for training psychiatric personnel to meet the inevitable acute postwar shortage.

The brothers were reunited last August as a working team. The tall sons of old Doc Menninger fit to-

gether like carpenter's mortise and tenon joint. Contrasting sharply in personality, they are almost the perfect foils for each other.

Dr. Karl is restless and excitable, often explosive and epigrammatic in conversation, throwing out sparks. Psychiatrists who delight in diagnosis might call him an extrovert manic type. He is one of the can't-sit kind, pacing the floor and punctuating his cascading words with sweeping gestures of his cigaret-holding hand. The gruff mannerisms and bluff talk cause many a casual acquaintance to miss the exceedingly sensitive heart beneath the defensive armor.

Karl Menninger is an idea man, a sparkplug, a promoter. Often, during a hot parlor discussion he will cut in:

"All right, we've done a lot of talking about this. Now what are we going to *do* about it?"

Like as not, his friends will hold up their hands in mock horror: "Please, Karl, don't organize us *again!*"

Dr. Will is more cautious in statement, less ebullient, far gentler in approach, sometimes almost shy. His modesty is unaffected and disarming. He has a knack of breaking down suspicion and jealousy in a profession peculiarly replete with hostilities.

When he was appointed neuropsychiatric chief of the army, many skeptics prophesied that chaos would ensue on two counts. Orthodox military psychiatrists would never follow an avowed Freudian, and Menninger would be too soft to stand the gaff of line officers prepared to scuttle any reforms he'd attempt. General Menninger overcame the obstacles amazingly. His "nut doctors" gained the grudging respect of the regulars, and the army's archaic system of dealing with mental disorder was drastically modernized.

Dr. Will has just completed a book on military psychiatry in World War II. Dr. Karl already is the author of several popular psychiatric works, including "Love Against Hate," "Man Against Himself," and "The Human Mind."

Karl and Will Menninger lead rich private lives. Both are happily married. Both diligently pursue their hobbies. Dr. Karl is a chess enthusiast, and likes to wind up the day's work with a game. He acquired from his father a deep love for the soil, and is a board member of the society called The Friends of the Land.

Both Dr. Karl and Dr. Will take seriously their duties as citizens. They serve in community organizations. Both are active in movements for better race relations.

LAST SPRING, WHEN BUDGET CUTTING in Congress threatened to ruin the developing medical program in the Veterans Administration, Dr. Karl threw a bombshell in the form of an extraordinarily blunt letter to General Omar Bradley. It stated, in vivid language, what a ruinous effect the cuts already had had on VA staff morale.

We all realize that this is not your (Bradley's) idea, but that your hand is being forced and that certain members of Congress think that this is just a political item. But they should know that there are many of us who are not politicians and not disposed to submit to political maneuvers. I came into this program because I saw the possibility of developing a great thing for the veterans and for the Nation. . . . But I, and many others like me, will drop it like a hot cake if penny wise and pound foolish policies are forced upon it. I am not willing to be connected with something shoddy or second-rate, or something for which I must apologize. . . .

Such language from a government employe, according to present Washington standards, would be considered insubordinate if not subversive. But General Bradley hailed the letter, had it published, and expressed the hope that "every American would read it." The VA request was not cut and Dr. Karl stayed at his post.

In an address last May, before the American Psychiatric Association which named him president, Dr. Will urged his colleagues to join in a united front against the "social neuroses," saying:

Psychiatry is a medical science but it is also a social science. The psychiatrist, more than the physician in any other medical discipline, must concern himself with the social situation of his patient. In no other speciality is there the routine necessity of considering the environmental background and the modification of that environment and the personal relationships involved.

First among the causes of social neuroses he named "the widespread prejudice and discrimination against persons because of race or color or religion." Involuntary unemployment
(Continued on page 503)



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Experience: 3 years in the past 6 years of social work, 1 of which must have been in child welfare, 1 year in public assistance and 1 year in a supervisory capacity.

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Experience: 1 year in the past 5 years of social work in child welfare.

For application blanks and information write via air mail, supplying minimum qualifications to

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CASE SUPERVISOR: Male or female. Minimum requirements include MSS from accredited school with previous supervisory experience in agency handling family or children's casework program. Salary up to \$4,200. Challenging opportunity. Family & Children's Service, 602 South Cheyenne, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

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COUNTY CASE WORKER NEEDED. Family Agency expanding its county program. A worker, interested in county organization, needed. Car required. Write—John W. Anderson, 411 Walnut Street, Allentown, Pennsylvania. Salary commensurate with experience.

SENIOR and JUNIOR CASEWORKERS wanted for home finding and adoptive studies, excellent supervision assured. Salary range—\$2200 to \$3300. Write to the Children's Home Society of Florida, 403 Consolidated Building, Jacksonville 2, Florida.

CASEWORKER—needed in small private non-sectarian agency placing children in foster family homes for day care. Graduate training required. Must be able drive automobile. Salary based on training and experience. First Family Day Care Association, 311 South Juniper Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

PHILANTHROPIC ASSOCIATION has attractive opening with good salary and congenial home for couple interested in training program for practical mission workers and leaders in low-income communities. Man should have some knowledge of building or aptitude for mechanical work. Woman to serve as office and house manager for resident training center. 8619 Survey.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY for recently established Catholic Charities Agency in Northern Virginia "opposite Washington, D. C." Salary \$3500 a year. Opportunity to grow with Agency. Address applications to Catholic Charities of Northern Virginia, 3304 North Washington Boulevard, Arlington, Va.

SOCIAL SERVICE WORKER (WOMAN) FOR FRONTIER NURSING SERVICE IN THE KENTUCKY MOUNTAINS. FOR INFORMATION, WRITE AGNES LEWIS, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, WENDOVER, LESLIE CO., KENTUCKY.

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SUPERVISOR—for Placement Department in private children's agency of good standards. Must be experienced in child placements and have Master's Degree. Interesting and Challenging opportunity. Write—Children's Service Bureau, 740 Wabash Building, Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania.

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WANTED: Social Group Worker in Jewish Agency near New York. Excellent opportunity for proper person. Write to P. O. Box 8618, giving age, training, experience, marital status and salary desired.

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CASEWORKERS (two): Male or female, salary range up to \$3,000, depending upon qualifications. Challenging opportunity. Family & Children's Service, 602 S. Cheyenne, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

(In answering advertisements please mention SURVEY GRAPHIC)

The Menningers

and bad housing were likewise responsible. And he concluded:

As a group of scientific experts who are interested in and concerned with the way men think and feel and behave, it is only logical to assume that these social ills might be among our very special concerns.

The latest organizing achievement of the dynamic Menningers may prove ultimately to be their most important. At the 1946 annual meeting of the American Psychiatric Association in Chicago, they led a group of so-called Young Turks, consisting mainly of war veterans and including many notables, in the informal organization of the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, abbreviated to GAP. A major motivating force was

dissatisfaction with the slowness with which organized psychiatry had responded to the emergency demands of the war and postwar periods.

The main object of GAP is to speed up psychiatric progress in America, mostly through cooperative study of modern needs and problems, devising programs of action to meet them, and putting the program into effect wherever possible. Many of the Young Turks are not young in years, but they all share a vigorous and progressive spirit. Dr. Will has served as chairman of GAP from its founding, with Dr. Karl a general gadfly.

Meanwhile, from their home base in Topeka, the Menningers radiate a fundamental philosophy—a mixture of grass-roots democracy and the Freudian faith in love as the effective weapon against the destructive forces of hate and fear.

Footholds for a New India

continued from page 485

to adapt themselves or their products to local requirements. Too often they are dismally uninterested in India, unaware of the elements in Indian life that have much to say to us.*

It will have been noted that here, as in the case of roads, the big high-level job cannot deliver its maximum performance without taking into account daily habits, habits of thought, and springs of action. Certainly this was one of the major contributions of David Lilienthal in the TVA. Of course you do not have to follow them slavishly; you try to mold them, but if you ignore them you are courting failure. Or at best you will achieve a success that will be short of the full potentialities of your program. Such failure to respect the people and their rich store of experience accounts for many a disappointment in dealing with country people the world over.

My mission in India, aside from some city planning work, has been primarily concerned with rural planning and development, with housing, sanitation, and so on. It would have been entirely possible to create a few scattered models. These would have been of almost no value, because if imposed on, people, neither under-

stood nor desired, they would prove of little permanent use. More, if the people themselves do not enthusiastically help create such patterns, the cost of universalizing them would be ludicrously beyond the meager resources of the country.

So this one assignment of mine had to become part of a whole complex of endeavor, of economic improvement, of agriculture and animal husbandry, of education, of health improvement, and above all, of gaining the people's confidence. To attempt a solution in any other terms would have been largely self-delusion. So my original assignment—in the familiar analogy—was merely to gauge the visible part of the iceberg.

THE EXPLORATION OF THE FULL ICEBERG is a much more difficult problem but one incomparably more fascinating and rewarding. It tests every corner of one's equipment and ingenuity as a technician and as a man.

In the United States there is such a wealth of specialists and of paraphernalia that the individual's area of effectiveness is limited. Even the most conscientious technician's contacts with the human consumer of his work is limited. He depends largely on statistics gathered by others.

Under the pioneering conditions of India, the foreign adviser is exploring and charting a course, and before he

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finishes he has had intimate contacts with people from premier to peasant and factory laborer. He forgets that he is a foreigner. He is a participant. He has not come over intentionally seeking to understand religion and philosophy, but as part of his job he begins to absorb the outlook of the people he is thrown with. Suddenly, he finds that he is not only giving what he has, but — on a different plane—is getting as good in return.

“WHICH IS THE POTTER, PRAY, AND WHICH THE POT?” asked Omar Khayyám. There is not the slightest doubt in my mind what this Eastern experience has meant to at least one technician. My two-way experience has not been unique by any means. It has been shared by many of the Americans, most of them missionaries, who for longer or shorter spans have participated in Indian life.

When I left India after my last visit, I had accumulated a number of rather severely critical observations of work over there, and particularly of government operations. I was in something of a dilemma, for in a sense I felt it a duty to write what I thought for the Indians themselves. On the other hand it was an unpleasant thing to do. I hesitated for weeks, finally took the plunge and decided to write it to Nehru. Not hearing from him for some time I

concluded he might have been annoyed or, more likely, was too busy.

But finally I did get an answer. After discussing certain matters he ended up with this sentence “I hope that in this business of planning for a happier and more prosperous India we shall have the great advantage of your experience and sympathetic understanding.” Note the combination.

Let me add that in his first paragraph Nehru indicated that he had sent copies of my original letter to the chief ministers of the United Province, on which my comments had been based.

I had foreseen that he might do this, but for obvious reasons I had rather hoped that he would consider the critique as a general one and not bring it home in this direct way.

It was sometime afterward that I received a cable from the U.P. accepting some broad proposals I had made which involved bringing together a group of American planner-technicians to work over there. This is the kind of forthright attitude and action, free from pettiness—typical of so much in my experience there—that gives me faith in the face of the daily disappointments that seem to be part of any important work. I think of a quotation that Jawaharlal Nehru’s father, Motilal, applied to Gandhi:

“Have we not men with us royal, men the masters of things?”

The Keystone—Geneva continued from page 480

from Australia 13 cents worth for every dollar’s worth of exports we sold her. The Australians, whose position in the British Commonwealth is pivotal, are sticking out for a reduction of the wool tariff.

MEANTIME, THE WOOL LOBBY PROMOTED in the Senate a bill to continue the price support now extended to the domestic wool industry. The House added provisions giving power to the President to impose, at his discretion, an import fee equal to 50 percent of the existing duty, or to impose quotas on foreign wool imported into the United States. The bill in this form passed the House and the Senate, despite pleas by the Secretary of State and by Mr. Clayton, who flew back from Geneva. It was vetoed by President Truman and then a new bill embodying the price-support clauses, but far from reassuring to the Geneva program, was quickly passed.

It has been argued that the veto was uncalled for, since the import fee and quota provisions were not mandatory but were left to the discretion of the President. In fact, however, the bill was rightly interpreted by the Australians and others at Geneva as evidence of the political strength of the protectionist lobbies. If it had been signed, it would have been taken as an act of bad faith and it is improbable that the negotiators could have succeeded.

Now the Australians are pressing for a reduction of the existing tariff on wool. Such a reduction would be a boon to every consumer of woolen goods. The existing protection costs the consumers many times the annual value of the wool clip. It would be far cheaper to keep the industry alive by subsidies from the taxpayers.

No one can foretell the issues on which an election will turn; but it is clear that upon the result of the

1948 elections, congressional and presidential, will depend the fate of three major results of the trade policy initiated by Mr. Hull in 1934.

In the first place, the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, first passed in 1934, was last renewed in 1945. It expires in June 1948. If not renewed before that date, it will lapse and no machinery will be available to bring into the International Trade Organization the countries not now represented at Geneva. These include most of the Latin American countries as well as the war neutrals such as Sweden and Switzerland. Without their adherence, the ITO will go limping.

Renewal of the act, by the present Congress, is therefore called for; but to secure its renewal through a Ways and Means Committee presided over by one of the most redoubtable foes of the reciprocal trade agreement program is a formidable task.

The second issue will be raised by the publication of the trade agreements now being negotiated. These agreements, under the existing act, will go into force as soon as they are signed. They will constitute a very substantial reduction of tariff duties, applicable by most-favored-nation treatment to all countries with which the United States has commercial treaties containing the most-favored-nation clauses.

Finally, the International Trade Charter must be submitted to Congress for ratification. Presumably it will be submitted, as were the Bretton Woods Agreements, to both houses by resolution requiring a simple majority. The House must originate the financial provision for setting up the ITO.

UPON THESE THREE ISSUES DEPEND THE hopes of the United States for a freer trading world. If we falter in the policy which we have steadfastly pursued since 1934, more will be lost than these hopes. The United States must face the alternative of organizing its trade to find outlets, and not less to assure access to raw materials, in a world of bilateralism and state-controlled trading blocs. In doing so, it must make bilateral bargains and implement them by imposing regulations on imports and exports. Once external trade is regulated in this way it will be necessary to extend the regulation to domestic production and we shall be well on the way to a regimented economy.

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AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE (QUAKERS)—20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania; Clarence E. Pickett, Executive Secretary. Represents the Society of Friends in relief and social welfare services on a non-sectarian basis and without discrimination of race or nationality. Present activities include CHILD FEEDING and OTHER RELIEF PROJECTS: in Japan; in Finland, France, Poland, Italy, Austria, Germany and elsewhere in Europe; MEDICAL WORK, DRUG TRANSPORT and REHABILITATION: in China and India; REFUGEE AID: in United States and abroad; RACE RELATIONS: improvement of housing and employment for Negroes, college lectureships; INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS: housing projects and consultative services to management and labor; VOLUNTEER WORK CAMPS: for college and high-school students to become acquainted with social and economic problems in the United States and Mexico; INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: 350 institutes to promote study of religious and economic bases for peace and post-war reconstruction; student study groups for peace education on college campuses.

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THE NATIONAL VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE ASSOCIATION—Christine Melcher, Executive Secretary, 82 Beaver Street, Room 510, New York 5, is the professional organization for counselors and others engaged and interested in vocational guidance and the publishers of OCCUPATIONS, the Vocational Guidance Journal.

THE POST WAR WORLD COUNCIL a non-partisan, non-profit organization, was formed for the purpose of focusing the attention of the liberal opinion-forming public upon major political and social issues which are vital to lasting peace.

The PWWC issues news releases and publishes pamphlets and a monthly News Bulletin on vital issues contributing something positive to buttress the hope and sanity of this postwar world and to combat the confusion it is in.

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This DIRECTORY appears in *Survey Graphic* four times a year including special numbers. Its columns are open to social action groups organized to promote good government, better education, city planning and housing, improved industrial and labor relations, the safeguarding of civil liberties, land conservation, study of the Acts—economic and social planning in their widest aspirations. Rates are modest—Let the Advertising Department tell you about them!

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STEP-CHILDREN OF EDUCATION by Alvin Johnson—New School for Social Research. The question of racial discrimination (Negro, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Oriental, Indian, et al) in public school systems; the "quota system" in college and post-graduate education. What is being done concretely and what more can be done?

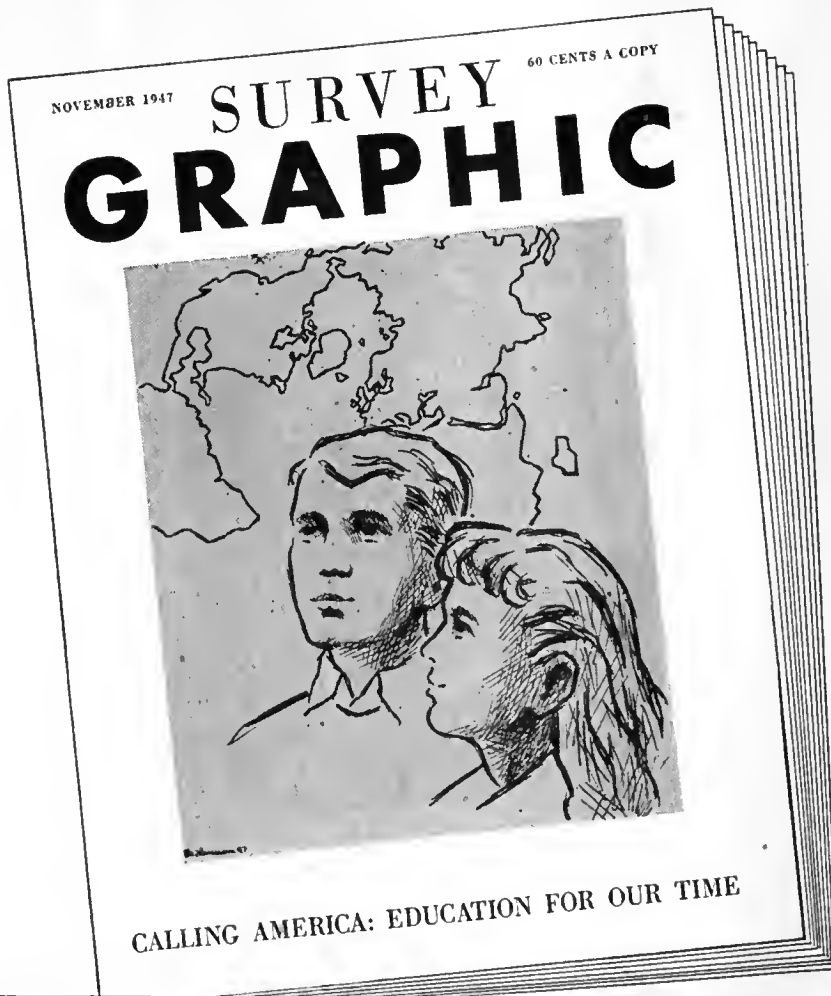
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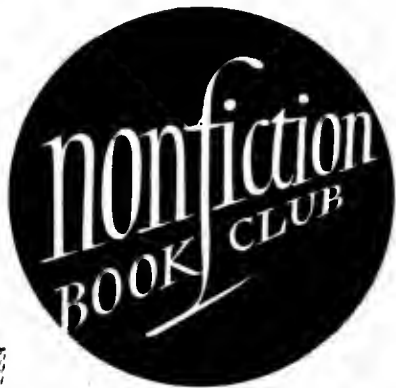
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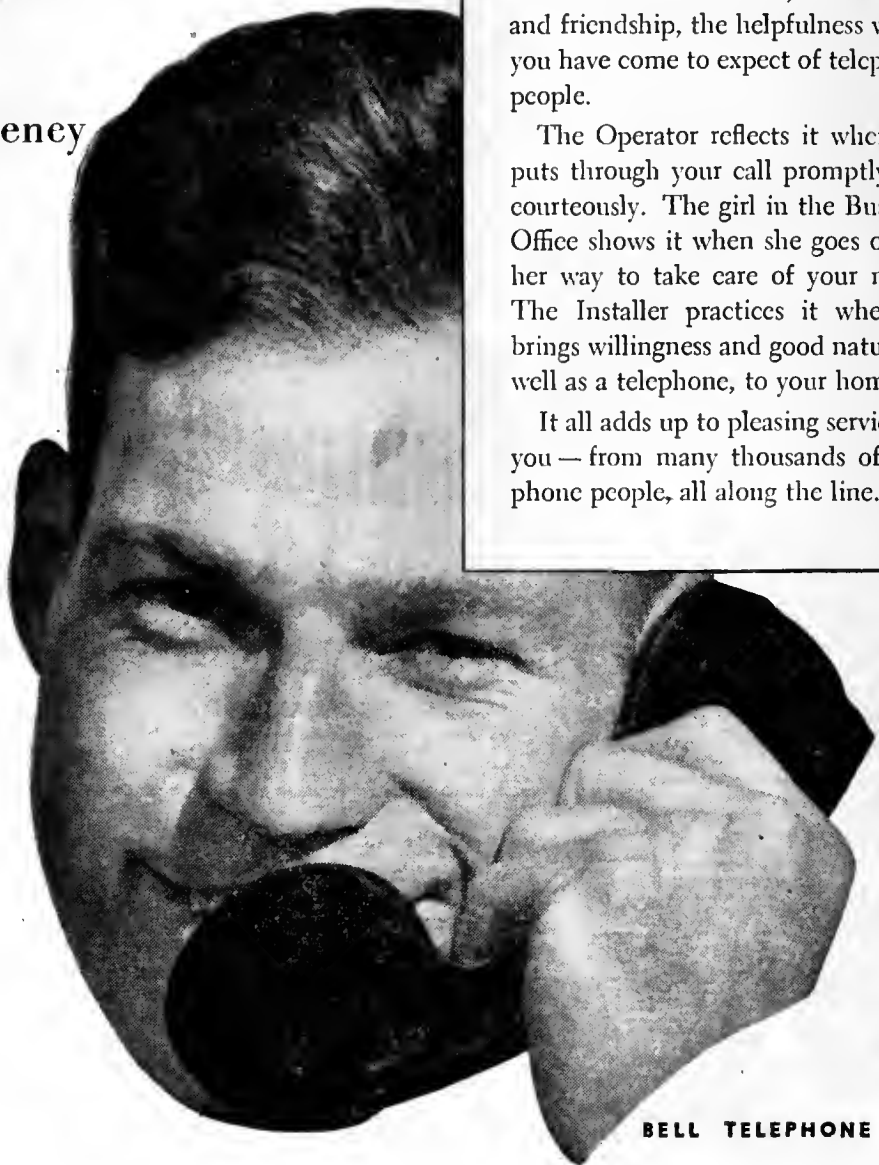
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BELL TELEPHONE SYSTEM

EDITORS HAVE PROBLEM CHILDREN, TOO. AT *Survey Graphic* his name is Johnny. Johnny is very much with us these days. He is the "average child" that all authors for the November special Education issue take by the hand and lead up when they want to illustrate an argument, point a moral, or adorn a tale. Johnny has tensions; average per capita expenditures are lavished upon Johnny or withheld from him; he rebels at the academic curriculum; he has a reading disability; he needs an after-school program; he asks questions; he makes occasional wisecracks. It is the thankless task of the editors to deal with Johnny, using a firm blue pencil.

When you read the articles in "Education for Our Time" next month, you may also encounter Dick, Jimmy, and Reginald—for one way of handling Johnny is to rechristen him. You will find Johnny reduced to a statistic, or expanded to a phrase. But you will be aware of him, as we are—by whatever name, in whatever guise. For Johnny, the composite of oncoming young America, is the focus not only of that special issue, but of the hopes and dreams of us all.

WITH LAST MONTH'S ISSUE, *Survey Graphic* became again a newsstand magazine in the borough of Manhattan, New York City. Until then and since back before the war, its newsstand circulation was confined to high spots—relatively few of the stands, the ones with an especially demanding patronage. But now *Survey Graphic* appears on nearly all of Manhattan's leading stands, and the territory is to be extended. The main distribution, of course, still will be by subscription, but to readers outside New York, this suggestion is made now—if there is a busy stand in your city where *Survey Graphic* has a likelihood of finding friends, why not send its name to the circulation department?

FERDINAND KUHN, AUTHOR OF "MAKE DO and Mend" in the August *Survey Graphic*, received from a lady in Moorestown, N. J., what he calls "the best kind of tribute a writer can have." This reader, moved by Mr. Kuhn's description of austerity rations, wrote to inquire how to send a food package to England even though she was not personally acquainted there. In case anyone else would like to know, here is Mr. Kuhn's reply:

"Address your package to Mrs. Elsa Dunbar, Women's Voluntary Services, 41 Tothill Street, London, S. W. 1. You should also send an air mail letter to Mrs. Dunbar saying you are sending a food package, and that you wish she would forward it to a family that needs it. Ask her, also, to tell you the name and address of the family that is getting your package.

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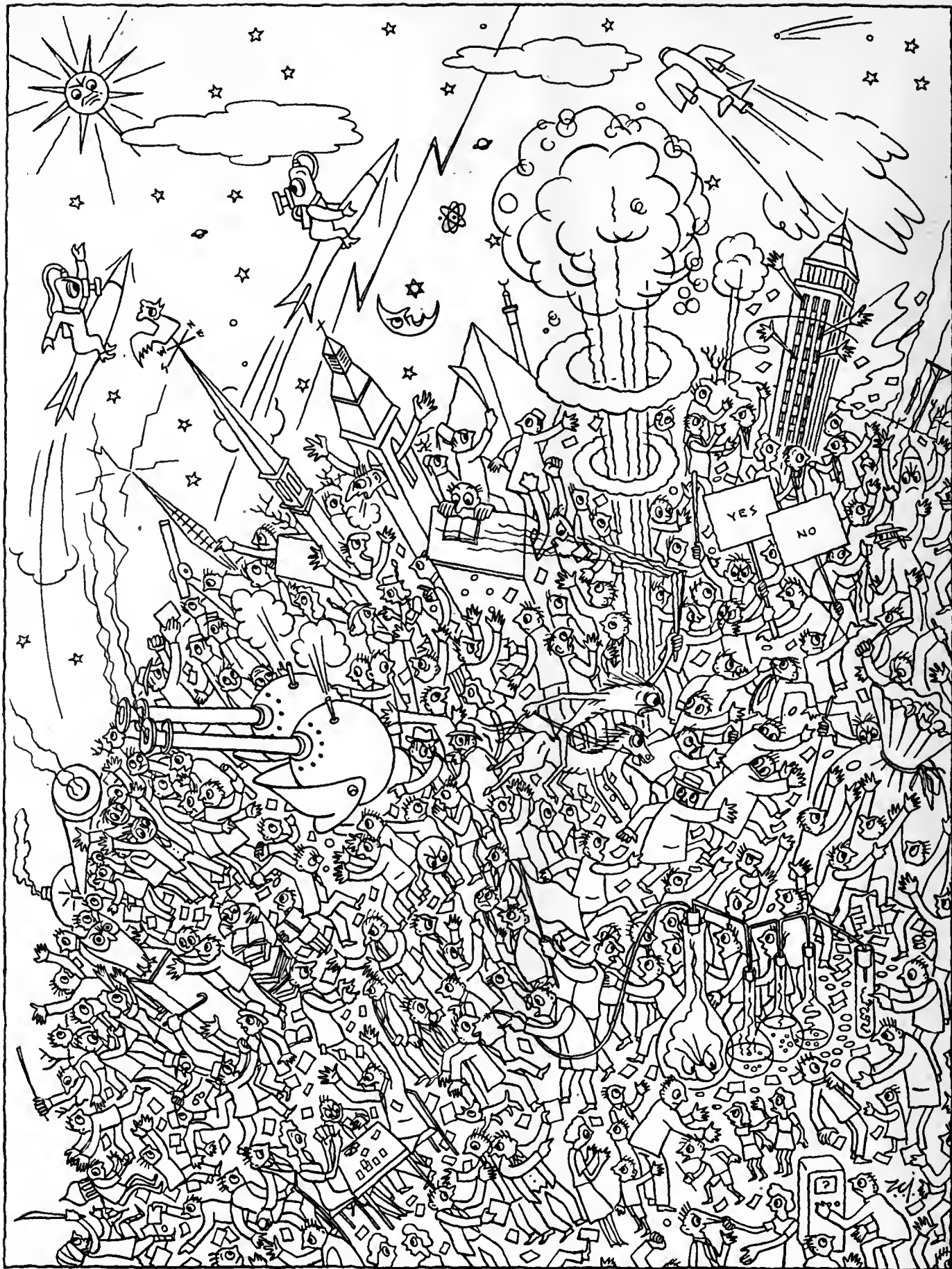
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"As I tried to explain in my article, British people like and need staples, like rice, lard, sugar or honey, dried fruits, and tinned meat, like Spam.

WE REPORTED IN AUGUST THE DENUNCIATION OF SURVEY GRAPHIC by a member of Congress who disapproved of its Segregation special issue and threw around all sorts of epithets. The same incident is referred to by Henry Steele Commager in his article, "Who Is Loyal to America?" in the September *Harper's*. Mention is made of it here without intentional self-consciousness, although Dr. Commager's report was grateful, but in order to applaud the article itself. Those who haven't discovered it already should do themselves the favor.



Lombard C. Jones

"The difficulty man has with himself is that he cannot use his highly developed intellect effectively because of his neurotic fears, his prejudices, his fanaticisms, his unreasoning hates and equally unreasoning devotions."



On the March for Mental Health

Man nowadays has nothing to fear but man himself. His survival depends on his own mental capacity to adjust to the new environment facing him.

BROCK CHISHOLM, M.D.

HEALTH IS A STATE OF COMPLETE physical, mental, and social well-being, not merely the absence of disease or infirmity."

This highly important definition of health, recognizing that many of the social troubles of the world are, in fact, illnesses and should be regarded as such, is stated at the very beginning of the Constitution of the World Health Organization of the United Nations. In less than a year after the first drafting of this constitution, sixty-three nations had signed it. Sixty-three nations recognized this conception of many of the social troubles now plaguing the world, and the fact is highly significant.

Perhaps the importance of this definition of health will be seen more clearly by now looking also at illness. In the same spirit one might define illness as "any damage to the physical, mental, or social functions of the human being resulting from his failure to adjust adequately to external forces of any kind, or to his own nature."

It is clear that man's own physical and psychological make-up is as much a part, and as important a part, of his environment as are the climate in which he lives, or the other organisms of various types, including bacteria, with which he has to compete.

During the last few

generations man has learned to cope successfully with the large animals in the world; none of them is any longer a real problem to him in terms of competition for survival. He is doing very well in learning to deal with the very small animals; most of the bacteria are now controllable with his available knowledge.

In recent years he has even made great progress in developing his ability to discover the conditions of living of the very small organisms which remain a threat, organisms such as those which produce influenza, infantile paralysis, and so on, and are called filterable viruses. These organisms, being smaller than the wave length of light, could never be seen by optical instruments, but can now be photographed through electronic microscopes. In fact, in relation to all those parts of his environment ex-

ternal to himself, man is learning very fast to compete successfully.

Any danger that remains from such diseases as smallpox, typhoid, malaria, tuberculosis, venereal disease, and diphtheria will result from difficulties with human beings, not with the micro-organisms which cause these diseases. Only indifference, ignorance, prejudice, failure of economic, social, or financial systems, now prevent the completely effective control or eradication of all these diseases and many other scourges of mankind.

The only real threat to man left in that part of the universe known to him, as far as can be seen now, is man himself. Further, it seems that the difficulty man has with himself is that he cannot use his highly developed intellect effectively because of his neurotic fears, his prejudices, his fanaticisms, his unreasoning hates, and equally unreasoning devotions; in fact, his failure to reach emotional maturity, or mental health.

Through many centuries of struggle and difficulty, some men have learned that the effective approach to anything which threatens is a scientific or factual approach. This approach has been effective, wherever it has had an opportunity, in dealing with a wide variety of threats

"It happens that the human race is threatened as it never has been before," writes Dr. Chisholm. "It also happens that the human sciences have just now developed to a point where it is possible, given sufficient encouragement and freedom, for them to be of real use in charting a future course for the world."

The urgency for such application of knowledge has prompted the World Health Organization of the United Nations to call a congress in London for next summer to consider "Mental Health and World Citizenship." Looking toward this congress and its significance for a sorely cockeyed world, Survey Graphic herewith begins a series of articles by leading mental scientists, this first being by the executive secretary of the WHO interim commission.

For Mental Health

to man. It would seem appropriate to apply the same method of investigation to man himself. It is obvious that an attempt should be made to understand why man remains a menace to man and why it appears that man, perhaps within the very near future, may go far towards wiping out the whole human race.

It must be recognized that for man to fight is a characteristic behavior pattern which is apparently one of the most consistent behavior patterns of mankind throughout all its development. In the past such a pattern was not of very great importance from the point of view of survival of the human race. Killing has always been piecemeal; a few hundreds here, a few thousands there, only rarely a few millions. Actual survival of the species has never really been threatened before now. The fact that methods are actually available now for wiping out all life over great areas has changed the conditions of living for every person in the world.

Biological warfare, really well organized, is capable of killing all the people on a continent, or even in the whole world. From the point of view of the human race, the potentialities of biological warfare are not greatly different from those of the possible chain reaction in atomic warfare. The fact that effective warfare no longer depends upon manpower, heavy industries, machine production of any kind, air forces, armies or navies, completely changes the conditions of living on this small planet. It must be accepted now that given even one good bacteriologist, a few technicians, and a few hundred fanatics, the small countries of the world can wage the new kind of warfare just as effectively as can the largest and most industrially organized countries. These are facts—the realities in the midst of which we now precariously live.

THE ABILITY OF THE HUMAN RACE to survive will depend on its ability to adjust itself to this entirely new kind of environment.

The ability to adjust effectively to changed circumstances is dependent on the degree of mental health and maturity of the people who must make the adjustment: *all of us*.

It is very fortunate that, at the same time that this colossal threat to the

survival of the human race has arisen, the human sciences—psychology, psychiatry, sociology, social anthropology, education, and others—have reached a stage of development where through them it is now possible to understand the human being, his mental and social functioning, at least much more fully than ever before, and even to begin to chart the necessary conditions of his survival. This necessity and this opportunity are envisaged in the Constitution of the World Health Organization.

The problem can really be stated in very simple terms.

IN order that the human race may survive on this planet, it is necessary that there should be enough people in enough places in the world who do not have to fight each other, who are not the kinds of people who will fight each other, and who are the kinds of people who will take effective measures whenever it is necessary to prevent other people fighting.

There must be enough people who do not confuse symbols with reality.

They must be able to look at reality no matter how dreadful and threatening it may be.

They must be the kinds of people who are incapable of dissociation, of fooling themselves, of "putting things out of their minds" when those things are unpleasant or fearful.

They must be capable of recognizing their own aggressive reactions and redirecting those reactions into useful, or at least harmless channels.

They must recognize that there exists in the world now, and will continue to exist for a long time, a great variety of social experiments.

Many groups of people are attempting to live together in very many different ways. All these ways, including our own, whoever we are, are experimental. None of us has yet found any answers which we can presume to believe are final. We must all recognize that we are not in a position to attempt to impose our own kinds of social organization on any other people, or even to advocate their wider adoption, until the time comes when we can say and believe that our own social system actually works effectively to produce security and happiness for all who live in it, not just certain groups.

It is easy to say what *should* happen in the world. Many people have been telling the world what should happen for a long time. It is, however, very

difficult to say just how these very desirable objectives might be attained.

It happens, however, in this particular field, that there is a coincidence of circumstances which has never occurred before in the history of the world. It happens that the human race is threatened as it never has been before; it also happens that the human sciences have just now developed to a point where it is possible, given sufficient encouragement and freedom, for them to be of real use in charting a future course for the world. Again it happens that through the spreading organizations of the United Nations many lines are being drawn across national boundaries; there is an increasing appreciation of the fact that it is necessary for us all to become world citizens and live in peace together, in what has become a very small world.

Many human scientists throughout the world have become deeply concerned about the present situation in which the human race finds itself, and many of them believe that the time has come when something definite may be done about it. As one such effort, and probably an extremely important one, a World Congress has been called together for next year—August 1948—in London for a discussion of one subject: "Mental Health and World Citizenship."

It is recognized that in this field throughout the world there is great diversity of feeling and attitude. It is not to be expected that agreement will be reached easily by large numbers of the human scientists on just what should be done about the precarious state of the human race. It is, however, possible that something can be done about it.

The over-all subject for discussion at the World Congress has been broken down into five main headings: 1. problems of world citizenship and good group relationships; 2. the individual and society; 3. family problems and psychological disturbances; 4. planning for mental health—organization, training, propaganda; 5. mental health in industry and industrial relations.

A mixed committee has been set up for each of these. Each committee is composed of a variety of human scientists—psychologists, psychiatrists, sociologists, educators, anthropologists—and mixed discussion groups have been organized in many countries in the world.

It is obvious that, if these subjects were to be discussed in groups made up solely of psychologists or psychiatrists or sociologists or any others of the human scientists, there would be no over-all agreement on the use of terms and on definitions. Each of the groups organized or being organized, therefore, has sought membership from a variety of people with different types of technical training and experience. Each of these groups has selected, or will select, one item on the agenda of the World Congress and will discuss that item for a period of perhaps a year. At the Congress no one will present his own work, or his own opinions; he will be there to report for a mixed group of scientists who have been considering one particular item for a long time.

IT IS HOPED THAT OUT OF THIS CONFERENCE will come certain clarifications. It should be possible to find the areas of agreement on which the scientists from all over the world can take a common stand. It is to be hoped that out of these common agreements may come definitions of some of the basic principles of mental and social health.

And out of the definitions of agreement and the statements of basic principles of mental health, it should be possible to produce at least a few clear cut recommendations to WHO and to UNESCO. Concrete teaching and educational work along the lines of agreement should be a reasonable outcome.

It should also be possible, and perhaps even more important, to begin the definitions of areas of disagreement. Given such definitions, WHO and UNESCO together should be able to appoint committees of technically qualified experts in the particular fields of the disagreements who could undertake studies to define the conditions of those disagreements. It is very important that such conditions should be understood thoroughly. It will be necessary that it be known clearly whether such agreements are founded on geographical conditions, climate, variations in political philosophy, social or economic structure, religious certainties, taboos, limitations of financial structure and money systems, or a great variety of other possible conditions.

There has been some fear expressed that any attempts such as these would



DR. BROCK CHISHOLM

As executive secretary of the World Health Organization's interim commission, the author is one of those primarily burdened with the world's mental health problem. Personally he has learned the urgency of it, as a practicing physician and participant in two world wars.

Born in Ontario in 1896, he volunteered as a soldier at eighteen, then took his M.D. at Toronto in 1924.

He went to England to specialize in psychiatry, then returned to Ontario to practice general medicine, 1925-1931. He then accepted a post with the Institute of Human Relations at Yale, and later was connected with Queen's Square and Mandsley hospitals in London.

During World War II he became Director General of Medical Services for Canada, with rank of major general. Then he was Deputy Minister of Health until July 1946.

be in the direction of standardizing the human being and making every person indistinguishable from his fellows. It is true that a certain degree of standardization is absolutely essential for the survival of the human race. The things that must be standardized are primarily the ability to live in peace, the ability to understand, to tolerate, and to respect other ways of living, the ability to recognize, to accept, and to divert aggressive tendencies in oneself into harmless channels, and finally, the ability to ensure peace for the world.

It is not to be expected that peace for the world can be bought cheaply. It is not to be expected that anything so valuable will come without great sacrifice. It is going to be very difficult for us to recognize and admit

that we will have to make sacrifices in fields which we have usually been taught to believe are absolutely sacred and untouchable.

In order to obtain peace for the world it is certain that we will have to sacrifice much of our own national sovereignties; we must ourselves grow to the stature of world citizens and develop larger loyalties. I wonder if any of us can seriously believe that 5,000, or even 1,000, years from now the world can continue to be broken up into a great number of small autonomous regions. Surely it is becoming increasingly clear that nothing short of world government can ensure survival of the human race.

To very many people in the world, of course, this is not clear at all. Certainly not enough people believe it to make it possible to have any effective form of world government in the near future. We can only have faith that in a near enough future, enough people, in enough places, will recognize these facts, so as to produce an accelerated movement in the direction of world organization.

Perhaps the only real hope for the survival of humanity lies in the possibility that nations, particularly the "great" nations, may in time engage in a new kind of competition, a race to do away with local sovereignties, in the interests of all the people in the world.

Concern with national pride and prestige at the expense of ability to live in peace with other nations, the belief that the local and temporary "customs of the natives," whether someone else's or our own, necessarily have any permanent or universal value, the belief that just because we were taught something in our childhood it should have a permanent or universal validity for all mankind, intolerance of other social philosophies than our own—all these and many other fallacies like them are now recognizable as the diseases, the illnesses which may destroy mankind.

It is in the direction of the understanding of these threats in ourselves as well as in others, the planning of how to cope with them, and the development of a new generation of people who will not have the same certainties, prejudices, hates, and aggressive tendencies that we in all countries have, and who consequently will be able much more easily to live in peace together—it is in these efforts that the hope of the world lies.

Gruening of Alaska

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

DE TOCQUEVILLE BELIEVED A NATION'S maturity could be measured by the ability of its people to think in national concepts. Provincialism, he felt, was a sign of adolescence. Perhaps America may be said to have come of age when a native of midtown Manhattan, a man trained as a surgeon yet anomalously experienced as an editor of newspapers and magazines, can become the most influential personality in the history of the great frontier which is Alaska.

Although practically all of Alaska's vast natural wealth is controlled by outsiders, Alaskans themselves are suspicious of the *cheechako* in person. Many accept the cell but fear the jailer. Ernest Henry Gruening seemed the epitome of the interloper, the newcomer, the alien, when he stepped off a Pan-American plane at Juneau's Auk Bay airfield in 1939, a Presidential commission as territorial governor in his briefcase. Could such a man leave his mark in this vast wilderness? The son of a German-born physician, Gruening was stubby and round-shouldered, an intellectual, the habitué of effete circles of mind and opinion which, to all intent and purposes, had little in unison with Alaska's limitless solitudes.

Traditionally, the governors of Alaska had been zeros throughout American occupation, content merely to let the Territory's absentee monarchs, in Seattle and Wall Street and Washington, D. C., exercise sovereignty and collect dividends. This new governor was to be even more of a cipher, it seemed, a man incapable of common understanding with Eskimos, prospectors, bush pilots, and fishermen in the Bering Sea.

Ernest Gruening (pronounced *Green-ing*) has been governor for nearly eight years, this autumn. Nowhere in the immense territory, a land more than twice the size of Texas, lives a man, Indian or white or in-between, who has not decided whether he is for or against the sixty-year-old governor. This is the dominant issue in Alaska; it encompasses all other issues. If a man is against



Joe Alexander

"Alaska, that cosmic land of cosmic dimensions, is now my second home."—Ernest Gruening

statehood for the Territory, he is against Gruening. If a man opposes heavier taxes on the canned salmon industry, perforce he opposes Gruening. If a man favors full equality for the native population, if he believes Alaska ought to levy an income tax to support schools and tuberculosis clinics, he supports Gruening.

It is that simple. The personality

♦
—Two months after Pearl Harbor, February 1942, Richard L. Neuberger wrote "Alaska—Northern Front" for Survey Graphic, and for five years before that he had been a welcome occasional contributor. Anything pertaining to the Northwest is his province, and to the cultivation of that field he came naturally. He was born in Portland, Oregon, worked on the Portland Oregonian, served in the Oregon legislature. Last summer he made a prolonged tour of Alaska, bringing back fresh, firsthand impressions of peacetime conditions. Other articles from that journey are due soon in these pages.

of the governor embodies questions which Alaskans never thought about until Ernest Gruening and his family moved into the white-pillared old mansion overlooking the narrow waters of Gastineau Channel.

When Gruening arrived in Alaska, he found himself a peer in a feudal barony. Absentee corporations took away millions in fish, gold, and furs and left behind nothing in the form of social or economic benefits. "Alaska is the most lightly taxed entity under the American flag," said the new governor.

ALASKANS HAD NOT HEARD THIS BEFORE. Neither had anyone told them that of 434 fish traps licensed by the federal government, the most economical device for catching salmon, only 38 traps belonged to residents of Alaska. Alaskans learned other facts from the new governor—that their homeland had the world's highest death rate from tuberculosis, that virtually the sole law enforcement came

from a few politically appointed U. S. Marshals, that even the bulk of employment in the salmon industry went to outsiders boated northward from Puget Sound.

BUT GRUENING WAS A PEER WITHOUT power, a knight who had no sword to unsheathe in his new fief. A majority of the Territorial legislature cavalierly dismissed his demands for the first general taxes in Alaskan history, for statutes outlawing discrimination against Indians and Eskimos, for funds for local armories to help arm Alaska against possible aggression.

More serious to Gruening, his proposals got short shrift in the Interior Department at Washington. An appointee of the President, Gruening nevertheless was a subordinate of Secretary Ickes. These two aggressive and dominant characters had bitterly disliked each other when Gruening served under Ickes as director of Territories and Island Possessions. Gruening's denunciation of monopoly in the salmon industry must have appealed to Ickes' economic liberalism, yet the department, with full authority over the licensing of fish traps, refused to disturb an arrangement which left more than half the Alaskan traps in possession of six absentee corporations.

Gruening bulled it through alone.

He reported to the people. "The session of the Territorial legislature just concluded," he began, "brings out more clearly than ever the basic issue that confronts the people of Alaska. That issue is whether Alaska shall be built up for the people of Alaska in conformity with American principles and standards, or whether it shall continue to be governed for and by outside interests whose sole concern is to take out of Alaska as much as they can, as fast as they can, and to leave as little as possible."

Gruening named names. He listed territorial senators and representatives who voted with "the Lobby." He cited chambers of commerce which he believed had taken positions adverse to the welfare of their communities. "The fact is," he claimed, "that a number of our chambers of commerce are controlled by resident lobbyists, men whose one and only loyalty is to their absentee employers, whose patriotism is only to their pocket books."

And Gruening reminded the people that the salmon packing corporations

headquartered in Seattle, Astoria, and San Francisco took \$55,000,000 in wealth from Alaskan waters each year and paid less than \$500,000 in taxes to the Territory.

Alaskans had been accustomed to accepting absentee exploitation as a fact of life. It was like sixty degrees below zero at Fairbanks in January or twenty inches of rainfall at Ketchikan in October—something to be endured because impossible to prevent. The people did not even demur when the salmon industry paid a greater proportion of wages to steerage holds full of docile itinerant workers than to native Alaskans.

Gruening's excoriation of the legislature was read from Attu, at the tip of the Aleutians, to the timbered islands of the "panhandle." When the printed copies ran out, his office prepared mimeographed versions. After

the next election, some of the legislators indicted in the governor's "Message to the People of Alaska" stayed at home. Shrewdly, Gruening saw to it that polling places were set up in the native villages, a detail of citizenship which some previous governors had overlooked. Indians and Eskimos are a third of Alaska's population, and an anti-discrimination bill with teeth in it was hurried through the new legislature at the insistence of the governor.

Alaskans who had lived in the Territory since the Klondike gold rush had never been aware of any governor before. Indeed, Washington, D. C., is no more remote to many Americans than Juneau is to Alaskans. After all, this capital of the Territory is as far from Kiska as Washington, D. C., is from Flagstaff, Arizona. For all its stupendous area,

Governor Gruening and the executive mansion totem pole in Juneau

M. Brown photo



Gruening of Alaska

Alaska has less than 1,300 miles of highways and only two limping, attenuated railroads.

Yet Gruening became the first governor, since the imperial Russian flag was hauled down at Sitka in 1867, to call at every settlement and outpost. No Eskimo village or encampment of trappers was too remote for him. Practically all this travel was by air, and Alaska has the world's worst flying weather. The governor from New York frequently braved Arctic storms which frightened men of supposedly sterner origins. Once Gruening took off from Whitehorse in a blizzard so fierce that the colonel who had signed the airport clearance was convinced he would be held responsible for the governor's death.

"If the pilot was willing to risk his neck, I'd chance mine," said Gruening, after the plane had found Juneau through a hole in the overcast no bigger than a billiard table.

GRUENING TAKES PERILOUS POLITICAL risks, too. He has taunted the spokesmen of the absentees for spending the summers and autumns in Alaska and then fleeing to Seattle before winter settles down. When Anthony J. Dimond left Congress after many years as delegate from Alaska, Gruening committed himself to the candidacy of a young Fairbanks newspaperman named Edward L. Bartlett. This attracted to Bartlett the wrath of the packing and mining interests, a wrath likely to be expressed in generous financial contributions to the campaign funds of his opponents. Could the governor's support offset this? Bartlett won overwhelmingly, and today is as firmly ensconced in Congress as his predecessor ever was.

Gruening seldom pads the mailed fist with a velvet glove. Blunt and arbitrary, he has enemies on both a personal and political basis. Although a journalist himself, he has antagonized newspapermen by caviling over obscure inaccuracies. Susceptible to flattery, he started out by becoming friendly with a number of men who later developed into unyielding adversaries of his policies. Throughout the Ickes regime, the relationship deteriorated between the Alaskan executive office and the Interior Department. The Secretary would often forbid the governor to leave Alaska, regardless of the urgency of his mis-

sion, and Gruening would retaliate by spreading throughout the North highly dramatic tales of the Secretary's fears to visit Alaska by plane.

Yet even in these respects Gruening was like Bret Harte's Mr. John Oakhurst, "who was at once the strongest and yet the weakest of the outcasts of Poker Flat." His infirmities have been his strength. Only someone as reckless, as defiant, and as militantly stubborn as Ernest Gruening could have survived the abuse he has suffered in Alaska the greater part of the past decade.

Juneau's principal newspaper, the *Alaska Daily Empire*, does not even print the governor's name. In bars and taverns and hotel lobbies, he has been the target of anti-Semitism which is thinly veiled at best. No session of the legislature convenes without the introduction of a memorial asking the President to remove the governor. Yet even at the lowest of Gruening's fortunes, the memorial never passed both houses. Once Gruening was hailed before the Territorial senate and questioned like a prisoner charged with a felony. It probably was one of the few times that an executive who had not been impeached was made to answer to a whole legislative body.

Frequently political hatreds are so virulent that they stimulate counter-reaction. This seems to have occurred in the case of Ernest Gruening. Even poorly schooled Thlingit and Tsimshian tribesmen comprehend that many of the men who assail Gruening as a "carpet-bagger" and "*cheechako*" are themselves on payrolls in Seattle and San Pedro. The vote on statehood last autumn was a measure of the governor's standing in the Territory. Only through statehood, said Gruening, could Alaska become a place in which to "relive the American epic." The absentees feared statehood would mean substantial taxes. They fought it. By election day, the referendum had less to do with statehood than with the popularity of Ernest Gruening.

Statehood carried by approximately three to two.

"That settles two things," conceded one of the governor's opponents, a millionaire salmon packer in Seattle. "It shows the Alaskans want statehood, and that they want Gruening to be their first United States senator."

Gruening's career commenced in crowded New York, and he was edu-

cated at Hotchkiss and at Harvard. But it surely will end in the Alaskan wilderness, or perhaps under the dome of the Capitol as senator from Alaska. When he retires from the governorship, an inevitable step if the Democrats lose the 1948 Presidential election, Gruening probably will stay in Alaska. Perhaps he will publish a newspaper of his own. He will complete a long definitive book on the Territory which he already has begun. And he will mix in politics. Alaska's fishermen and dock workers are more devoted to him than to any other figure in Alaskan history, with the possible exception of Anthony Dimond, now a federal judge.

Of Alaska's 90,000 people, approximately 33,000 are Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts. The allegiance of these people to Gruening was demonstrated when the Indians voted nearly unanimously for statehood.

And at the time the Japanese occupied Kiska and Attu, only the Eskimos stood between the Territory and possible landings at a thousand fiords and inlets. Gruening decided the natives should have rifles, insignia, and military training. The Alaska Territorial Guard was born. Yet it never was spoken of in Alaska as anything except "Gruening's Guerrillas." The Eskimos learned to operate portable radio transmitters, should the invaders come. Their women sewed blue shoulder patches on their parkas, and they pledged tribal funds for purchase of war bonds. Gruening picked as his aide Major Marvin Marston, one of the few army officers who could speak the Eskimo tongue, and together they traveled thousands of miles by plane, snowshoe, dog sled, and whale boat.

Membership in the Alaska Territorial Guard was a profound experience to men who regarded a polar bear hunt as commonplace. Gruening, solidly identified in the minds of the natives as the creator of the organization by which they were more closely brought into the fabric of Alaskan life than ever before, can have their adherence for any position he seeks.

SHOULD ALASKA BECOME THE 49TH state, four tempting public positions will be proffered at the polls—the governorship, two senatorships and representative in Congress. The Territory has four notable public figures—Judge Dimond, Delegate Bartlett,



Canadian Pacific

Skagway is one of the small, crowded towns of Gruening's domain with its main street doubling as the route of the narrow-gauge White Pass & Yukon

Attorney General Ralph J. Rivers, and Governor Gruening. Yet the man from Manhattan is unquestionably dominant, because of the allegiance he commands from the Alaskans whose ancestors dwelt in Alaska long before Vitus Bering or Captain George Vancouver landed on the forested shoreline.

Alaska's arrested political development is shown by the fact that Gruening is frequently denounced as a radical or Communist. Yet in the United States, where Latin America ironically preoccupied his time just before he went to Alaska, Gruening often was criticized for conservatism and hesitancy. No one identified him with the Communist faction in our neighbors of the hemisphere. Indeed, the Communists sharply assailed him as a reactionary. Gruening is criticized in Rexford Guy Tugwell's recent book "The Stricken Land," and this may be an indication both of Gruening's innate conservatism and his inability to get along with other positive personalities. Last year he was one of the Americans who sought to have General Mikhailovitch tried by an independent tribunal rather than by the Soviet-swayed Tito government.

Ernest Gruening, born in 1887, was destined from the start for medicine. His father, Emil Gruening, an outstanding eye, ear, nose, and throat surgeon, mapped his son's career. Gruening graduated from Harvard Medical School, but as an ambulance surgeon in Boston he was more stirred by the work of police reporters than by his own responsibilities. When he put down his scalpel to work for the *Boston American* in 1912, it was the end of his medical career. He became a crusading editor of the *Journal*, and he still boasts that a leading Boston advertiser whom he had defied grudgingly told him, "Young man, you are the only newspaperman in the whole town with any guts!"

GRUENING SERVED IN FIELD ARTILLERY in the first World War, and returned to civilian life as managing editor of the old *New York Tribune*. But he was studying Spanish, and South America fascinated him. For a year he was general manager of *New York's* Spanish-language daily *La Prensa*, and from 1920 until 1923 he was managing editor of *The*

Nation. He campaigned principally against 'dollar diplomacy.' He demanded the evacuation of our marines from Nicaragua, and he helped bring about a senatorial investigation of the American military occupation of Haiti and Santo Domingo.

Yet his advocacies were essentially along the middle-of-the-road. While he attacked interference by our industry and finance in the affairs of Latin American nations, he also warned against the influence of extreme radicals. He traveled in Central America for *Collier's* and wrote "Mexico and Its Heritage," which the *New York Times* reviewed as "the most vigorous, useful, and comprehensive picture yet made of the complex present conditions below the Rio Grande." In 1924, he was national director of publicity for the third party venture of Fighting Bob La Follette.

Gruening migrated to Portland, Me., and founded the *Evening News*. His principal crusade was against the dominance of the state by the Insull-owned utility holding companies. He wrote "The Public Pays," an exposé

(Continued on page 554)

Report Cards for Restaurants

The food people eat should be clean. It took persistence, patience, and political campaigning, but the health commissioner put over his big idea.

ALBERTA WILLIAMS

ST. LOUIS IS THE ONLY LARGE CITY that has solved the public health problem of cleanliness in restaurants. St. Louisans in one quick glance at a restaurant's prominently displayed grade-card can tell whether they're to be served food prepared under the most sanitary conditions possible, whether the kitchen is borderline, or whether the place is filthy.

"Food poisoning never comes from something you ate, but from where you ate," says Dr. Joseph Bredeck, health commissioner of St. Louis, who has frequently used himself as guinea pig in testing restaurants of which he was suspicious.

Since March, when the city's new restaurant-grading ordinance went into effect, every food-serving place in town is plainly graded with a large blue A, which is top safety to the eating-out public, a green B, which means that the establishment so graded meets the most important majority of the conditions and practices that make for sanitary food preparation and serving, or a red C, which is really a temporary permit to operate and tells the customer that the food is handled in a way so hazardous to health that the place will be forcibly closed unless drastic improvements are made within thirty days.

"We rarely have to resort to forcible closing," Dr. Bredeck says. "The public does it for us; when a C is posted business immediately drops."

Dr. Bredeck, who is the vigilant father of the local restaurant-grading movement and the educational campaign that aroused the public to action, is something of an odd body in the way of a big city health commissioner. He served as a medical officer in World War I, after which he took a degree in public health at the University of Pennsylvania and followed it with extensive postgraduate study in Germany and Switzerland. At fifty-eight he is stooped and dowdy and looks like a country doctor who is no great shakes at bill collecting.

—*St. Louis, until the new system went in, was threatened by unclean food. But consider that in New York during the five weeks following August 4, health inspectors seized in each of 137 food shops an average of more than 53 pounds of food which was unfit to eat. Inspecting 1,994 New York delicatessens during the same period, the health department found 1,397 to be insanitary.*

The author of this article, a former Chicago newspaper woman, has written numerous articles and short stories for leading magazines. In Survey Graphic, May 1944, she presented a memorable picture of interracial relations in St. Louis.

However, behind his blandly philosophical exterior lurks a terrific impatience with what he terms his work's two worst foes: "Cupidity and stupidity." Dr. Bredeck's policy, and the tactic he recommends to everybody working in the health division, is to conquer the first enemy by eliminating the second through education. In St. Louis, the entire health division is under civil service and I did not find a single member of Dr. Bredeck's staff who knew the chief's politics or was too positive that he had any.

DR. BREDECK HAS LONG AND ARDENTLY believed that the city health division should supply a reliable restaurant criterion so that diners need not trust circumstantial evidence in the form of spotless table cloths, sparkling glassware, and yes-sir service as to what goes on in the kitchen and the personal cleanliness of those preparing food. Meals that please the palate may have been previewed by rats carrying germs, may include perishable food that has been kept at a temperature higher than fifty degrees, so that it carries a possibility of poisoning, or may have been cooked by employes who don't have proper facilities for washing.

St. Louis, as is true of most cities, has had for a good many years, regu-

lations which included about everything essential to insure clean restaurants except a good foolproof way of putting out of business such restaurants as do not conform to the regulations. Theoretically, these regulations are binding and enforceable. Actually, licensing is usually divorced from health division supervision and solely a source of city revenue; inspection, if any, is perfunctory and incompetent, and closing offending restaurants is almost impossible.

In the courts *actual* danger, rather than *potential* danger, had to be demonstrated before the restaurant owner could be convicted. For example, a restaurant might be guilty of filthy practices such as to put its customers in a fair way of getting amoebic dysentery or any of the twenty-six diseases which come from eating improperly handled food. But until there was proof positive that people were undeniably getting the disease there, nothing could be done about it. An epidemic could be under way long before the restaurant in which it originated could be closed.

In 1944 came the *cause célèbre* which stirred Dr. Bredeck to take a determined stand. The owner of a tavern where food was served refused, even after repeated warnings, to install hot water handwashing facilities for employees, although this was a sanitary safeguard required by the restaurant regulations. Finally, he was tried in police court and fined, but later appealed his case to the court of criminal corrections. There the decision of the lower court was overruled and the man was happily free to continue in business.

Earlier that year, Dr. Bredeck, knowing well that public eating places weren't what they should be in St. Louis, had, through the Missouri State Board of Health, requested the United States Public Health Service to make a survey of the city's restaurants. Such a request can be made to the state board of health by any town. A rating of 90 is considered accept-

able. St. Louis came out with a disgraceful 49.2

Armed with this damning statistic and goaded by the tavern owner's flagrant flouting of the law, Dr. Bredeck, in January 1945, succeeded in having a restaurant-grading ordinance introduced before the board of aldermen. The bill was substantially the model ordinance drawn up by the USPHS for the use and guidance of any city interested in making certain that its eater-outers are protected.

St. Louis' restaurant interests knew what was brewing. They called the city health division "linoleum and equipment salesmen," because, of course, if the bill were passed many establishments would have to replace outmoded and inadequate equipment; they wailed that the bill would force half the city's restaurants out of business; but they forgot to mention the public. The aldermen, one of whom owns a restaurant and several of whom, strangely enough, had recently become solicitous in the duty of protecting restaurant proprietors, defeated the ordinance twenty to three.

"AFTER THAT FIRST DEFEAT, I KNEW the public had to clamor for graded restaurants," Dr. Bredeck says.

It was nothing new for the health commissioner to tell the public his story in order to get a measure passed. He had done just this to get the graded-milk ordinance passed—a bill which made St. Louis the first large city to rule out the sale of ungraded

milk. The citizens had to understand and demand Dr. Bredeck's rat-control plan before the aldermen could be prodded into passing it, although it is probably the only workable plan now under way for ridding a large metropolis of rats.

The doctor, during his fourteen years in office, has become cordially disliked by politicians of both parties and by certain organized interests with whom he has locked horns. But their dislike is respectful. Neither a back-slapper nor a glamor boy, Dr. Bredeck has no overwhelming personal popularity. However, the St. Louis public trusts his judgment and listens when he speaks.

Dr. Bredeck organized the educational campaign for graded restaurants with every member of the health division's staff participating to some degree as propagandist. Copies of the proposed bill and a letter explaining its urgency and necessity were sent to all local civic clubs, churches, schools, and individual civic leaders. Dr. Bredeck and his staff lectured before any group that would supply an audience. They showed films of the closet-skeletons in restaurants where unsanitary conditions prevailed. They gave radio speeches.

Restaurant owners and their employees were urged to attend the division's free classes for food handlers, where lectures and demonstrations showed why the ordinance was needed. A good many of them came to these classes as doubters and went

away believers. Newspapers backed the cause. The League of Women Voters and other important organizations joined up.

In June 1945, when the ordinance was again introduced, it was defeated seventeen to eleven. There was some murmuring to the effect that the restaurant owners were so enlightened by the publicity campaign that they had probably cleaned house. Dr. Bredeck's answer to this optimistic surmise was to request the USPHS for a second survey. This revealed that the restaurant rating had dropped almost five points below the previous scoring.

WHEN THAT NEWS WAS MADE PUBLIC, the aldermen received a barrage of agitated letters. Accordingly, the board drew up a proposed substitute for the model ordinance. This pale stand-in included no grading or other means whereby the public could judge a restaurant, and it provided that appeal for the health commissioner's decisions could be acted upon by a lay board on which restaurant and tavern people would predominate.

The public hearing on the committee's proposed substitute bill was tumultuous. Dr. Bredeck and most of his staff were there as were several hundred irate citizens and representatives of civic organizations. No printed copies of the measure had been put into circulation prior to the hearing and from the floor it was read through rapidly. One firm voice

GRADE C RAT lies very dead in the store room of a New York restaurant in silent proof that St. Louis is not the only city where dining rooms may gleam but where the scene behind the swinging door is very different from what the gourmets may imagine.

This photo comes from a series by PM's John Albert which was part of that newspaper's campaign to clean up New York City's restaurants.



demanded, "What does Dr. Bredeck think of your bill?"

Dr. Bredeck arose and observed dryly, "I've only just heard the proposed bill; I've seen no copy. Of course, I am unable to give any complete opinion on it until I've made a study of the measure."

This quiet condemnation of the substitute bill evoked a flood of bitter comment. St. Louisans had decided they would have clean and graded restaurants, or else. Hastily, the substitute measure was dropped and in March 1946 the restaurant-grading law was introduced as a bill requested by Mayor Aloys Kaufmann and it was unanimously passed by precisely the same aldermen who had previously defeated it.

The ordinance allowed St. Louis restaurateurs one year in which to bring their establishments up to standard before restaurants would be rated and their grades posted for public scrutiny. Dr. Bredeck used this time for intensive education of his staff and of restaurant owners. He mapped out 20 restaurant districts providing each with an inspector and, over every five districts, a supervisor. Two specialists—one a man thoroughly conversant with the problems of industrial and institutional cafeterias and restaurants and the other an expert on the lowly but important matter of dishwashing, especially mechanical dishwashing—served all districts. Inspectors and supervisors, all of whom had completed a two-year course in the fundamentals of sanitation, were given a fortnight of special training by instructors sent out by the USPHS. They also attended—and still attend—a weekly one-hour class for discussions of special problems.

DR. BREDECK WARNS INSPECTORS NOT to regard themselves as restaurant police. "Your most important job is to dispense information," he tells them. "When you find food kept in a galvanized container, don't just threaten the proprietor with a C; explain to him the danger of zinc poisoning that lies in such practice. When you find a place where the help is careless about personal cleanliness, persuade them and their boss to take our course in sanitation for food handlers, so that they'll understand why it's vital that the hands and clothing of those preparing and serving food should be clean."

The inspectors have been zealous and successful missionaries. More than 10,000 restaurant employes and owners have taken the food handlers' course during the past year. Approval of this course is now so entrenched that a card certifying its completion is usually required of all employes in A restaurants.

In the initial grading, 1728 restaurants received A, 539 B, and 213 C. Dr. Bredeck says that there was not a single eating establishment in St. Louis that did not have to make some reforms in order to rate A. Grading is never final; restaurants are subject to surprise inspections and can be upgraded or downgraded any time.

The 213 C's were places of all types owned by skeptics who couldn't believe grading would ever be an actuality. Many plush places, meccas for gourmets, were among the C's. The one that persuaded every diehard that grades were given solely on merit was the C posted on the restaurant in the St. Louis City Hall.

"A PLACE CAN HAVE A VERY NICE dining room and a terrible kitchen," one inspector told me. "A prominent hotel here that got a lot of swank trade had beautiful dining rooms, but out in the kitchen were rats and roaches, dishes weren't washed in such a way as to make them germ-free, and food was kept and stored so carelessly that nobody should have been eating there. When we posted a C on this place, the owner got busy and made his kitchens into what they should have been all along. On the other hand, some unpretentious, plain places rated an A with flying colors."

"By and large, hamburger joints were the cleanest places in town," Dr. Bredeck says. "And schools and institutions and industrial cafeterias were the worst offenders."

When grades were posted, only one hospital was rated C, but during the year of grace one of the city's largest and presumably best hospitals had to undergo drastic changes to be ready for grading and all of them had to make some revisions in methods and changes in equipment to qualify for A.

At the first grade posting it was apparent that a few restaurateurs thought this was just another case where a little influence should go a long way. One proprietor sputtered menacingly at his C, said he'd gone to school with the mayor, that the health division would hear plenty

about such high-handed doings. Bribery has been tried by a few restaurant owners. One offered an inspector \$100 for an A. "I figure that's what it'll cost you to put your kitchen into shape for an A," the inspector told him. "Seems to me you'd be smarter to spend your money that way."

Now, with grading an accomplished thing, St. Louis restaurateurs have swung around to generally strong approval of it, flaunting their A's proudly in their advertising and admitting Dr. Bredeck's educational campaign has been of great value in improving the quality of their help.

The public takes the grades seriously. "Even a B can't stay in existence," one owner of a chain of restaurants told me. "The people here are so clean-restaurant conscious that they won't risk eating any place they can't be sure of and the employes are getting so they're ashamed to work in anything but an A place. And a thirty-day C? That's just like a small-pox sign! Everybody stays away."

Dr. Bredeck maintains that any community sincerely and energetically interested in doing so can clean up its restaurants. "But," he warns, "there are three things necessary to do the job: There must be an ordinance of complete control over restaurant operations and practice. There must be public grading. There must be continuing and reliable inspection by trained inspectors, so that cleaned-up restaurants cannot slip back."

"In large cities, getting the ordinance passed is bound to be a tough problem because it will be opposed by restaurant people and where there are big chains, this can be powerful opposition with plenty of eloquent money backing it."

Dr. Bredeck believes that small towns and rural areas, where restaurants are usually at their dirtiest, should go together on the problem. "In rural areas clean restaurants can be a county-wide undertaking. Small towns can consolidate on restaurant control, just as they do on school systems."

The St. Louis health commissioner tells his favorite story of public respect for grading. Soon after grades were posted, Dr. Bredeck stopped before a B restaurant just as two bleary-eyed bums shuffled up to enter the place for a handout. Suddenly one of them pulled back in shocked horror. "Bill, this place has a B rating," he told his companion.

Fiorello H. La Guardia

December 11, 1882

September, 20, 1947

THE NAME LA GUARDIA INVITES SMILES AND TEARS, LIFTS the heart and an eyebrow as well, recalls old resentments of good people as well as the not-so-good, but mostly it calls forth a warm, outspilling affection. La Guardia is a great complex, a man of the most wide-ranging interests and accomplishments, many talents, many facets. But it may be accurate enough in one word to say he is a flag.

La Guardia creates an emotional challenge to do things better than the possible, as does the flag for a patriot.

Who can forget the excitement about New York City itself which he sent shooting up to a fever of pride and relief when he swarmed into City Hall on New Year's Day, 1934, and shook that disreputable shambles into life? Who can overlook La Guardia in Congress, especially 1932-33, the House team mate of George W. Norris in the Senate, a one-man majority, passing forlorn-hope bills and killing vicious ones, a vital public service impossible without his valor and technique?

And later, the echo still rings in one's ears, La Guardia at noon Sundays on the radio — his hazardous political shop talk and reading aloud of the newspaper comics — an undignified sublimity of human understanding! A lot of that unflinching spirit, he must have shed upon miserable post-war Europe in 1946 as he sped around as director-general of UNRRA.

La Guardia is a flag, the standard himself, and such he proved to be in many a desperate battle. He gives a thrill, a challenge to the faltering and despairing. He has made righteousness as magnetic as satanic cupidity makes evil.

THE PRESENT TENSE IS USED DELIBERATELY. LA GUARDIA IS a living factor.

Science said he couldn't get well, and many knew he had left his strength and health behind at the City Hall, but he was never one to behave as expected. His home town wouldn't have been surprised at all to see him sit up from his coma and laugh at the doctors. It was a pleasant fantasy—to think of his finding these words as a bouquet at his sickbed and reading explicitly what was thought of him in this quarter. But instead has come loss and sadness.

The fact is, relations between La Guardia and *Survey Graphic* were a long reciprocal friendship. He was supported and his achievements recognized in this magazine, and he was a gracious speaker and a great hit at more than one *Survey Graphic* public dinner. On many a great social

objective *Survey Graphic* has been a long-time advocate and La Guardia came along to give it physical embodiment.

The galleys of obituary type now have been dusted off and put into the papers, the official mourning is proclaimed, and people around the world shed tears for a friend. But La Guardia remains present tense and of the living. The flag waves.

HIS COMPLEX PERSONALITY HAS BEEN INFINITELY FASCINATING. La Guardia was a popular idol — imagine licking Tammany for the mayoralty thrice in a row, getting himself sent to Congress for seven terms—but an idol with feet not pure gold. He could be as sweetly ingratiating as a child, was fiercely honest, unsparingly industrious, boldly intelligent, was a prodigious doer and a truly enlightened visionary. Yet he could demagogue and he could bully, he lashed his best helpers unmercifully, and often he failed to rule his spirit.

But splinters and blurs at the edges of his personality are no measure of the man. For he was not merely the Little Flower dashing to fire alarms. He was not just Butch screaming against lawyers and politicians and tin-horns. La Guardia was a man of greatness and not merely a great Mayor, and in him the city experienced greatness.

La Guardia had the knowledge and tools of his job. He was straight. Nerve was his specialty. And he was never just a reformer. Does anyone suppose he could have wrought his miracles as insurgent and independent without being a consummate politician? La Guardia was a born leader of the common people, politically, and in the face of power's corrupting delusions he remained extraordinarily unswayed.

LA GUARDIA WAS THE BEST MAYOR THAT NEW YORK EVER had. He was the most successful and effective mayor of any American city in his day.

If you would see his monument, look around you. It is present in a vast physical transformation — due to La Guardia's restoration of city credit and his turning depression to advantage by use of Public Works money. His spirit marches on because of his outlawing of tolerance for political motivations, his lasting extension of human services, his inspiring demonstration of great abilities coupled with a great and noble consecration to public service.

The name La Guardia goes on living. It is a standard, to which the large-hearted and the true can repair.



Press Association

Shifting Cornerstones

Instead of letting things take their course, we recognize ourselves as accepting and demanding government manipulation of social behavior.

ARTHUR R. BURNS

DURING THE LAST QUARTER OF A century the professional economists have changed greatly in their position as to the possibility of improving and protecting the economic condition of the masses of people. This change has come about partly as a response to changes in public attitudes toward social reform, but also from the redirection of economic thought itself.

For a surprisingly long time economists and others believed that in the *laissez faire* doctrine they had discovered a self-operating social gadget that eliminated the necessity for any appraisal or control of the over-all consequences of economic operations.

But this system although logical was unsatisfactory. It left many basic social problems on the outside. For instance, much of the operation of nineteenth century capitalism was due to the existence of a proletariat. But the necessity or desirability for such a proletariat was outside the thinking on supply and demand and on a price system to bring the two into equilibrium. This system of economic thought suffered also from an inadequate knowledge of actual business operations and, particularly, of the extent to which profit was sought by monopolistic restriction rather than by competition.

Most important, however, the system was mainly concerned with describing the equilibrium that might arise out of given conditions as to supply of labor, capital, natural resources, and demand for goods for consumption and production. It was not much concerned with the fact that some states of equilibrium are socially tolerable and others are not. Equilibrium with many people out of work is still equilibrium. Nor did this thinking seek to throw light upon the way social changes came about. The *laissez faire* economists were interested in snapshots and not in moving pictures of economic processes. Karl Marx was the most notable rebel against these attitudes.

—For nearly twenty years Arthur R. Burns has been a member of the teaching staff in economics at Columbia University. During the war he served with the War Production Board and the Foreign Economic Administration, visiting Germany in 1945 in connection with preparations for economic disarmament.

Governmentally imposed limits upon freedom of economic power appeared quite early in the nineteenth century and multiplied during its later half. Laws were passed regarding conditions of labor, minimum wages, and other matters. But the main body of economic thinking was little changed by these beginnings of governmental planning.

Only after the first world war did economists extend their framework of thought to include the ugly reality of recurrent mass unemployment.

A good deal had been written on financial crises and business depressions but, as Seymour Harris points out on a later page, it was the brilliant theoretical work of Lord Keynes that impelled action to keep complicated industrial societies in more regular operation. George Soule, also, here discusses both the alternative lines of thought still in circulation on this subject and the government's commitment by Congress in the Employment Stabilization Act to the maintenance of steady employment and production.

THESE NEW WAYS OF THINKING ABOUT unemployment spring partly from a moral repugnance to the suffering caused by depression and partly from fear that repeated depressions before much longer might lead to political revolution. Pressures from organized labor and from political liberals have impinged upon economists as well as upon government. But it is true today—and it was not true only a quarter of a century ago—that a large body of economists lends professional support to the conviction that depressions

can be and must be controlled.

The periodic depressions of the nineteenth century occurred in societies dedicated to *laissez faire*. Programs for preventing depressions challenge this policy. Planned stabilization of production requires centralized governmental decisions. It may be necessary for governments to depart from the principle of taxing merely to meet public expenses year by year and to control taxation also with a view to the extent to which general purchasing power (and, therefore, the volume of production and employment) can be maintained. Similarly, government borrowing may be desirable to permit public spending when private expenditure falls away. These proposals come at a time, moreover, when other programs of social reform call for broader government action.

AS MR. SOULE POINTS OUT IN HIS article, it is delusive to appraise these new policies in terms of a choice between planning or no planning, or between communism and capitalism. The time to plan is when the alternative to planning is worse than its difficulties. But we must approach every proposed infringement upon the freedom of individual action with a demand for good evidence that it will yield a net social gain. After all, even under *laissez faire*, governments passed laws which constituted planning, and private firms made decisions which rested (it is assumed) upon a good deal of planning. These plans often infringed upon individual liberties.

The decision that the government must act to prevent periodic unemployment and failure of production cannot be merely a matter of applying brakes or pressing down upon accelerators. The social machine must also be steered. Government stimulation of production, when depression appears, calls for decision as to what to produce.

In the September *Survey Graphic*, Adolf Berle's essay on social thinking in the field of politics pointed to this

problem of stabilizing economic production as the main political problem of our time. He discussed the kinds of government investment that would not only maintain employment but also give desirable additions to our social capital. We should thus find ourselves utilizing the necessity for periodic government expenditures as a means also of planning the broader development of our resources.

The economist dissatisfied with snapshot views begins to look at the economic systems as they move. Beginning with concern to prevent periodic collapse, he is compelled to enter upon the hitherto little explored field of economic development. Expenditures upon public health programs or river developments have immediate social effects, but more importantly in the longer period they may change the whole nature of society. In particular, they may fundamentally influence the standard of living. Planning development raises different questions. Which developments should come first? How do we decide how rapid a rate is practicable?

Problems of development are important in this country. Mr. Berle suggested possible directions for remunerative social investment. But in America, we are mainly concerned with accelerating the development of a society already in rapid (if unstable) economic expansion. Development problems in other countries are more acute. Their problems concern us deeply, however, because we cannot plan our own future without some

notion as to how our economy will fit the rest of the world.

In Europe and other parts of the world, we face the gravest problems of economic redevelopment.

Some two thirds of the population of the world lives in poverty. Knowledge of the relatively comfortable standards prevalent in the United States brings home to backward peoples their own backwardness and stirs their emotions. We are interested in these matters partly for political reasons and partly because of the danger of war—which is now entirely capable of destroying the whole basis of civilization.

ONE OF THE MOST INTRACTABLE SOCIAL problems in such areas, so far, has been the pressure of population against resources. For many centuries there was room in the world for people to move away when they felt restricted at home, but now in different countries there are great differences in standards of living, in the rate of multiplication of the population, and drastic barriers against migration. These have already generated severe stresses, both economic and political.

The redistribution of incomes is also a means of relieving poverty. The possibility of raising standards of living by increases in production has reduced emphasis upon redistribution through taxation and through social services and subsidies. Nevertheless, in most countries, redistribution in these ways now actually occurs on a considerable scale. General political

acceptance of ampler social services—partly for moral reasons and partly as a highly remunerative investment in people, particularly the young—makes some redistribution unavoidable. Only by taking from the wealthier can government meet the cost of such services. Great inequalities generate social tension, although this is likely to be least where increasing production makes it possible to improve mass standards of living.

Thus the conversion of economic thinking to an interest in the dynamics of society has greatly changed our attitudes. The first steps were directed towards stabilization of the economy; but now economists are moving on into problems of long run development.

Our two major problems of internal stability and external economic relations both require dynamic thinking. Both political and economic necessities demand the fullest utilization of our economic potentialities. Our new place in the world necessitates thinking on a world scale.

But in reorienting our economic thought in these ways we cannot avoid a parallel adjustment in our attitude toward the place of the state in social life. Debates as to whether to plan or not to plan do not focus upon the main problem, namely in what spheres is it too dangerous not to plan. Most of us now assume in thought and conversation that governments are instruments for dealing with economic instability and low standards of living, and that they will be so used.

America's Economic Choice

GEORGE SOULE

A VIGOROUS ATTEMPT IS BEING MADE to convince Americans that they must choose between an unmodified system of private enterprise and a totalitarian dictatorship.

Economists like Friedrich Hayek and economic popularizers like Henry Hazlitt, whose books have been distributed wholesale by business organizations, argue that government intervention spells disaster and planning leads directly to a slave state.

Conservative politicians emphasize the same theme, as they oppose all

—A calm look at economic possibilities by a widely known and experienced economist who has avoided identification with any of the doctrinaire schools. Although perhaps best known for the many years when he was one of the editors of the New Republic, Mr. Soule has been associated with many public enterprises, is now a book publisher and always has been a versatile, diligent writer. His latest book, "Prosperity Decade," dealing with the boom and the crash culminating in 1929, is to be published this fall.

extensions of public action and slash appropriations.

On the international stage, the conflict is dramatized by the duel between Russia and the United States, the one typifying communism and the other capitalism—communism with its loss of freedom and respect for the human personality, capitalism with its material progress, but also with its risks by rising and falling prices and, according to all previous experience, its periodic unemployment.

No greater or more perilous de-

Social Thinking

lusion could be imagined than such an exclusive choice. Americans will not choose communism, at least without a better report of it than they have received from the actions of communists, and without a far more bitter experience of their own order than any they have yet endured. Nor, one may suspect, will Englishmen or Frenchmen or Dutchmen or Scandinavians. On the other hand, Americans have no great enthusiasm about the order so loosely called private enterprise, in spite of the praise of it they continually hear.

The result is that, caught in a conflict between two undesirable courses, frustrated and without a clear line of action, they have fallen prey to anxiety and resignation. Inhabitants of by far the most powerful nation in the world, enjoying full employment and the largest income in its history, they are ill at ease and full of fear for the future.

ONCE BEFORE, AFTER WORLD WAR I, the nation returned to a regime dominated by business and business-minded engineers. After the discomforts of a brief crisis of inflation and deflation, it made steady and rapid headway in the production of wealth for almost a decade. Never was confidence in the future more widespread or more vigorously expressed by national leaders than toward the end of the 1920's.

Yet in spite of ample profits, plenty of bank credit, easily available capital, a stable price level, high production, absence of important labor unrest, rapid technical progress, a balanced federal budget, tax reductions, and a business-dominated President and Congress, the substratospheric flight of prosperity suffered the most disastrous crackup in the memory of man. The experts have not yet been able to discover with complete certainty where the fault lay.

For three years thereafter the hope of recovery under the "automatic" forces of private enterprise was deferred while unemployment and bankruptcy grew. Then for five years more an active struggle against depression, directed from Washington, brought relief to the unfortunate and stimulated some revival, but failed either to eliminate unemployment or to restore production to the pre-depression level. Only after 1940 the

immense demands of defense and war, accompanied by a high degree of planning and public control, supplied work for everybody and revealed the full scope of our resources. In spite of the fact that approximately half the national product was devoted to military purposes, the civilian slice of the total was about as large as before the war started.

This achievement was clearly not the work of the kind of private enterprise which those who praise it are talking about. As a people, we are still living on war bonuses. It is only natural for us and for other nations to wonder whether, when these are exhausted, the USA may not fall back to the low level of the 1930's, or whether, even if we succeed in repeating the rapid climb of the 1920's, we shall not crash into another 1929.

As a matter of fact, the United States is at this moment officially committed, by Act of Congress, to a course which is neither communism nor unrestricted business anarchy. It is committed to maintain steady employment and production, and to do so by cooperative and democratic methods rather than by compulsion.

This effort has been called by Edwin G. Nourse, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers set up by the law, "the last chance of private enterprise." He does not mean by this that the alternative is communism but he does mean, if I understand his point of view correctly, that if another great depression results through mistakes of those business executives who decide how much shall be produced and what shall be charged for it, these powers of decision are likely to be modified—if not replaced—by public control.

THIS GREAT EXPERIMENT IS TOO LITTLE understood by most Americans. Whether or not it proves to be immediately successful, it is the first national attempt to learn, by concerted action of government, business, labor, and agriculture, how to avoid the dangers of private enterprise without abandoning freedom. The record is now being made; history will render the judgment on it. Unless we watch carefully what is being attempted and do our best to assist in the process, it may fail. If it does fail we shall not be well prepared to know what to do next unless we have seen and understood the reasons for failure.

The Employment Act of 1946 (as

described in "The Crisis of Capitalism," *Survey Graphic*, February 1947) was originally known as the Full Employment Act. It was altered in many details before its passage and has been too much disregarded by those who were disappointed that the original version was not passed. But it still is, in the words of the first report of the Council of Economic Advisers which it established, "a broad enabling act of great flexibility as well as vigor."

The law makes it a responsibility of the national government "to use all practicable means consistent with its needs and other essential considerations of national policy . . . to coordinate and utilize all its plans, functions, and resources" in order to maintain "maximum production, employment, and purchasing power."

IN PURSUANCE OF THIS END, THE PRESIDENT must send to Congress at the beginning of each session an Economic Report. The Economic Report must set forth the levels of employment, production, and purchasing power which obtain and the levels which are needed in order to carry out the policy of the act. It must assess the existing and foreseeable trends. It must review the economic program of the government and the economic conditions which affect employment. It must set out a program for maintaining employment and recommend appropriate legislation.

The law sets up in the executive branch of the government a small Council of Economic Advisers to help the President in preparing this report. The council is intended to be a thinking rather than a research body. It can obtain its information from the extensive statistical services which already exist in other departments of the government.

The statute also placed obligations on the national legislature itself. Congress must establish a Joint Committee on the Economic Report — a committee representing the upper and the lower houses. This committee must report its findings "with respect to each of the main recommendations made by the President in the Economic Report" to the two houses by February of each year. The date is deliberately chosen to precede the drafting and consideration of the annual budget.

The present Council of Economic Advisers is headed by a former presi-

dent of the American Economic Association, Edwin G. Nourse, an economist who has emphasized the necessity, in a modern industrialized society, of full production to be achieved by a policy of low selling prices, as opposed to monopoly restrictions or unduly wide profit margins.

THE FIRST REPORT OF THE COUNCIL identifies three main bodies of doctrine which might be applied. The first it calls the "Spartan doctrine of *laissez faire*." This doctrine, recognizing that booms and depressions are characteristic of our order, depends upon the action of individual enterprises to safeguard themselves as best they may against fluctuations. But such action may only emphasize the cycle. Furthermore, "the volume of production at the top does not represent excess, with the midpoint as the goal of our stabilization devices." Only prices and property values rise too high, not production and employment. There is a danger of equilibrium at a low or stagnation level.

The second doctrine is called by the report "The Roman doctrine of an external remedy." This assumes that there need be no internal modifications of the behavior of private enterprise which produces booms and depressions, if only the government will intervene by sufficient spending to supply any deficiency of purchasing power. But fiscal intervention, the report argues, is not enough. This "single-track doctrine" does not take account of all the complexities. "We cannot assume that deficiencies of demand in one particular area or of one particular character can be made up just by adding purchasing power in general, for instance, through tax relief."

By this judgment the council pays its respects to the popular version of the Keynes recommendation for deficit spending. It may help, but it is not sufficient.

The third body of thought, called "American democracy's doctrine of mutual adjustment," which is supported by the council, includes both governmental fiscal intervention and cooperation between government and private agencies in arriving at decisions about economic policy.

We believe that the internal relationships of business must be carefully adjusted by business participants themselves within an institutional atmosphere

made favorable by government but also that government itself is now, and must to a somewhat greater extent in the future be, an actual stimulative and guiding element in the economy.

Large corporations, large unions, comprehensive agricultural organizations, cooperatives and trade associations make consultation and broad policy decision possible. The council regards the organization of this endeavor as a large part of its duty.

We trust . . . that in the course of these consultations we may reflect back to the leaders of these groups something of the demands that successful operation of a total system makes upon each of its component parts.

In accordance with the law, the President rendered his first economic report in January. He followed it up, as the law permits, with another in July. The joint committee of Congress did not comply with the law by stating its views on the President's recommendations before February 1, and it has not yet done so. This may be excusable in the first year of operation of the new system, but Congress should not be allowed to evade its self-imposed responsibility very much longer.

The economic reports are too often spoken of in the press as if they were the personal views of the President, or were set forth for partisan political purposes. No doubt Mr. Truman agrees with the reports, since he consented to issue them, but they are, in fact, the work of the Council of Economic Advisers, and are based on the most thoroughgoing expert survey of the state of the nation's economy that has ever been currently available. Conceivably the council may be wrong, but it is not uninformed or self-seeking. These reports should be the bibles of all those interested in the stability of the economy. Unfortunately, they are a bit too technical for popular consumption, but they are not difficult for economic writers to interpret.

The January report pointed out that inflation was still going strong and should be checked, since the danger of a subsequent collapse would be greater if it continued. High employment was being maintained in part by kinds of demand which could not last indefinitely, such as the restocking of business inventories, new investment for the ex-

pansion of production in lines where scarcities existed, the rush of foreign countries to buy American goods, which was likely to taper off in spite of unsatisfied wants, because their resources of dollar exchange with which to pay would diminish. Meanwhile the incomes of American consumers were not, in the aggregate, rising as fast as prices, and purchasing power was thus being worn away. If a sharp downward readjustment was to be avoided, rising prices must be checked and the way cleared for a large building program to take the place of the temporary demand for exports and domestic capital goods.

The report urged business to reduce prices where possible and to moderate price increases; it pointed out that while some upward readjustment of wages and salaries was desirable to bring up those on the lower levels of income, unions should in general demand wage increases only when these were justified by increased efficiency of production and would not necessitate raising the price of the product.

A FEW LARGE CONCERNS LIKE FORD AND International Harvester did reduce prices, and some small ones also heeded the President's advice. The general price advance was temporarily retarded. Many unions gained wage increases, but restricted their demands sufficiently so that major strikes were avoided. There was, however, little visible drop in building costs, and while construction continued at a relatively high level, there was no prospect of erecting enough houses at a price which those who needed them could afford.

To government, the report recommended reduction of the national debt while income was high, and this recommendation was carried out by administrative action; on June 30 the debt had been reduced by about \$21,000,000,000 from its peak.

Congress, however, did not respond so well. Here are the major recommendations made in the Report to the national legislature:

1. The continuance of existing taxes on incomes. (Congress spent most of its time trying to upset this recommendation, but was prevented by presidential veto.)

2. The continuance of rent control and the enactment of a comprehensive housing program. (Rent control, modified, was barely continued; the housing program was ditched.)

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3. The raising of minimum wage rates and the extension of the law's coverage. (No action.)

THE SECOND, OR JULY REPORT NOTED these facts and renewed the recommendations. It also made new ones, the most important of which was addressed to the steel industry. Part of it is worth quoting. After discussing the recent wage increase of the coal miners and the reasons for it, the report pointed out that improvement in efficiency might compensate for the resulting boost in fuel cost. It said:

Until the coal situation clarifies further, steel producers and other manufacturers who mine or buy coal have a responsibility not to make decisions on price advances until the effect of the wage-price adjustments in coal has been determined by actual experience. . . . Viewing the profit margins in the steel industry, the certainty of high and increasing demand for many years if we maintain maximum employment, and the financial strength of the industry, stability in steel prices would be a wise economic policy for this industry as well as for the country. . . . Price boosts now in private areas of the industrial field, based on uncertain estimates of cost increases, or without full consideration of whether profit margins permit absorption, can only add to inflationary forces. Another general surge of price inflation would have only one result—the sharp recession which it is to everyone's interest to prevent.

Hardly was the ink dry on this advice when steel raised prices about five dollars a ton, and automobile manufacturers followed suit. They set their judgment against that of the experts representing the public, as they have a legal right to do. But in doing so they have assumed responsibility for the outcome. The advantage of having an official and competent planning agency, even one without power, is that it sets a standard by which performance may be checked.

The economic planning on which the country is now embarked is not an impractical single-shot panacea; it is not some patent device handed down from above which can be attached to the productive machine with the assurance by its inventor that it will abolish all our worries. It starts with a comprehensive and authoritative analysis of the actual situa-

tion, and demands the active participation of every American citizen as a condition of success. Some, of course, have the power to make decisions of larger import than do others, but if the necessary teamwork is not forthcoming, we shall all be involved in the disastrous consequences.

Each of us, as a voter or a member of a union, must contribute something to see that planning works, even if most of us have no great executive responsibilities. The penalty of failure is unemployment, misery, civil conflict—and possibly war and the loss of life and liberty.

These detailed comments on our first six months' experience with voluntary national planning are introduced as a bit of evidence—and a very small bit—on the question of how far we can rely on freedom for big business and still save freedom in general. With more public understanding and support of the project and after more experience of results, the record may conceivably be better. If it is not, something else will undoubtedly be tried.

In the meantime, good citizens will ask their representatives and senators why they did not comply with the President's recommendations, and they will mark down in their minds the instances of striking non-compliance by private interests.

IS AN ECONOMY CHARACTERIZED MAINLY by private enterprise capable of the necessary broad vision and self-discipline necessary to achieve so ambitious an aim as stabilized high employment? It would be foolhardy to be confident of prompt success. Neither most politicians nor the general run of business executives now have the slightest understanding of what is involved, or the will to proceed with the task. Yet some do.

After the possible deflation of the near future, the council sees a respite of several years of good times in which to work out the strategy for averting another collapse like that of 1929.

It may later be necessary to go on to general price control, or even to nationalization of critical and basic industries. This outcome would not necessitate the abandonment of personal freedom, as the history of western Europe shows. All European states in which industrial production has reached a high development have, by one route or another, introduced

a good deal of collectivism into the management of affairs. All have been impelled to adopt national economic policies carefully planned to coordinate their several economies about the achievement of specific goals.

This is true of nations which have not been at war, like Sweden, as well as those which have been, like Britain. It is markedly true of the nations which have been under the Nazi heel, like Czechoslovakia or even individualistic France, since there were few means of organizing enterprise except by public intervention, once the conquerors and collaborators had been removed. The systems in question differ in structure and in detail and were not for the most part adopted all in one piece, according to preconceived blueprints. They are mixtures of consumers' cooperation, state ownership of certain specific industries or plants, private enterprise, and public regulation.

Because Socialist and Labor parties are prominent or have been in power in many of these countries, their regimes are often spoken of as socialist. Communists regard them as indistinguishable from capitalism. Neither of these words is a precise description.

Actually, modern states have been attempting pragmatically to find a way to produce and distribute what they need with enough fairness and security so that they may safeguard themselves against internal conflict and external misfortune. In none of them, as one form or another of collectivism grows, does there seem to be any acute conflict between personal liberty as conceived by the ordinary citizen and the necessities of the common life, as represented by the state.

They have retained political freedom in the sense of representative government, competing parties, and universal secret suffrage; for the most part they have not restricted the freedom of the press, or the civil rights of individuals. All have free labor movements. In these respects none of the western European nations in question is less careful of liberty than the United States, and some of them are perhaps more so.

THE WAY TO AVOID CALAMITY IS NOT to visualize an exclusive choice between a nonexistent simon-pure regime of American private enterprise on the one hand and communism on the other. People who think in such

words are likely to oppose effective help to the nations of Europe which, if they can find their footing, will form a bulwark against the very danger that we fear.

To insist that Britain, Germany, France, and the rest eschew "socialism" in order to be worthy of American cooperation is in fact to try to prevent them from becoming functioning and efficient societies. And in the U.S., to oppose every measure which someone might call socialistic

is to prevent the growth and experimentation which alone may safeguard us against economic disaster.

Public ownership or control of business is advanced, especially in the United States, not by the campaigning of socialist doctrinaires, but rather by adverse judgment on the part of the great public concerning the reasonableness, wisdom, and patriotism of those who determine the policies of business. Broad vision and self-discipline will be necessary in those

who make major economic decisions, if the present planning program is to work. If it does not work, it will surely be modified.

THE CHOICE IS NOT BETWEEN PLANNING and freedom. We can have both; but if we choose not to have planning, we shall be forced to turn to it eventually, and perhaps after major misfortune that could endanger freedom more than any alien doctrine could do.

Can Capitalism Be Salvaged?

SEYMOUR E. HARRIS

OUR SHRINKING WORLD HARBORS AT least three distinct economic systems. They differ one from the other especially in the degree of government control and of residual freedom for the individual.

There is the Russian communist system with its omnipotent and omniscient state, its planning bureau, its compulsory allocation of raw materials, manpower, and capital. This system, the product of mismanagement under the czars, of failure to exploit the vast riches of a large country, the product, too, of injustices, has accomplished much. Although the per capita consumption of the USSR today may well be not one tenth that of the United States, the progress since 1928 has been remarkable indeed. By husbanding resources, by working hard, by borrowing techniques and methods from capitalist countries, the Russians have progressed as much, in twelve years, toward industrialization as other nations had in two generations. And progress in education, recreation, and health services in many ways outstripped the rate in capitalist countries.

But the price has been high—according to many critics excessively high—in human energy, in internal dissensions and liquidations, in the loss of freedom involved in forcing the rural population into the cities, in imposing socialization on the peasants, and in the virtual elimination of consumers' choice. The average Russian for his hard work may not

—*One of the leading authorities on the theories of the late Lord Keynes, the author is a professor of economics at Harvard and managing editor of the Review of Economic Statistics. This fall he is due for an unusual fruition of diverse efforts, the publication almost simultaneously of four of his books.*

During the war Professor Harris was director of Import-Export Price Control, a member of the policy committee of the Board of Economic Warfare, a member of Secretary Hull's Committee on Commercial Policy. He also has served as economic adviser to several Latin American governments.

have received commensurate gains in his living standards. His rise in money wages has been large even by American standards; but wages often buy little, either because a ruthless turnover tax raises prices skyward, or because the wage earner is forced to hoard his money. Preparation for war, war itself, and capital accumulation have absorbed the larger part of the additional increments of output.

The free private enterprise of the United States represents the second system. (Like the Holy Roman Empire, it may not be free, private, or enterprise.) Essentially, under this system, the profit motive accounts for economic activity. "Give the consumer what he wants" is the scaffolding on which the capitalist structure is built. Businessmen, in possession of capital, seek profits by trying to

find out what the public wants, producing at the lowest price, and selling at the highest price obtainable. Government's task is essentially that of an observer, arbiter, and policeman.

That over a period of a hundred years preceding World War II, national income in this country doubled every fifteen or twenty years, is at least a partial vindication of the system. What other system can boast as good a record? Even the British system, suffering possibly from anemia or consumption today, experienced a remarkable development under capitalism in the hundred years preceding World War I, raising its per capita income in goods by 300 percent and supporting almost three times as many people in 1913 as a century before.

One should not too readily assume that all the credit for America's dizzy rise goes to the system. A happy conjuncture of natural resources, vast free trade area, native intelligence, fortunate relation of population and resources, and, until recently, isolation from covetous neighbors—all of these should share the credit.

MOREOVER, AMERICAN ENGINEERING and technology, the source of our great advances, rest for the most part on discoveries in pure science by foreign scholars. Those who disagree with this analysis might consider India's plight, which, with a large population in relation to resources, plans to raise its per capita income

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to \$40, or one thirtieth of the United States per capita income of 1947, by 1960—and this is essentially a capitalist system. India's national income is to be trebled by an unparalleled industrialization program.

System number three is socialism. The essential difference between the socialist and the communist system is that the former attempts to reach its objectives without recourse to compulsion. Essential freedoms prevail, at least the right to assemble, to speak and write freely, to choose one's occupation, and so on. It should be observed, however, that no pure brand of communism, with complete control of human activity and of economic resources is to be found anywhere; nor is there a pure brand of socialism with complete socialization of industry and non-use of compulsory powers to achieve the objectives; nor, for that matter, is there a pure capitalist state, with industry completely controlled by private interests.

The British system in 1947 is essentially socialist. Yet the major part of industry is still under private control; output depends on the profit incentive; and workers until August were free to choose their occupations. In the midst of the dollar crisis, however, the issue of freedom looms ominously.

FAILURE TO SUPPLEMENT PRICE CONTROL in essential areas with control of wages and manpower contributed to the present crisis; for the Labor government faltered at imposing on labor the controls which would have made the system work. With prices under control and supplies rationed, excess purchasing power was shunted to non-essential markets where pricing was free and the sky the limit; and with the diversion of cash to free markets, labor also moved to non-essential industries. Whereas a large number of essential industries have 20 percent less labor than they had before the war, expenditures on liquor, tobacco, entertainment, and transportation are up substantially.

Is it surprising that the Alee government now has taken the first significant step away from freedom—that both employers and workers must now accept the verdict of government, the former in the choice of workers, the latter in finding new jobs? The world now waits to see

whether socialism and liberty are compatible, whether we can be half free and half slave, whether from capitalism leftwards there is a stopping point short of communism.

2

THE UNITED STATES, UNTIL 1929, HAD about as pure and successful a form of capitalism as was to be found anywhere; to us the world looked for guidance in solving its economic difficulties. That the capitalist machine had begun to sputter in the Twenties in both England and France, went unnoticed by those intrigued by American prosperity.

The breakdown of the gold standard in the Twenties—one of the foundation stones of nineteenth century capitalism—the drastic drop in agricultural prices, the tendency everywhere of private and publicly sponsored monopolies to restrict output and raise prices, the failure of business to pass on the gains of technology in higher wages and (or) lowered prices, the insane rise in speculative prices as the professionals, instead of trying to correct the excesses, preferred to make money by capitalizing on them—all of these portentous signs are much more evident today to the economist looking back than they were to the economists or the professional forecasters, of the Twenties.

With the unparalleled collapse of the early Thirties and the failure to achieve adequate recovery, the capitalist system lost status. Discerning men noted also that whereas the American machine seemed to have magneto trouble, Russia was moving along at an accelerated rate with all motors humming; whereas in the Twenties, New York, Detroit, and Pittsburgh were the destination of foreign businessmen and engineers, Moscow in the Thirties became the attraction.

In the years preceding 1929, Americans preferred to be let alone by the government: they were content to share in the gains of progress and take their chances in the dynamic, growing economy. But in the Thirties, it was another matter. They had experienced unemployment which directly affected one out of every three families and cost the country at least \$300,000,000,000 in wasted resources, an amount equal to the cost of World War II. They had learned that free competition and careers open to all were but textbook descriptions and

did not exist in the real world. They were vexed at the functioning of the free capital market and banking system. The result of all this was a waning interest in progress and a growing quest for security.

President Roosevelt sensed the growing discontent with private enterprise, and gave leadership to the movement to buttress it. Essentially he was a believer in the system; but he would remove the excrescences and tumors, patch it up and try to make it work. Unable to find support for unorthodox measures among established economists who still held that the way out of depression was to cut wages, reduce prices, balance the budget, prop up the gold standard, and above all do nothing to impair the confidence of businessmen, the President brought to Washington a brilliant group of young economists who were prepared to experiment and to give him doctrinal support.

Essentially, the orthodox would rely on blood-letting and cost reduction; the unorthodox, upon subsidization, support, or even socialization of demand. (More on this later.) A. A. Berle, Jr., one of the unorthodox, summed up well in his excellent article (September 1947, *Survey Graphic*) the philosophy of this courageous group. They may well be proud of what they accomplished in the face of sneers from older colleagues. Most of them, as Mr. Berle says, are now out of Washington; but for the most part, the academic gates are not open to them: they must atone for their sins.

3

IN ORDER TO UNDERSTAND THE ECONOMIC history of the Thirties, it is necessary to bring into the picture the late Lord Keynes. As Malthus was the economic prophet of the nineteenth century, Keynes was the prophet of the twentieth.

Unlike the Classicists, Keynes preferred to deal with the real world, the world of unemployment, rigidities, and institutions. Unlike the socialists, he would not make the government and its planners omniscient or omnipotent, and he would not scrap free choice, the profit incentive, the free movement of labor. A patriotic Englishman, he was moved by what seemed to him the tragic and unnecessary waste of modern capitalism, as evidenced in the interwar British

history. Like Roosevelt, his was the task to save capitalism, not destroy it.

How few businessmen whose digressions suffer at the mention of the names of these two great men, understand their respective contributions to the survival of capitalism. Like a smart football team which, under great pressure, yields in the middle of the field in order to muster up strength for defense at the twenty-yard line, Roosevelt and Keynes both were prepared to retreat and compromise temporarily in order to stand more firmly for a capitalism that might survive.

Keynes' diagnosis and prescription were simple:

1. Unemployment is wasteful.

2. All that is necessary to put the unemployed to work is to create demand; it is the deficiency of effective demand in a modern society that brings unemployment. (Keynes' great contribution was to show that inadequacy of demand was undermining capitalism and that something might be done about it.)

3. Stimulation of demand is simple. First, it is necessary to have more money, an objective easily achieved; all that is required is paper and ink. Second, the money must be put to use. And if private enterprise will not activate it, then the government must.

4. Money created to produce goods should not bring inflation as many feared; for the proposed process is to be carried on in periods of unemployment. Against the additional money, there is the rise of output. Monetary expansion is dangerous only when employment is full.

5. To the criticism that Keynes' methods would bankrupt the government, his reply was that government could easily finance the additional costs out of the savings on unemployment insurance and relief, and out of the additional income created. On the multiplier principle which he now elaborated, a given outlay by government would increase income from two to four times—each recipient of the new money spending part of it, each cycle of expenditure being less than the preceding but the total adding up to a multiple of the initial outlay.

4

KEYNES' DIRECT INFLUENCE ON AMERICAN policy was large, though not easily traced. Many of the young economists who flocked to Washington and gave our government the facts and analysis upon which it might act with intelligence had been trained in

Keynesian economics. Few young economists of ability in recent years have failed to be infected by the Keynesian "poison"; and many of the older ones and even politicians who are not disposed to acknowledge his leadership, are better Keynesians than they think.

It is one of the modern miracles that with a hostile press and radio, with most of the leading scholars in command at major universities not disposed to follow Keynes and many of them too inflexible to scrap their past accumulation of ideas—the universities still turn out Keynesians predominately. The influence of the

kins that Keynes had presented him with "a whole rigmarole of figures." But whether the relationship can be traced or not, the influence was great.

Recent American economic history offers a vindication of Keynesian economics. The United States applied the Keynesian technique of monetary expansion, reduced money rates, public investment and heavier taxes on non-spenders, and from the depths of the depression to the late Thirties national income rose by 75 percent. No less an authority than the Brookings Institution—and there were innumerable others—offered the public in 1934 the great German inflation

John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946)

IN HIS volume, "The New Economics," published this month by Alfred A. Knopf, Seymour Harris says:

"Keynes' great contribution was to adapt economics to the changing institutional structure of modern society. Economics had failed to keep pace with the developments of science, of government, of changes in the market places, of organization of groups, and in general with institutional developments . . . Accepted economics in general belonged much more to the vanished age of competition, of capital deficiencies, of full employment or transitional unemployment, and the like, than to the twentieth-century economy which tolerated and to some extent encouraged monopolies, rigidities, excessive savings, deficiency of demand, and unemployment . . .

"KEYNES' activity as an economist extended over a period of thirty-five years; and in the last fifteen years he was the outstanding figure in the world of economists. In the wide scope of his interests, in his eloquence and persuasiveness, in the virtually complete command over economic forum, both of subjects to be discussed and manner of discussing them, in the impression he made upon our quasi-capitalist system, in the influence upon economists and men of action of his day—in these jointly and probably in each separately, Keynes has not had an equal. Like Adam Smith, he could write with charm and persuasiveness (though with more brilliance) for the enlightenment of men of action; like Ricardo, he would write for economists and inspire them to meditation and debate; and somewhat like Marx, Keynes could awaken in his disciples an almost-religious fervor for his economics, which could be effectively harnessed for the dissemination of the new economics."

man is evident in every country in the world. Examine the White Paper on Employment in Great Britain, Canada, and Australia, the Monnet plan for modernization in France, the FAO plan for Greece, the Two-Year Plan of Czechoslovakia, the Economic White Paper of Japan, and even the cautious Economic Reports in this country—and Keynes' influence will be everywhere evident.

How much he influenced President Roosevelt directly is not clear. On occasions he annoyed the President. In 1934, when Keynes protested to the President at some excesses and inconsistencies in New Deal policies, the President reported, apparently with some displeasure, to Miss Per-

as an indication of what might be expected of Rooseveltian policies. But despite a rise in money and deposits of \$20,000,000,000, and in federal debt of \$23,000,000,000, the cost of living in 1939 was only 7 percent above the 1933 level and more than 20 percent below the 1929 level. With the annual public debt charge up by half a billion dollars, the country had \$30,000,000,000 additional income to finance it.

During the war the government was compelled further to use the Keynesian approach. From 1939 to the middle of 1947, national income had risen by \$118,000,000,000 additional, and the public debt by \$200,000,000,000; and yet the cost of living had risen but 56 percent additional

and was less than 30 percent above 1929. (Much of the rise in prices could have been averted by a more attentive and courageous government.) A \$190,000,000,000 income could now easily support a \$5,000,000,000 annual debt charge. Would anyone prefer 1933 with its 12,000,000 unemployed, its \$40,000,000,000 income, and a debt charge of only \$500,000,000, to 1947 with \$190,000,000,000 income, 2,500,000 unemployed, and a debt charge of \$5,000,000,000?

5

WHIERE DO WE GO FROM HERE? IN the Thirties, we had a taste of government intervention on the Keynesian model—manipulation of the monetary machine, reduction in the rate of interest, stimulation of demand through fiscal and other measures (minimum wage and social security) directed to raise total spending and demand. But on freedom the government did not compromise.

In war, we accepted controls similar to those of a planned economy. But the public, impatient of the shackles, threw them off all too soon. Too soon, because experience showed that, with well organized groups trying to overreach and with the accompanying inflationary pressures, a full-employment economy could well bring disaster in the absence of restraints, either voluntary or imposed.

No impartial observer could be blind to the direction in which the world (exclusive of the United States, among the major powers) is moving. As we go right, the world goes left. The penchant for socialism or communism may well reflect ideological preferences; but the ideology is built

in part on the failures of capitalism, on the destruction wrought by war, on deficiencies which might be corrected through State allocation and distribution. Once the goods available are inadequate to meet minimum needs, the people will demand a change in the system.

Under wartime pressures, we also embraced a planned economy; and should war come once more in its likely proportions, the United States will give up its system of private enterprise for good, because recovery would take generations, and in the meanwhile the public will seek refuge in the strong arm of the State. Even under the most favorable conditions, it will not be easy for America to survive as a capitalist island in a sea of socialism and communism. American aid may temporarily arrest the movement to the left; but a stoppage of the leftward trek in Europe, and *a fortiori*, a return to capitalism, is unlikely.

The majority of American businessmen, or at least their spokesmen—the NAM, the National Industrial Conference Board—wear blinders. They will not see what they do not want to see. They naturally would like to save capitalism, a system under which they have risen to the top. They trumpet through the radio, press, newly organized and well financed research organizations, and through increased contacts with government, the triumphs of free enterprise and the dangers of government intervention, competition, and spending.

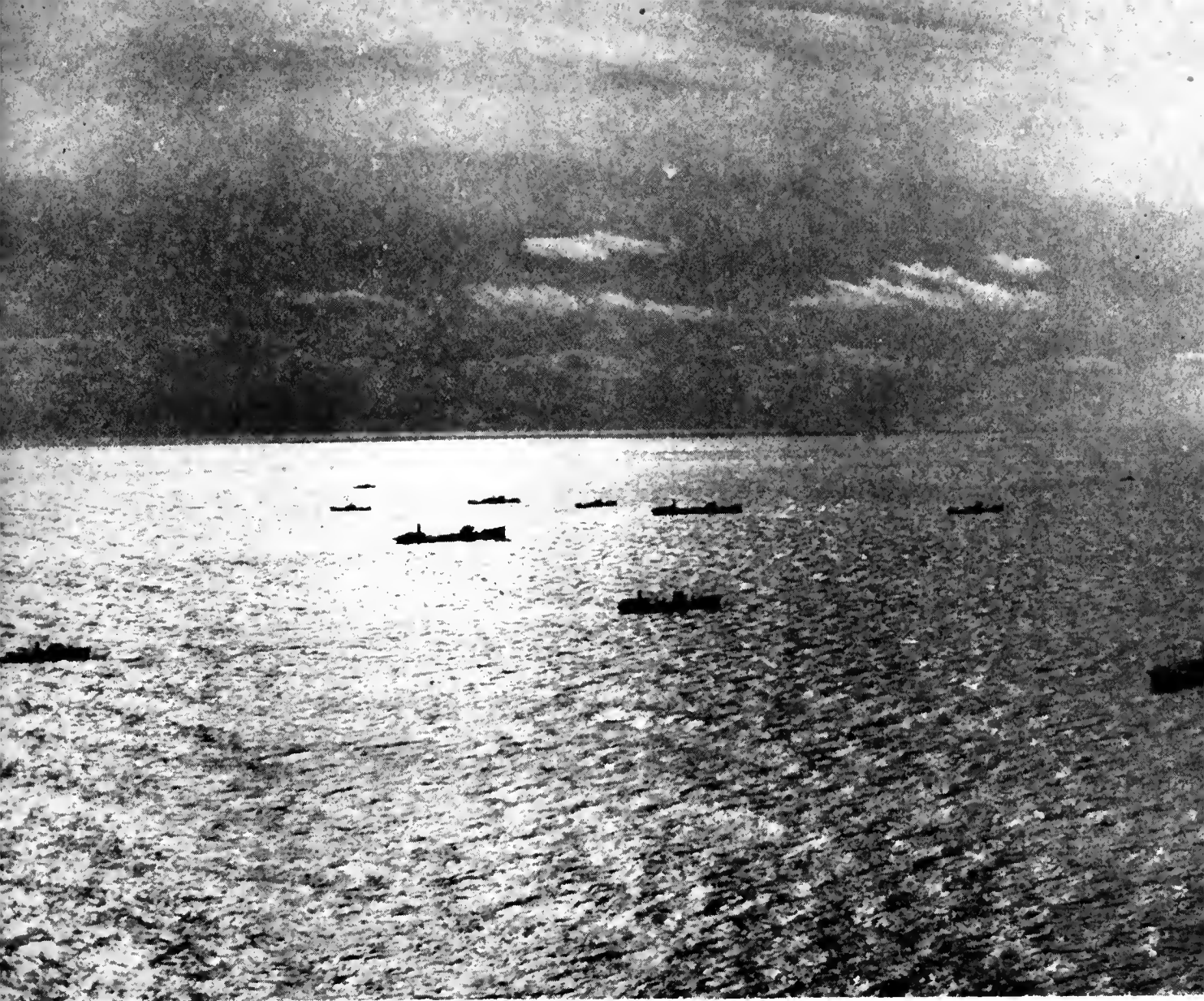
But the constant reiteration emphasizes an uneasiness, a fear of socialism and of Keynesianism. They seem to have forgotten the excesses of the Twenties, the breakdown of

the Thirties, the contribution of government deficits and planning to the economic revival, for which they themselves take credit. To credit private enterprises, unaided, for the vast industrial achievements in 1941-1946 is like giving the credit for military victory to the operational officers and forgetting the strategists and suppliers.

IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO STAVE OFF socialism or (and) communism over the next generation or two in America, though the prospects are not too good. (I assume a peaceful world.) Our chances of doing so will be much greater if businessmen with influence in government will swallow and digest Keynes and understand that the task of the businessman is to produce and sell, not to guarantee total demand; and that deficiency of demand is the threat to the system. (The Committee for Economic Development, the most enlightened of businessmen's organizations, suspect by the majority, is beginning to see the problems.) Businessmen research organizations could better spend their funds in disseminating Keynesian economics than in trying to rid the world of it.

Once the excess demand associated with war is no longer there to support the markets, private enterprise again will be on its own, though not to the extent of the Twenties. It had better be prepared to compromise its doctrinaire capitalism if it wishes to preserve it. In economic development, 1929 is much more than eighteen years ago. If it doesn't wish to be confronted with Marx and Stalin, or worse, Hitler and Goering, private enterprise had better give due attention to Keynes.





Press Association

UN and the Waters of the World

A vision of peace and freedom of the seas through
the agency of an international maritime authority

EMILY GREENE BALCH

THE UNITED NATIONS IS IN AN EARLY stage. It may be cut off by untimely catastrophe or frustrated by the inability of those curious entities that we call National States to make the adjustments necessary for the abolition of war. But the abolition of war is a "must" if civilization is to persist. With this imperative in mind, I will say that *as*—not *if*—the United Nations develops there will be before it various possibilities as regards the character and direction of its further growth.

With my best hopes I look for an

—Emily Greene Balch's great concern through her long and useful career has been for international peace—and there has never been anything passive in her concept of that ideal. That quality of action was given worldwide recognition by the Nobel Peace Award in 1946, which she shared with John R. Mott.

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extension of the United Nations and its constituent bodies through a widening of administrative powers. I have a deep distrust of the element of coercive power in any human associa-

tion and am always eager to see it kept as small as possible. Therefore, I'm "waiting to be shown" as regards any form of Federal World Government with power to make enforceable laws, in command of adequate military power and other sanctions to back them up, and grounded in an electorate composed not merely of governments but of individual citizens.

On the other hand, the administrative agencies are already considerable and will grow as the work under the Economic and Social Council

matures—and that of the Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, the Trusteeship Council, the Food and Agriculture Organization, to say nothing of police functions, financial and monetary functions, developments in the field of trade, transportation and communications, reconstruction and atomic controls. The Economic Commission on Europe held its first plenary meeting (eighteen members represented) in Paris in July; the International Refugee Organization is on the way. These all have important administrative responsibilities.

To these activities should be added the consideration of two great planetary areas—the air and the seas. Neither can be walled off by frontiers, nor are they bound up by the infinitely close ties which unite most human beings to specific bits of the earth's surface. By their nature they would seem destined to be brought under international control.

There was a strong tendency between the wars toward actual internationalization of aviation. Proposals brought forward by different governments at the Disarmament Conference in 1932 were surprisingly bold and far-reaching and today sound almost incredible.

Aviation was a young growth, not too deeply rooted to be amenable to over-all planning. Its commercial development in the fifteen years since has been enormous, and military aviation launched undreamed-of air forces for the governments at war. The future of military air force today is bound up in two crucial problems now under slow and difficult consideration—disarmament and international policing.

AS REGARDS THE WATERS OF THE world the situation is very different. The field, old as it is, is still relatively open and it seems that a measure of actual internationalization might be relatively easy to realize.

To begin with, if the history of air power is short, that of sea power is long, and it is one that clearly demonstrates the need for wide and wise organization. For it is a story of anarchy, broken by periods of the temporary supremacy of imperial powers. For ages water-borne traffic was a matter of small vessels at the wind's mercy and of voyages which necessarily hugged the shore as much as possible. As navies evolved, one

power after another rose and secured, in some sense, command of the seas. The breakup of the Roman Empire with its *Pax Oceanica* was followed by a period of raiding and of complete insecurity, both for peaceful shipping and for the unhappy populations within reach of the water.

As Europe became more highly organized in the modern period, anarchy was replaced by a great struggle for sea power between a relatively few great states till Britannia succeeded in ruling the waves. Her power has had its beneficent side. She took it on herself to keep order and put down piracy. In this period, the seas were surveyed and charted by modern methods, lighthouses and buoys multiplied, and in times when no war was in progress, the seas were in practice open.

As Arnold-Forster says in his book, "The New Freedom of the Seas":

For a century Britain had used her naval power to maintain a sort of *Pax Oceanica*; she has used her navy as an instrument of national policy, certainly, but she had also made it into a shield for the Americas and something of a protection for the weaker European Powers. If her statesmen had become used to speaking of Britannia's sway with preposterous smugness, there was some excuse . . . and there was, so long as no international order existed, very good ground for their anxiety lest Britain should lose the power to protect her sea-borne supplies with her own right arm. . . .

No democratic leader had yet tried to explain that a new situation was arising in which Britannia could not expect, and should not try, to rule all waves all the time.

Whatever the merits of the naval peace maintained by Britain, conflict was always implicit in it as to rights at sea in time of war. Students of international law debated, statesmen quarreled, and naval commanders shed the blood of their men over the rights of neutral vessels, neutral cargoes, the right of search and blockades, especially in connection with narrow waterways like the Dardanelles and the Suez Canal. The whole complex of problems implied in the term Freedom of the Seas was an endless source of trouble.

Moreover, naval supremacy, however temperately employed, was increasingly felt as a provocation by other powers. Germany's effort to make herself an effective rival played

a major part in the outbreak of war in 1914, and Japan's resentment of her naval inferiority played its part in the recent war. The United States also, with its growing naval power, was increasingly a challenge to British supremacy until in 1922, Britain, with her extraordinary genius for political realism, accepted the shift of power and agreed to parity with the United States. Neither Germany nor Japan was pleased with this solution.


AS TO THE CONCEPTION OF FREEDOM of the Seas, the international ideas of President Wilson injected an entirely new element, the importance of which lies especially in the future. In a speech on May 27, 1916, he put forward a concept which foreshadowed the League of Nations. His proposal included a suggestion for "universal association of the nations to maintain the inviolate security of the highway of the seas for the common and unhindered use to all the nations of the world."

In formulating his fourteen points he demanded "absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants." This point rests, of course, upon the fundamental proposal of "a general association of nations" (Cf. Arnold-Forster, pp. 70-71).

Britain, still mistress of the seas, was not then ready to accept Freedom of the Seas in Wilson's sense nor to entrust the protection of her interests at sea to any power but her own and the United States—not ready even to enter the League of Nations, on which Wilson's proposals were based, on Wilson's terms.

During the interwar period, 1919-1939, a considerable alteration in the balance of power occurred, as already stated, but the shift in naval balance, while it led to the principle of American-British parity, did not clear up the old controversies. When Britain was at war and America neutral, this caused a dangerous bitterness until the conversion of the United States into an ally made the issue of neutral rights irrelevant for the time.

There have been a good many suggestions for internationalization of straits and canals and even of the
(Continued on page 555)



The Permanent Headquarters of the United Nations

"It is often, all too often, said that we are heading toward a new disaster. It is far less often said that the situation is also potentially very promising and that we can, if we all strive for it, move quickly and steadily toward a new era of peace, prosperity and civilization. It is this latter belief which has the United Nations as its chief exponent."—Trygve Lie, Secretary General.

HUGH R. POMEROY

THE UNEASY HOPES OF MANKIND today center on a sliver of land on the eastern shore of Manhattan Island, where there is about to be built a headquarters for the effort of the nations jointly to deal with world problems—the one piece of land in all the world owned by all the world.

This United Nations headquarters, made possible last December by the gift of \$8,500,000 by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., may be in time one of New York City's proudest distinctions. Plans for the new buildings have been presented to the world already, plans of which the Director of Planning, Wallace K. Harrison, could say with pride, "The world hopes for a symbol of peace; we have given them a workshop for peace."

Amidst the troubled discussions of the General Assembly perhaps the point of greatest agreement about the UN concerns the possibilities of site and design. They are magnificent.

Every day the trucks, bulldozers and cranes, and swarms of workmen, proceed unruffled at the task of clearing the site to bring the UN home into being. Here is going to be a place for the UN to live. It is a reassurance and an appeal to confidence.

But as to the nondescript and rather derelict area surrounding the site, there is about as much disagreement as in the General Assembly itself. New York City has done what it was asked to do, promptly and competently, and it is spending \$15,000,000 on the job. That is no trifle. And there, as of the present, it stops. Around the site, the setting for coming grandeur and significance, the city is inactive, and anxious experts see the location as throttled by narrow approaches and slums.

POLITICALLY, the UN is the dream of mankind, the hope for peace.

As architecture, the UN development is a vision into the future.

And from the viewpoint of city planning, it is a foreign body, an unassimilated lump, an unrealized opportunity and a heartbreak.

Here is what the development is to consist of, as now sketched:—

The site extends along the East River from Forty-second Street to

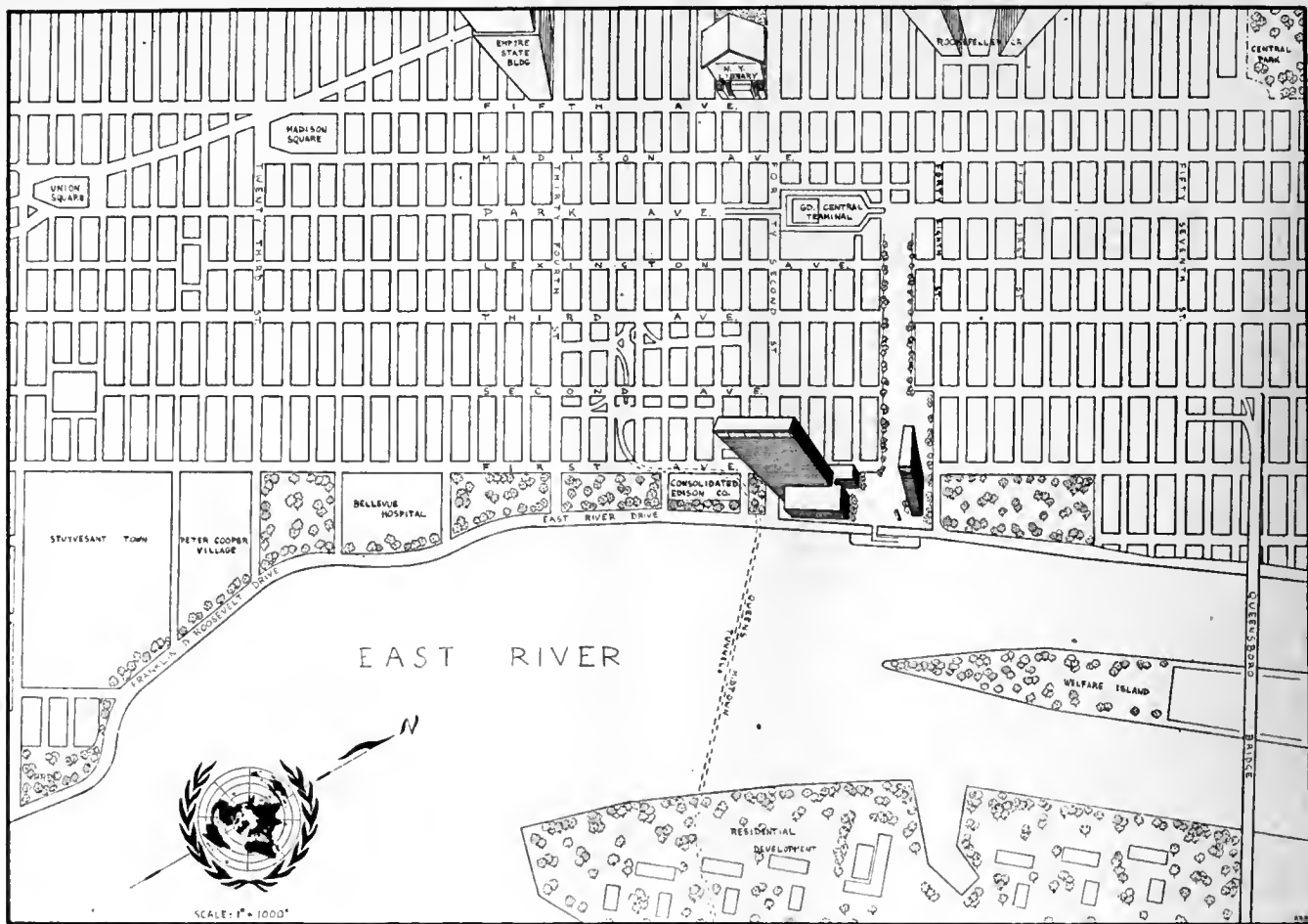
—By the director of the department of planning of Westchester County, New York, and former president of the American Institute of Planners.

Forty-eighth, nearly a quarter of a mile, and westward to First Avenue, or six blocks, eighteen acres in area.

It is planned now to erect two office buildings of forty and twenty-five stories, with lower buildings for assembly chambers and meeting halls. The buildings are planned to accommodate the present staff of about 3,200 and a possible future expansion of 2,000 more. As a comparison, the daily working population of Rockefeller Center is 30,000, on a site of three blocks or slightly more than twelve acres.

The principal surface material of the buildings will be glass, and the result—within the site itself—will have a grandeur in its functional simplicity, a vitality, that will contrast dramatically with the stereotyped tombstones of Washington. The architectural conception was by the best, ten eminent consultants from ten nations.

The architects themselves became enamored of their work, and the famous Le Corbusier of France, having started in something of a rage at Manhattan, concluded by saying, "New York will not, after all, crush the UN in receiving it. On the contrary the UN will bring to a head



Map by A. R. Posnjak

Isolation of UN Splendors . . .

New York's long expected crisis, through which New York will find the ways and means to resolve its urbanistic deadlock, then effecting upon itself a startling metamorphosis . . . Life has spoken."

The Rockefeller gift was conditioned on various necessary give-and-take arrangements, such as condemnation of land to complete the site, closing of streets within the site and widening of boundary streets. A tunnel is to be constructed under First Avenue for the length of the site, diverting commercial and non-local traffic. Relatively insignificant zoning changes have been made in areas immediately adjacent. Billboards and signs are to be limited. At the edge of the site in Forty-second Street there is now a tunnel forty feet wide, through the rocky spine of the island, and this is to be widened to a hundred feet. The principal approach is to be made through Forty-seventh Street, beginning at First Avenue, 160 feet wide, but it stops at Second Avenue, one block away.

Off the site, the problem, and

the disagreements, begin, and the housing planners' heartbreak becomes a misery. What is going to be done about the approaches, and the surrounding territory? Is New York going to create a proper setting for the splendor that fell into its hands? Here is the challenge of a lasting problem, and as yet nothing is being done about it by either the city or UN.

The monumental approach gets nowhere. The site remains virtually isolated. The surroundings offer a field day to speculation and architectural chaos.

The lead in the protest has been taken by the committee on civic design and development of the New York chapter of the American Institute of Architects. Rallying behind them are the Citizens Union, the Citizen's Housing Council, scattered real estate dealers, planners, and a few aroused citizens. Without dogmatic specifications, the protests still have been definite, and the general appeal is simply for vision.

Most inspiring of all has been the plan contributed by Sven Markelius,

distinguished Swedish member of the UN Board of Design Consultants.

The New York architects asked for the city to move toward the replanning and re-zoning of the whole area surrounding the site, from the Queens Mid-Town Tunnel entrance at Thirty-sixth Street northward, to the Queensboro Bridge at Fifty-ninth Street, from the river to Park Avenue. And while waiting for the development of detailed plans, it asked that "some special interim type of zone surrounding the United Nations area be established in order to prevent chaotic speculative development which might hamper the accomplishment of an appropriate plan."

The Markelius plan is more detailed, calling for the parking of the river front for a mile and a half south from the site and for a residence development to house UN staff members on the opposite side of the river. But all the protests are in agreement on the basic need—which is that the UN site be given a worthy setting and relationship toward the rest of the city.



Duryea

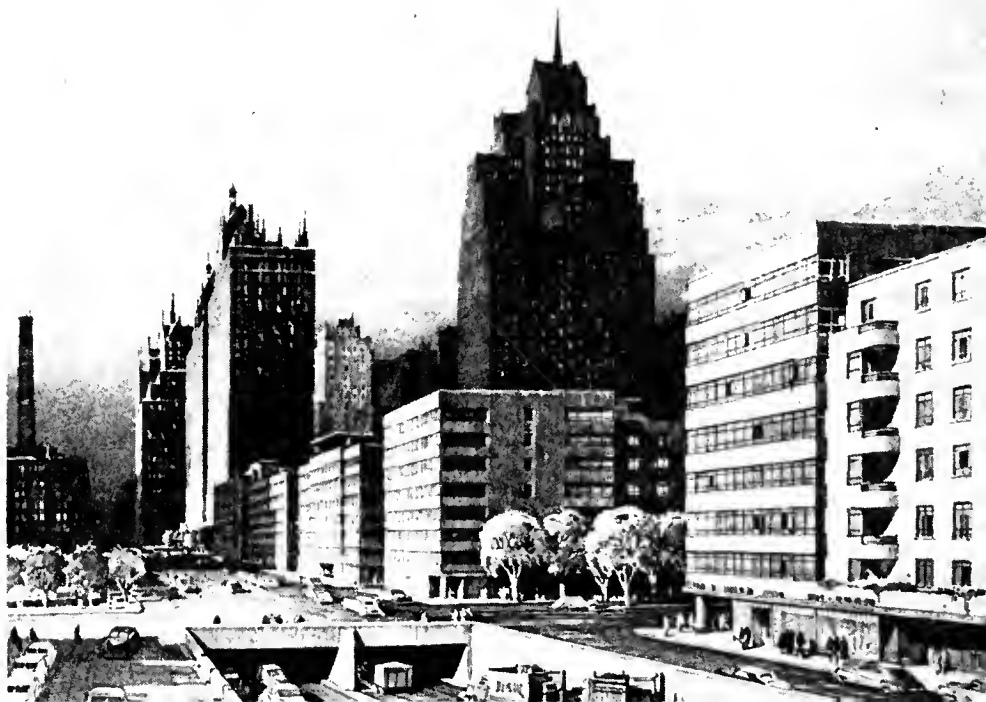
... Protested by City Planners

United Nations headquarters as it might be (*left*)—map based on the Markelius conception, integrating site with neighboring areas. Present intentions of city authorities have no such scope.

Architectural rendering (*above*) of UN buildings on the East River bank, including territory covered by the map. In the center towers the Empire State Building, tallest in the world; white buildings to the right are Rockefeller Center.

First Avenue underpass (*right*), one of the most extensive alterations actually undertaken by the city, to divert commercial traffic. Looking south from Forty-eighth Street, the UN site lies to the left, the tall buildings are the Tudor City apartments, low-lying apartments, right, are imagined, tenements now prevailing.

The map represents the dream of architects and protesting experts, with parking of the river banks, a real traffic link with Park Avenue through Forty-sixth and Forty-seventh Streets, and slum clearance on both sides of the river.



"If the United Nations can't agree about the one simple fundamental aim of food, there's nothing on God's earth they will agree about."—Sir John Boyd Orr

Food for All Mankind

SIR JOHN BOYD ORR

THERE WAS A TIME WHEN SOME thought world unity could be brought about by world conquest. That is a foolish thought. Napoleon tried it in Europe and ended a miserable exile in St. Helena. Hitler tried it and perished amongst the ruins of a great country which he pulled down over his head.

We cannot get world unity by war. The only thing war will bring about is the complete destruction of the whole structure of human society which has been laboriously built up during the past centuries.

The other and sane method of bringing about international unity is to get the nations to cooperate with each other for their mutual advantage. It is common interest which draws people together in a common bond.

During the war, the great leaders seemed to realize the only hope of preventing another war was cooperation. The United Nations has not been the success it was hoped it would be. This, as I see it, is due

to the fact that nations are too much concerned with abstract ideological and political ideas. They don't define the things they are talking about. The USSR says it wants a democratic form of government; the United States says it wants a democratic form of government. Well, what are they quarreling about?

If we are going to get cooperation of the nations on things of common interest we must begin to talk about realities. Now the specialized agencies of the United Nations were set up for that very purpose. FAO deals with food—we can state the need for food in terms of tons; it deals with timber—we can state the requirements of the world for timber. The World Bank was set up to provide a fund to enable nations to get the capital equipment necessary to develop their resources. It is possible to talk of concrete things needed and of the credits needed in terms of dollars, or pounds, or francs, or of tons or feet. We state the resources and needs of the world in terms of known units.

These organizations can get down to business on tangible items if the governments of the world want them to be effective agents for international cooperation.

If they are successful in such material things, then world government will gradually evolve through the performance of the functions of government.

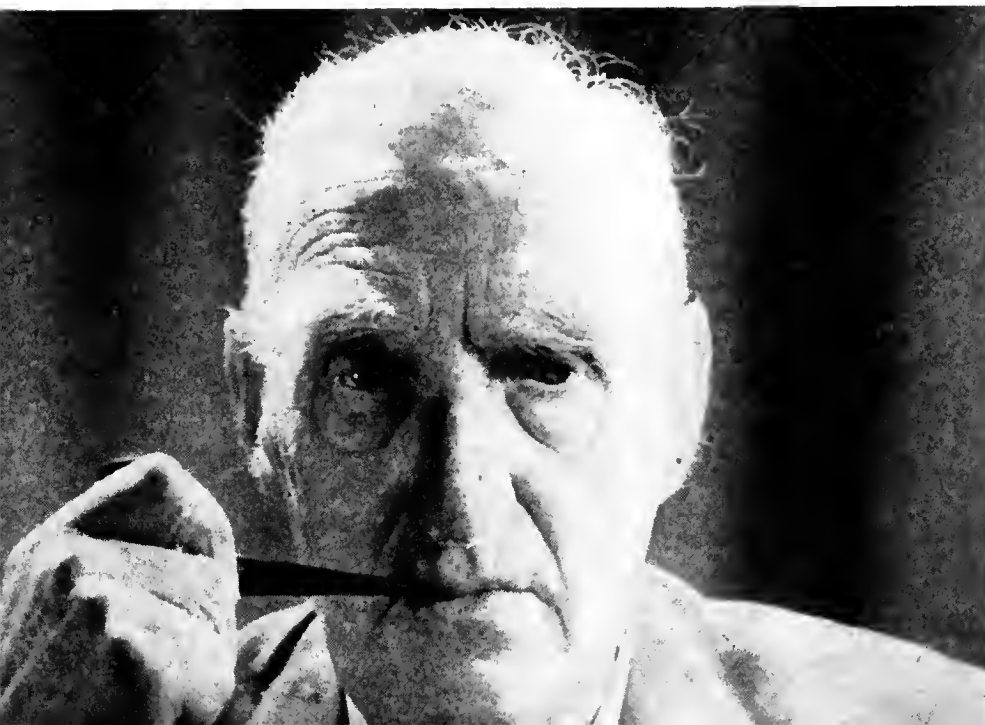
The first function of any government which has the interest of the people at heart is to provide the primary necessities of life for the people governed.

The first duty of any United Nations organization is to do precisely that for all the people of the world.

Now when plans are put forward for developing the resources of the world for the benefit of the people of the world the usual question arises: Where is the money to come from? Today great nations are spending nearly one third of their total national income preparing for war. The best scientific brains are being drawn in to devise improved atomic bombs and up-to-date chemical and bacteriological warfare.

If a fraction of that money were devoted to the work of the specialized agencies of the United Nations it would be sufficient to enable them to begin immediately the great task of providing all mankind with the necessities for a full life.

If the people of the world were



—Sir John Boyd Orr, the amazing Scotsman who has vitalized the concern of two hemispheres not merely over fending against famine, but in the practical possibilities for abundance, has just been reelected director general of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization.

Farmer, physician, ranking nutritionist, he has long been director of the Rowett Research Institute at Aberdeen, which pioneered in expanding its program from animal to human conservation.

The text herewith is drawn from his addresses before the opening sessions of the Third Annual Conference of the FAO (Geneva August 25-September 12), and also from an earlier address before the World Convention for World Federal Government (Montreaux). The World Food Council which he advocated was created at the meeting. The clarity and fire which vitalized his presentment give it an enduring quality.

assured that this would be done, we could call on the men who are at present fighting in half a dozen wars throughout the world to lay down their arms and take up the plough to provide food and the tools to produce clothing and housing. We could say to the farmers and agricultural workers of the world, you can use agricultural science to produce to the limit with the assurance that there will be a market for all you can produce. We could say to the industrial people, there is a market for all that can be produced for many years ahead. We could say to the financiers, here is a profitable field for investment in world markets.

These are the only two courses open for the world today: drifting into war; or getting together in world unity to develop plans for the benefit of the people of all countries.

WE OF THE FAO MUST DEAL WITH problems of the utmost gravity. First, there is the continuing shortage of food. Next winter and spring many millions in Europe will be worse fed, three years after the termination of hostilities, than they were during the war. In Asia, where hunger and malnutrition have been so long the lot of the majority of the population, there is little hope of any substantial improvement this year.

This state of partial famine affecting nearly half the population of the world is causing untold misery and suffering among our fellowmen. Continued hunger tends to reduce people to a sub-human level. This state of affairs is continuing so long that there is a danger that the conscience of the world will become blunted—that such misery will be considered normal and the efforts of governments and private organizations will slacken off.

In the immediate future there is danger of another kind. The war-devastated countries are working hard to increase food production. Owing to lack of foreign credits which would enable them to purchase food from abroad, there will be a tendency for countries which before the war were large importers of food to become as nearly self-supporting as possible. This may cause the appearance of unmarketable surpluses in countries which in the last seven years have increased production to relieve the food shortages. This, in turn, may take us back to the chaotic conditions

(Continued on page 560)



Plenty—combine owner in a record wheat harvest of Canadian Northwest

“THE WORLD IS RICH”

REPRESENTATIVES of thirty-one nations a month ago witnessed the world premier of this new Paul Rotha production at the FAO Conference in Geneva. In a sense, it is a sequel to “The World of Plenty,” first shown at the initial wartime food conference at Hot Springs, Va., (May 1943) and since seen by an estimated seventy million people.

The new film projects the challenge into the postwar years—with screen spokesmen Sir John Orr and Fiorello LaGuardia. In a kindling speech, the former director general of UNRRA drives home the opportunity of our age to “distribute the blessings of nature to all people.”

With Mr. Rotha as producer, Michael Orom as associate director, the picture was made by Films of Fact Ltd., under commission from the Central Office of Information, London, in collaboration with the British Ministry of Food. The script was written by Arthur Calder Marshall. Animated diagrams were designed by The Isotype Institute at Oxford, which was founded by the late Otto Neurath, some of whose first work appeared in *Survey Graphic*.

The British Information Service, Rockefeller Plaza, New York, has charge of distribution of the film in America.

Scarcity—Bengal farmer caught by drought in Far East ricefields



How to Use the Atom Peaceably

Industry will profit—though still needing dynamos—and nature's bounty can be conserved. Medicine, agriculture, and research are due to flourish.

WALDEMAR KAEMPFERT

MORE THAN TWO YEARS HAVE PASSED since Hiroshima and Nagasaki were reduced to rubble. Even the sober physicists who invented the atomic bomb were as startled by these events as the banker in his office and the taxicab driver on the street. Atomic energy released at last! Journalists in imagination crowded the highways with impossible automobiles driven by atomic energy, filled the air with fantastic planes similarly propelled, and envisioned whole cities deriving their power from a pound or two of uranium. Utopia was just around the corner, a utopia of energy so cheap that it would not pay to read meters.

There was, however, no flurry in the stock market. Oil and coal companies were not in the least disturbed when they read that fuel burning in a furnace to raise steam was soon to be as quaint as spinning by hand. The electric light and power companies even ordered new steamboilers and generating machinery to take the place of equipment that had been driven too hard during the war.

Just what are we to expect of atomic energy in peace? Will it bring about a second industrial revolution? Engineers are willing to concede that atomic energy plants have their place in our economy either as stand-by plants in big cities or as major power producers in regions where coal brings more than ten or twelve dollars a ton in carload lots. They point out that, as of August 31, 1945, the generating capacity of this country was somewhat more than 62,430,000 kilowatts, so that there was no dearth of electric power, contrary to what romancers were telling us.

Coal-burning plants are so efficient that they burn no more than a pound of coal per horsepower per hour. Current is now sold in large cities at from three to five cents a kilowatt-hour, and the cost of the fuel represented by this retail price is as low as a quarter of a cent, rarely higher

—The distinguished and veteran science editor of the New York Times views our current nightmare without panic and points out the blessings which may flow from the force loosed over Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. The explainer of the scientific progress of mankind's most inquisitive generation, Mr. Kaempffert here outlines his view of atomic energy's social future. He has been a valued contributor to Survey Graphic on several past occasions.

♦

than a half. Where does the rest of the money go? It pays for distribution of electricity, for administration, for meter reading, for maintenance of equipment, for bookkeeping and for fifty other items that would remain even in a utopia where atomic energy is plentiful. Any competitor of coal and oil will have to make deep inroads into that fraction of a cent for fuel.

In regions in which there are hydro-electric plants atomic energy has no chance at all. Falling water costs nothing, but pure uranium, of the kind designated by the atomic weight 238, costs at least \$20 a pound and the much scarcer 235, with which the bomb that wrecked Hiroshima was charged, at least \$7,000 a pound and possibly twice as much. Optimists offset these costs by arguing that the energy output of a pound of pure uranium 235, a mass about as big as a golf ball, is equivalent to that of 1,500 tons of coal, or 250,000 gallons of oil or gasoline, or 80,000,000 cubic feet of street gas, or 40,000,000 cubic feet of natural gas.

ALL BUT PHYSICISTS AND ENGINEERS are apt to forget that we can no more utilize atomic energy directly in houses for light and heat than we can run trains by strokes of lightning.

The scarce form of 235 must be bombarded by particles called neu-

trons. The uranium is split and more neutrons fly out to strike more uranium 235 and also uranium 238. In this process only the uranium 235 is split; the uranium 238 captures neutrons and is thereby changed into plutonium, which has its uses both as an explosive and as a generator of energy in a power plant. Just as constant pounding with a hammer will heat a piece of iron, so this bombardment in a chain reaction generates heat. At Oak Ridge, the heat passes into the atmosphere, at Hanford it warms the Columbia River an imperceptible fraction of a degree.

Engineers grit their teeth at such waste. The Army apologizes and explains that during the war it was not interested in heat but in bombs, that it now has at Oak Ridge a pilot plant which will show what is the best process of utilizing waste heat and at what cost. For lack of engineering facts and cost figures, everything that has thus far been written on the peacetime utilization of atomic energy in the electric light and power industry is pure speculation, some of it much too wild for serious consideration.

It is the heat generated in a chain reaction that must be captured, either to be used directly in a gas turbine or to boil water and raise steam to drive a turbine, which in turn drives a dynamo. The boiler room of a power house will be different from the one of today when atomic energy competes with fuel, but everything beyond the boiler room will remain exactly as it is. So far as outward appearances go, New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, any city, will not be aware of any change. There will be the same transmission lines, the same substations, the same distribution system, the same meters, the same electric lights, the same vacuum cleaners, the same toasters, the same trolley cars.

The degree of adaptation demanded of us when a new invention is introduced is the test of social change. The

introduction of nylon called for hardly any adaptation on our part, but the introduction of the skyscraper, the railway and the automobile did. Change within science and technology always means social change, and the degree of technologic change that it brings about is a good measure of any invention's social influence. Thus tested, the release of atomic energy calls for no changes in folkways or living habits and hence for no social revolution.

THERE ARE ECONOMIC FACTORS, TOO, that must be painted into this picture. According to a survey made by the Atomic Energy Commission for the United Nations, an atomic power plant of 75,000 kilowatt capacity could be built in the eastern part of the United States for \$25,000,000, with interest at three percent. A coal-power plant of the same size in the same location would cost no more than \$10,000,000. The uranium for a large atomic power plant would be a capital investment, inasmuch as it might cost several million dollars.

Such comparisons assume that some difficult technical problems have been solved. Most important of these is that presented by radiation. We know that radiologists in hospitals must shield themselves with lead screens from X-rays, and that radium sends forth rays that are deadly.

The rays that are given off by what is called a "pile,"—a lattice structure of uranium rods embedded in graphite—are of a power with which no radiologist has had to contend. Hence the uranium "pile" of the smallest practicable atomic power plant must be housed in a mass of concrete and steel which will weigh at least fifty tons and which must be five feet thick. No one will venture near the "pile" when it is in operation. Rods of uranium which have served their purpose must be removed by remote control. At Oak Ridge and Hanford this problem of radiation has been so admirably solved that to date no workman has suffered.

In a power plant new problems must be faced, problems which can undoubtedly be solved if enough money is spent for research. The most important of these is that of preventing the rays from activating the water that is to be heated and hence the steam that passes into the turbines by which dynamos are spun. Cooling water flows through tubes



Wide World
The new towering cloud on the world's horizon — Bikini, 1946

in what is called a heat exchanger, which is a sort of boiler. Heat from the uranium pile boils this water in the tubes and so raises steam.

Obviously the tubes must be of the right material and the right thickness. They must be hermetically tight. If there is so much as a hiss of steam from a tiny leak the effect will be like that of four alarms in a fire house. We know what happened to the Japanese at Hiroshima who were a mile away from the explosion that destroyed their homes—know of the powerful rays that made blood ooze through the skin and killed white blood cells. Work in a coal power plant is not especially hazardous; in an atomic power plant it may become so unless there is incessant vigilance and an elaborate inspection and alarm system. Water that may be radioactive cannot flow into the usual drain because it might contaminate a river. A radioactive rat killed in a trap cannot even be buried lest it be dug up by some prowling animal or affect the soil for weeks.

It is this matter of protection from radiation in general that reduces to

absurdity the prospect of running an automobile or an airplane with nothing but a lump of uranium. A steam-roller would be a graceful vehicle compared with an automobile that had to be armored with fifty tons of steel. Steamships, on the other hand, could easily carry the weight of very large shields. For them atomic energy would have decided advantages. "Fuel," if so uranium can be called, would be consumed so slowly that it would be unnecessary to fill bunkers at the end of every transatlantic voyage. A liner might cover a million miles before it had to replenish the "pile" of uranium in its furnace. The space that must now be given over to oil or coal could therefore be devoted to other more profitable purposes.

This means much to the naval architect. He will be able to install larger and more powerful turbines and attain unprecedented speeds, and he can provide more armor. The United States and Great Britain are already considering the possibilities that lie in atomically driven war vessels. If the United Nations or some Atomic Development Authority of the kind proposed by Bernard Baruch permits them to do so, the great transatlantic steamships companies will build atomic liners that will be even faster than the "Queen Elizabeth" and "Queen Mary."

IN THE LIGHT OF THESE ENGINEERING and economic facts, it must be concluded that uranium in well developed countries will be a supplementary source of energy and that it is not likely to become a primary source, even if present high prices of ordinary fuels should be increased by as much as 50 percent.

Labor unions, nevertheless, cannot afford to ignore the relation of atomic energy to coal mining. This relationship has been overlooked in all speculations on the future of atomic energy. No one knows what wages may yet be paid to coal miners and consequently at what price fuel may yet be sold. If the price of coal should reach \$12 a ton in carload lots not far from the mine, it is probable that, even in the industrial East and Middle West, central stations and great manufacturing corporations will turn to uranium. The transition would be marked by a dramatic technological struggle on the part of mining companies to extract coal more efficiently and to utilize it more rationally.



Photos from Press Association

Hiroshima. Aftermath of the atom in its role of desolator and nightmare—

twenty or thirty years we may expect a revolution in the coal areas. Coal will be converted into gas at the mine and piped to communities a thousand miles distant, just as we now pipe natural gas from Amarillo, Texas, to Chicago; the tar will be saved and sold to chemical factories; the coke will go to steel mills.

All this was technically and economically possible sixty and seventy years ago. We needed a spur to action. It may be that in atomic energy we have that spur.

Since the cost of fuel determines when and where atomic power plants will be erected we have reason to conclude that countries like Brazil may rapidly rise to industrial importance. We have the possibility of developing a Brazilian iron and steel industry with the aid of atomic power. Brazil is poor in coal but rich in iron ore, manganese, and in thorium, a radioactive element from which energy can be obtained just as easily as from uranium.

On the other hand, the prospect is dim of electrifying tropical islands and raising the living standards of their half naked primitives by creating industrial centers with the aid of atomic energy, or of converting the Desert of Sahara, by atomically driven irrigation pumps, into a lush agricultural region. Over a wide equatorial belt that girdles the earth there is not much fuel, but much sunshine. For at least a century it has been possible to utilize solar engines in the economically more promising parts of this belt. Solar engines cover much ground, it is true, but land is cheap; solar radiation costs nothing; and there are ways of storing up heat at night or when a rare cloud passes.

Is it likely that capitalists or governments that considered it economically expedient to exploit the tropics—in accordance with technological and economic principles that were old and socially reprehensible when Captain Cook embarked on his famous voyage—are likely to be impressed by the potentialities of atomic power plants of which the cheapest will cost \$25,000,000? There may be a chance for atomically driven rock drills where gold is plentiful, as in New Guinea, and it may be that a healthy textile industry could rise in Egypt, which grows some of the world's finest cotton, but the odds are against any sudden technological

The invention of the Welsbach lamp made it possible for the gas burner to compete for a time with the electric lamp of Edison, and the invention of the Diesel locomotive holds back the electrification of railways. When wages rise it becomes profitable to invent and introduce processes and machines that were once too expensive for consideration. In the printing industry each new demand for higher wages was met by protests that their concession meant ruin, but the higher wages were always offset by such innovations as linotypes, monotypes, stereotyping machines, and faster presses.

We saw what happened when, at the insistence of the American Federation of Labor, we restricted immigration—saw how engineers promptly developed ditch-digging machines that gnaw trenches across half a continent, ore-unloaders that discharge a cargo of 10,000 tons in half a day at a cost that cannot be matched by Italians or Poles with wheelbarrows, steam shovels that scoop up a cart-load of dirt at a time, strip-mills that account for deserted villages in the Pennsylvania steel district.

If the coal companies should lose the solid fuel market and if better

ways of splitting atoms than we have—and better ways of utilizing the heat that results from the splitting—are invented, we shall have reason to rejoice. Every time we shovel coal into a furnace we are guilty of what ought to be regarded as a criminal destruction of chemical values. If we burnt up the corner drug store to cook and keep warm we could hardly be more reckless in our utilization of solid and liquid fuel than we are; for coal and oil should be used solely as raw materials for the chemical industry.

AS IT IS, WE NOT ONLY POLLUTE THE air of cities by burning raw fuel, but we toss away many tons of photographic developer, healing drugs, perfumes and flavors that are chemically like those obtained from plants, dyes that duplicate every color in the visible spectrum. All this has been harped on by organic chemists for fifty years, with no deep effect on the thinking of financiers, business men, or governments.

It may well be that the introduction of atomic energy will hasten the much too slow process of bringing us to our senses. If the price of coal and oil should be doubled in the next

change, if the history of solar power teaches anything.

SOMEONE HAS CALLED URANIUM "atomic dynamite." He had in mind the terrific explosions that devastated Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Dynamite suggests mining, the easy blasting of a canal across Nicaragua, or a tunnel under a river, excavations in rock to receive the foundations of bridges and skyscrapers. But the physicist points to the perils of radioactivity. Whether atomic energy is suddenly released in an explosion, or under control in the "furnace" of a power plant, this radioactivity may be deadly. A boiler and its pipes can be effectively shielded, but if rock is to be blasted an explosion must be free. The patch of soil in New Mexico which bore the brunt of the first experimental atomic explosion in the summer of 1945 was radioactive for weeks, and the ships that survived the under-water test at Bikini were dangerously radioactive for months.

It may be that when a tunnel is to be blasted through a mountain, a small mass of uranium may be more effective than a commercial explosive; but when we remember that radioactive debris must lie in place perhaps for a year before it can be loaded into flat cars and hauled away, it seems more likely that engineers will follow conventional methods. So must it be when gold, silver, copper, and other metals are to be mined. Only in driving rock-drills has atomic energy much of a chance in mining or tunneling.

Radioactivity, which is the principal obstacle to the introduction of atomic energy, is not only a menace but a blessing. When uranium 235 is split by bombarding neutrons, the halves are no longer uranium but may be barium, krypton (a rare gas), carbon, or some other elements. These products of the original uranium atoms are radioactive for periods that may vary from seconds to weeks and months.

"Isotopes" is the technical name for such fragments, meaning "same place." But same place in what? The table of elements. At the top of that table stands hydrogen, lightest of all; at the bottom stands uranium, heaviest of all. Most of these elements have their variants. There are three forms of hydrogen, for example, designated by the numbers, one, two, and three; several of lead, carbon,

iron, and so down the list. The chemist cannot distinguish one form of hydrogen or carbon from its isotope or variant, but the physicist can, and this because the isotopes of an element differ in weight. Sometimes they also differ in being radioactive.

We did not need Oak Ridge or Hanford to teach us that there are isotopes; they had been produced by atom-smashing machines, called cyclotrons, years ago. But the isotopes produced in a pile of uranium are more abundant and much cheaper. The physicists who gave us the atomic bomb, and who still shudder when they think of the military consequences of their work, extract much comfort from these isotopes.

Hydrogen, for example, is a constituent of all fats. Feed a rat with a fat made of heavy hydrogen and it becomes possible to find out where the hydrogen lodges and just how the body utilizes it. The fat composed of heavy hydrogen can easily be distinguished from ordinary fat by its weight. With the aid of heavy hydrogen, the late Dr. Rudolf Schoenheimer found that physiologists had the wrong conception of the way the body utilizes fat. According to the text books the body draws on its fat when it needs any, leaving it to be supposed that old fat is utilized before new fat. Schoenheimer showed that the body is just as likely to burn

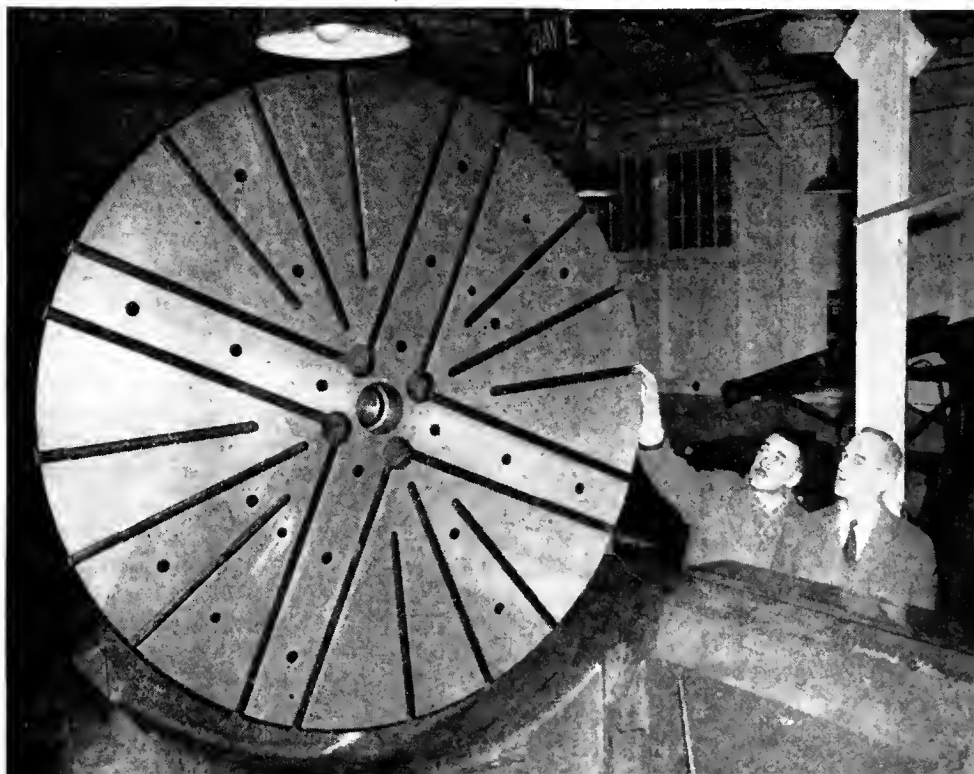
up a new molecule of fat as it is an old one. By utilizing the isotopes of nitrogen as tracers, much has been learned about the conversion of protein (largely nitrogen) into useful tissue.

The radioactive isotopes that come from the pile at Oak Ridge are already a boon. Radioactive iodine, for example, which is now used effectively in the treatment of some thyroid abnormalities, costs \$1,600 a dose when produced by a cyclotron; the same radioactive iodine that comes from Oak Ridge costs no more than a few dollars, hospital fees included. Radioactive phosphorus from a cyclotron costs about two dollars a unit; from a pile only thirty-two cents.

More than one thousand shipments of radioactive isotopes had been made from Oak Ridge up to August 1, 1947. These isotopes are used as tracers in living organisms. In the National Institute of Health a way has been found to tag bacteria with radioactive chemicals, so that we can almost see the battle waged against invading infections and antibodies. The tobacco virus has been tagged, with the prospect that the method can be applied to other viruses, including those that cause influenza and infantile paralysis.

Some of these radioactive isotopes have been used experimentally in dealing with cancer, because they are

Brookhaven National Laboratory now functions where Camp Upton prepared two generations of American youth for war. With ten million federal dollars the lab will have facilities for study of all aspects of peaceful atomicity.



Peaceable Atom

highly selective in their action. Suppose that if they were injected, they would seek out a tumor and, leaving healthy tissue alone, irradiate that with powerful rays for a few days and then lapse into inactivity.

THIS IS MORE THAN PURE FANTASY. It has been discovered at the University of California that some short-lived radioactive elements and compounds have this very selective action, so that it is possible to treat cancer of the bone with radioactive calcium.

In the Barnard Free Skin and Cancer Hospital of St. Louis, radioactive isotopes from the Clinton laboratories have enabled physicians to deal more effectively with congestive heart failure by noting how sodium escapes with water from blood vessels and causes death by dropsy. Leukemia, lymphoma, and Hodgkin's disease, all forms of cancer, are treated with radiogold. Red cells can be tagged and followed through the entire body, with the result that coronary thrombosis is now better understood.

With radioiron it is now possible to find out the rate at which red blood cells are made and how iron is absorbed and utilized in the body, which means that physicians are already dealing with anemia more effectively. Penicillin and other drugs are tagged with radioactive chemicals with the certainty that the manner in which they stop microbes from multiplying will soon be known.

Out in Honolulu, where Dr. George Burr directs a laboratory for the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, carbon dioxide has been tagged and the hitherto unsuspected fact discovered that sugar formed in a single leaf of a large cane is distributed in three days to every root and shoot. At the University of Florida radioactive cobalt and copper, both needed by animals and plants, are traced from the soil through grass into the cows that eat the grass and through the cow to the bottle-fed baby.

All this does not mean that the uranium pile will supplant the cyclotron. Some isotopes cannot be produced in a pile at all. The point is that formerly only a few university professors were able to experiment with the isotopes; soon there will be several hundred so engaged and biology, in general, and physiology, in particular, should receive a new and powerful impulse and living processes which are still mysteries may be revealed in all their details.

It follows that the revolution of which we have heard so much is more likely to occur in fundamental biological science, in physiology, and in medicine rather than in folkways or in industry.

President Truman's announcement at the International Cancer Research Congress at St. Louis that radioisotopes will be made available for medical biological research abroad has done something to restore the confidence of scientists in our good

intentions. The isotopes are of no use to anybody who thinks of making atomic bombs, but they are the most important research tools discovered for centuries.

The step taken by the Administration is of no help in bringing the Russians to terms and thus solving the problem presented by the application of atomic energy in war and peace, but it does revive the hope that the free international exchange of scientific information — and exchange, moreover, which made it possible for us to learn of the fission of uranium by Hahn and Strassmann in the first place—will have fewer obstacles to overcome than it had in the past two years.

WITH THE BEST RESEARCH SCIENTISTS now able to obtain radioisotopes at low cost, medicine, biology, agriculture, physics, chemistry should be able to develop in new directions. Even metallurgy, and hence industry, are bound to profit. Too much emphasis has been laid on the part that the radioisotopes may play in finding a cure for cancer. It is the field of natural science as a whole that will benefit by the belated decision of this government to send radioisotopes wherever they can be used by qualified men.

We are still far from restoring the old freedom of communication in science but we have done something to remove the European impression that we intend to monopolize uranium and all the knowledge we have acquired about its fission-products.

This Was the Stuff with Which a Poem Was Made

MARY MARCH

THIS was the stuff with which a poem was made:
a wild lagoon, white dunes, a wind wide sky,
slim herons hunting, day dawn, day down to fade,
comic sagacious pelicans, Then why

no poem? The ocean blue beyond,
its downbeat strong, mellifluous, militant;
poet-in-residence was intensely fond
of this unhurried haunt's each visitant.

But, supper no salt, Paradise no rime.
Perception, apprehensive to perceive,
perceived nought. One night the wind-waked pine
married the moon. And that did not conceive

in poet's mind until—the pattern broke!
Against the sky a man and woman fused into a vise.
At last the poet woke.
Adam and Eve had come to Paradise.

Covenants for Exclusion

The rapid spread of ghetto restrictions makes moral farce of the Fourteenth Amendment. Will a clear-cut Supreme Court decision call halt?

LOREN MILLER

SOME TIME THIS FALL THE SUPREME Court of the United States will determine whether or not a Detroit family may continue to occupy its own home; at the same time it will decide whether a St. Louis family may retain title to residential property it has purchased.

The outcome of the cases, which will be argued shortly, will directly affect a one quarter Indian woman and her two one eighth Indian children in Hollywood, a Filipino student in San Francisco, a thrice decorated and wounded Chinese war veteran in Los Angeles, a half dozen Nisei veterans and their families on the West Coast, and numerous Negroes in such widely scattered cities as Washington, Chicago, San Francisco, Battle Creek, Atlanta, Columbus, Detroit, St. Louis, Oklahoma City, Omaha, New York, and Pasadena.

Indirectly, the decision will be of profound importance to all Americans because it will set at rest a long debated issue: *Are ghettos consonant with the American constitutional system and enforceable by legal process?* Many Americans will be shocked to learn that the question is open to debate and many others will deny that any such issue is involved.

The facts are that the Detroit and St. Louis families have been ordered out of their homes solely because they are Negroes. In the event their appeals fail, they can be fined and even jailed if they persist in remaining in the homes they have bought and paid for. Both have violated race restrictive covenants. The various other families mentioned—Indian, Filipino, Chinese, Japanese, Negro—are in the same boat; their cases are in various stages of trial and appeal in state courts.

Race restrictive covenants are, in the field of residence, the end result of that impulse toward racial segregation which arose in the post-Reconstruction period and has continued almost unabated down to our own

—*By a vice-president of the National Bar Association, who is a leading authority in race restrictive covenant cases.*

Loren Miller was born in Nebraska, attended Howard and Kansas Universities, has an LLB from Washburn Law School of Topeka. A member of the Bars of Kansas and California, he has practiced in California since 1935. He is a member of the national legal committee of NAACP and has been a newspaper man as well as frequent magazine contributor. Of his major interest he says:

"I really began specializing in race restrictive covenant cases out of the belief that the issue involved is one of prime importance to America."

time. Curiously, yet understandably enough, the first attempt to impose residential segregation by law was not made in the South but on the West Coast. In the midst of one of its recurrent anti-Oriental agitations, San Francisco passed an ordinance establishing a ghetto for Chinese. A federal district court promptly held it invalid for constitutional and treaty reasons.

BY THE TURN OF THE CENTURY, Negroes began deserting farms and villages of the South and moving cityward. That movement, which had grown into a fair sized flood by 1914, was swollen by the urban labor demands of World War I. Alarmed southern cities responded with ordinances designed to effect residential segregation and fashioned to escape the constitutional objections made to the San Francisco ordinance. Preambles to such measures recited that racial segregation was necessary to preserve interracial peace and prevent miscegenation. The text of the laws defined "Negro blocks" and "white blocks" with prohibitions against Negro residence in defined "white blocks" and white residence in "Negro blocks."

Relying on U. S. Supreme Court

decisions upholding segregation on railroads and other public facilities, state supreme courts promptly held such ordinances valid exercises of state police power. The question got to the U. S. Supreme Court in 1919 on a test of a typical Louisville enactment. The court scotched the whole scheme by deciding that any ordinance which prohibited occupancy of real property by members of a group solely because of race, was unconstitutional because it denied a would-be seller of property "due process of law" as guaranteed him by the Fourteenth Amendment. The holding is technical enough but it has thwarted attempts by cities or other political subdivisions to impose racial residential segregation by legislation.

Meanwhile a cloud no larger than a lawyer's pen was rising on the horizon. Undismayed, perhaps spurred, by the failure of the San Francisco ordinance, a group of San Diego property owners entered into an agreement against the Chinese, binding themselves not to sell to them or to lease, rent, or permit Chinese occupancy of property they then owned.

In due time one of the owners rented his building to a Chinese laundryman. Other signers of the agreement promptly asked the federal district court for an injunction restraining the Chinese from using or occupying the property, on the ground that he was violating a private contract. His lawyers defended him by appealing to Section I of the Fourteenth Amendment which provides that "No State shall . . . deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." Federal Judge Ross, later donor of the American Bar Association's famed Ross Prize, agreed, holding that:

Any result inhibited by the Constitution can no more be accomplished by the contracts of individual citizens than

For Exclusion

by legislation. . . . Such a contract is absolutely void and should not be enforced in any court—certainly not in a court of equity of the United States.

There the matter rested for twenty-seven years.

In 1917 a similar case was decided in Louisiana. A subdivider laid out a tract and inserted a clause in each deed forbidding sale of the lot to Negroes. But eventually a hapless Negro bought one of the lots and suit was brought to forfeit his title. The action was successful, with the Louisiana state supreme court holding that although such an agreement was discriminatory on the basis of race, the Fourteenth Amendment does not forbid discrimination by individuals but only by states. Missouri agreed with Louisiana in 1918.

By 1919 the California supreme court was confronted with a case in which a subdivider had inserted clauses in his deeds, forbidding occupancy by Negroes and it held that while an agreement not to sell to Negroes or any other group was invalid (for purely technical reasons), a restriction on occupancy did not violate constitutional guarantees. And Michigan agreed with California in 1922.

Thus there are two lines of decisions: the one holding that restrictions on sale are valid and the other holding that while restraints on sale are unenforceable, restrictions against occupancy will be enforced. That is why the Detroit family may continue to own (but not occupy) their home, while the St. Louis family may eventually lose title to their property.

The case that really implemented race restrictive covenants in American law was a decision by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1926 known as *Corrigan vs. Buckley*. A group of Washington property owners entered into an agreement of the usual kind providing that none of them would sell or lease his land to Negroes. One signer broke the agreement and the Negro buyer was sued. The Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia followed the four states decisions just referred to and held that such agreements do not violate constitu-

tional guarantees or public policy. An appeal to the Supreme Court was attempted but was rejected on technical grounds. In the course of the dismissal, the court used certain phrases that have been bandied about ever since to prove that it has upheld the constitutionality of state court enforcement of racial covenants.

It certainly did not do so directly, but its persistent refusal to review similar cases, all arising in the District of Columbia from 1926 to 1947, encouraged the growth and spread of such agreements. In all, sixteen states and the District of Columbia, speaking through appellate courts, have upheld race restrictions and numerous other state lower courts have given their blessing. All sorts of refinements have been added in the course of that growth.

Earlier covenants ordinarily proscribed either oriental or Negro ownership or occupancy and for limited periods of time. It has become the fashion in later years to forbid all

JUST FOR EXAMPLE

“ . . . that no part of the premises shall ever be used or occupied by non-Caucasians except in the capacity of domestic servants of the owner or tenant of the property, or sold, conveyed, leased, rented or given to any but persons of the Caucasian race . . . ”

—from a deed to be found in Liber 3711, C. P. 493, recorded November 4, 1938 at White Plains, N. Y.

“non-Caucasian” use, a term that certainly includes all persons of oriental and African descent and that has been interpreted by California courts to include American Indians. Some of today’s newest agreements are directed against all “persons whose blood is not entirely that of the white race” and there has been a marked increase in the number of anti-Jewish covenants. The tendency has also been toward longer and longer proscriptive periods, with many perpetual covenants now on record. Unless there is a fundamental change in the law there is nothing to prevent a complete pocketing of minorities in the various cities and states.

The language used by the Supreme Court in the *Corrigan* case also had the effect of stimulating the growth of a lush legal lore justifying race restrictive covenants and rationalizing their use. To begin with, the courts drew an analogy between racial re-

strictions and building restrictions. Prior to the use of zoning power by cities and states, home owners had no way to prevent the encroachment of factories or slaughter houses on residential areas other than through agreements between themselves not to permit such use.

Once such an agreement was imposed, whether by the subdivider or by neighborhood pact, it was said to run with the land and to bind future purchasers who had knowledge of its existence. Mere recording of the covenant was said to charge future buyers with knowledge of its contents. In the event such a buyer attempted to use the land contrary to the terms of the agreement, other owners could resort to the courts and secure an injunction against the violator, who was then subjected to fine or imprisonment for contempt of court if he persisted in the violation.

Proponents of race restrictive covenants followed an identical course: subdividers imposed, or neighbors signed, an agreement forbidding Negro ownership or occupancy. The agreement was duly recorded. They, too, appealed to the courts for injunctions against Negro buyers or occupants. The courts looked to the building restriction precedents and nodded complete agreement.

Somehow or other, judges have never seemed to see that similarity between building and race restrictive covenants is purely semantic. Building restrictions are imposed to control future use of the land; race restrictions are designed to prevent particular persons from owning or occupying the land solely because of race or color. That is, racial covenants are entered into in order to impose a system of racial residential segregation.

THERE IS THE ADDED CIRCUMSTANCE that cities or states are entirely free to enact zoning laws or ordinances limiting business use and regulating the size and character of residences, but are forbidden by the constitution to enact racial zoning laws. When Negroes point to this fact they are told politely but firmly that the Fourteenth Amendment forbids state discrimination but leaves individuals free to do as they choose.

Of course, racial covenants are private agreements but they are not self-executing. Proponents must appeal to state courts to enforce them through issuance of injunctive or other relief, and the violator is punished through a fine imposed or a jail term visited on him by the state.

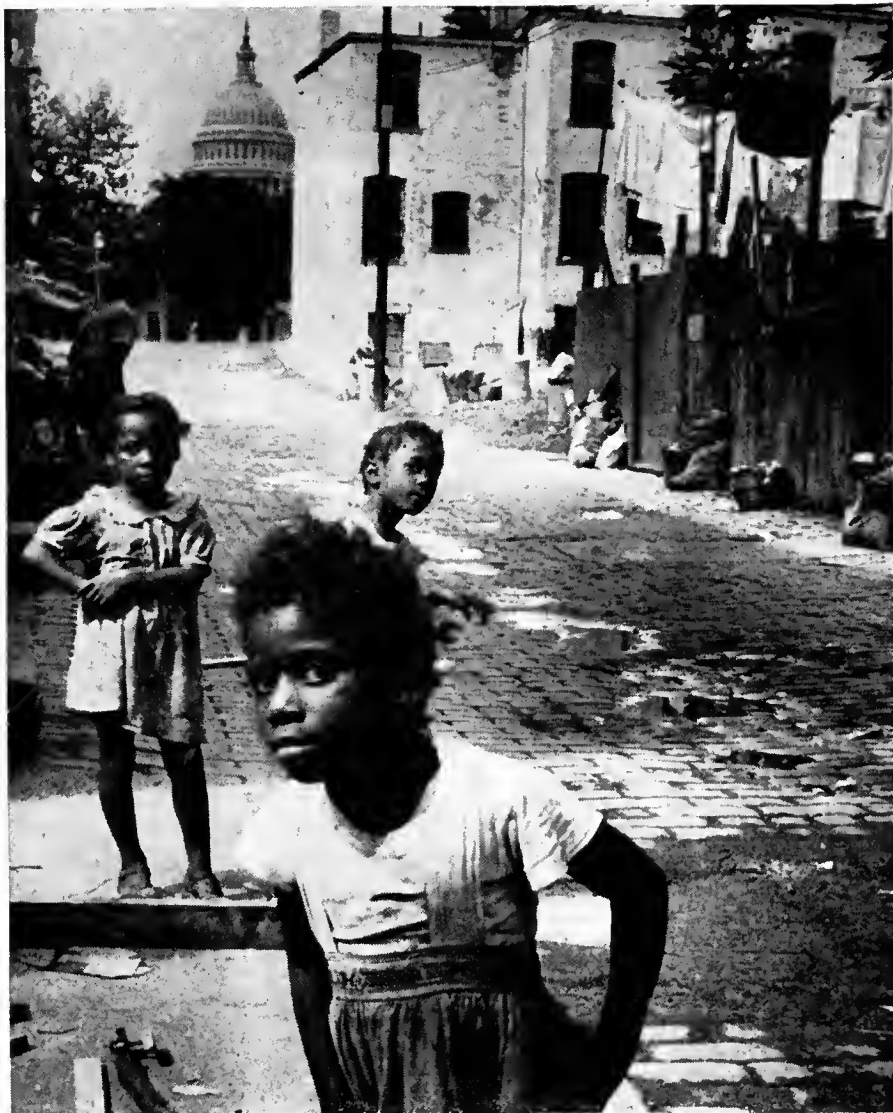
WE ARE LEFT IN A RIDICULOUS, ANOMALOUS situation: neither the legislative nor the executive branches of state government may require or enforce racial residential segregation, but another coordinate branch of state government may accomplish the same result through the easy fiction that when a court issues an injunction restraining a citizen from owning or occupying property, solely on the basis of race, its action is not state action at all but only a proper exercise of judicial power to enforce a private contract.

That is the ultimate issue that will confront the U. S. Supreme Court when it studies the Detroit and St. Louis cases this fall.

Although there is some comfort in the fact that the Supreme Court denied cities the right to establish ghettos, it is ironic that the court only compounded the problem by refusing to invalidate race restrictive covenants when it had the opportunity to do so. Had it upheld the right of municipalities to zone by race it would undoubtedly have required equality of the separate residential areas. As in other fields, the equality would have been more fictional than real but as the matter stands no authority is charged with any responsibility for seeing to it that urban land is available for Negro occupancy. The courts have delegated to any subdivider or group of landowners that see fit to exercise it the right to exclude Negroes.

The practice first took root among the suburban middle class but has spread upward and downward at an alarming rate. It has become a fashion, almost a passion, in conveyancing. Practically every suburb developed in the past twenty years, regardless of the class of persons it was designed to attract, is covered with race restrictions. Every recognized Negro community in almost every large city is ringed in by racial covenants designed to prevent expansion of such communities.

It is almost impossible to secure



Marion Palfi photo

Washington—where the dome of Democracy may study exclusion

raw land for Negro home sites in the face of the opposition of adjoining tract owners who do not want a potentially expanding Negro community next door. Ghetto (as the advertisements used to say about "spit") is a nasty word but if it has any meaning at all, then Negro communities in urban areas are ghettos in which all Negroes, regardless of income or preference, are forced to live. There is small comfort in the fact that they are maintained by decrees of equity courts, the traditional courts of conscience in Anglo-American jurisprudence, rather than by decrees of dictators.

THE PROPORTION OF NEGROES LIVING in urban areas increased from about 34 percent in 1920 to more than 48 percent in 1940. The war stepped up the rate of increase. Every increase in urban Negro population has evoked a fresh outburst of race restrictions.

As a consequence, virtually all Negro communities are overcrowded.

The population density of Chicago's South Side is 75,000 to the square mile, almost seven times that of the city at large.

Baltimore Negroes, constituting 20 percent of the city's population, are crowded into less than 5 percent of its residential area.

Washington's Negro population increased more than 42 percent in the Thirties, while dwelling units open to Negroes increased about 32 percent.

These random and typical examples indicate something of the prevailing overcrowding. But they do not tell the whole story.

In Los Angeles, 10 percent of dwelling units occupied by whites are substandard as against 17 percent of those occupied by non-whites; comparable figures for Chicago are 17 percent for whites and 49 percent for

(Continued on page 558)

Wages by the Year

Guaranteed annual wages for labor—a theory and also a subject of research, but practically realized as yet by only a few companies.

EDWIN E. WITTE

BOTH AS WORKER AND CONSUMER, A wage earner is the better for an assured minimum income. There is growing acceptance of this idea. But in spite of significant guaranteed wage studies, with mounting interest in the whole question, progress in the actual establishment of such schemes continues slow.

Government has done nothing to remove the legal handicaps which hamper these plans for income security. Labor and management have not tackled the problem of the working details which would make an annual wage or guaranteed employment feasible in the widely differing situations of various industries and plants.

Nevertheless, more and more unions demand such guarantees, and many progressive managers are studying the question and "intend to do something about it."

By all odds the most comprehensive study ever made of work or wage guarantees is the Latimer report, which was transmitted to President Truman late in February but was not available for distribution until late in May.

This study had its beginning in the 1944 "big steel" contract negotiations when the union demanded a guaranteed annual wage. The parties—U. S. Steel and the United Steel Workers, CIO—could not resolve this and several other issues, through collective bargaining. Hence it was referred to the National War Labor Board for settlement. In its decision in the Steel Cases, the board recognized the annual wage demand as

—a part of the search for continuity of employment which is perhaps the most vital economic and social objective of our time.

The board also held that to establish the plan would subject industry to "serious financial risks" and that "the country's information on the important subject of guaranteed annual wages is very limited." The board therefore concluded that it was not

—The University of Wisconsin's professor of economics here takes the occasion of the government's comprehensive Latimer report to examine this important field of industrial relations and social progress.

Dr. Witte has been a specialist in labor relations for more than twenty-five years. He has pursued this interest usually from the Wisconsin faculty, with occasional emergency appointments in Washington. From this ripe experience he looks forward hopefully to more rapid gains in a sustaining method for wage payments.



justified "in the present state of the country's information on the subject . . . to impose such a guarantee by order."

On December 1, 1944, by a unanimous vote, the labor, industry, and public members transmitted to President Roosevelt a recommendation that he appoint a special commission

. . . to examine the experience which industry and labor have thus far had with these plans and to report the facts for the benefit of the country, together with recommendations regarding any further steps in this direction which may seem practical and desirable.

In the pressure of urgent war problems, it was not until March 20, 1945, that the President assigned this task to the Advisory Committee of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion. Further months elapsed before a research director was selected and it was still later that Congress appropriated \$200,000 for the project. Finally, however, a competent research staff was assembled, under the direction of Murray W. Latimer, long the chairman of the Railroad Retirement Board and, earlier, the man directly in charge of the formulation of the federal retirement systems for railroad workers.

The study of actual experience with guaranteed wage plans, was made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Another important part of the Latimer report was an independent "eco-

nomical analysis of guaranteed wages" by two of the country's foremost economic theorists, Alvin H. Hansen and Paul A. Samuelson, both of Harvard, with comments on their conclusions by three other eminent economists: J. M. Clark, of Columbia, Edward S. Mason and Sumner H. Slichter, of Harvard. The main body of the report, however, is by the research director and his staff.

This deals principally with the need for work guarantees, their advantages, and the problems which have to be solved to make them more widely feasible. Especially noteworthy are the detailed surveys of the bearing of existing legislation upon work guarantees and the estimates of the costs of guarantee plans under varying conditions.

Appendices give a mass of statistical information on all aspects of the problem, as well as case histories of nine plans — the three which have been most publicized (Procter & Gamble, Geo. A. Hormel & Co., Nunn-Bush Shoe Co.); four plans less widely known but equally successful; one that was discontinued; and another which was partially abandoned.

Throughout, the report presents factual information and also conclusions as to what is needed to make wage guarantees both practical and desirable. These conclusions take the form of suggestions to government, labor, and industry. The basic finding is that the problem must be worked out through collective bargaining; that no solution can be imposed by law.

IN THIS REPORT, A GUARANTEED WAGE plan is defined as a formal commitment by an employer guaranteeing to all, or to a specified group of his employes, wages or employment for not less than three months. In all, 196 such plans were found to be in operation in January 1946, covering 61,000 workers, out of 100,000 employed in the establishments having such plans. Ninety percent of the plans provide

for payment of full time wages for the guarantee period, while two thirds guarantee employment for the entire year, at full time hours of pay. In addition, 151 plans are known to have been discontinued.

The first guaranteed wage plan was started as long ago as 1893, but most such plans were instituted after 1933. With the exception of one year, there has been a continuous, although slow, upward trend in the number of guar-

antees in operation. The one exception was 1935. In that year ninety-six Wisconsin plans which had been launched under the stimulus of an exemption from that state's original unemployment insurance act, were discontinued because the new federal Social Security Act knocked out the exemption. Most of the other discontinued plans were terminated because of special circumstances rather than because they proved too costly or

could not weather depressions.

Guaranteed wage plans which survived the first years of trial have had an impressive record of continuity. The average age of those in operation in January 1946 was almost ten years, and a majority of them got through the depression of 1937-38 without serious difficulties. Eleven of the existing plans have been in operation since before 1920, while twenty-three antedate 1930.

Non-Governmental Studies and Opinions.

THE subject of guaranteed wages in recent months has received extensive examination in books and magazine articles from various points of view, of which the following are significant examples:

"THE Guarantee of Work and Wages," by Joseph L. Snider, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard.

This book is based on extensive original research into the experience of individual companies and the thinking and plans of business executives and union leaders. The general conclusions are similar to those of the Latimer report. While no single plan has been, or can be, developed which will fit all industries, Professor Snider finds that soundly formulated schemes have benefited the companies concerned as well as their employees. While they by no means solve the problem of employment security, wage and work guarantees can contribute to the solution. "The only way to reach the ultimate objective is to achieve one by one the successive near-term objectives."

"THE Guaranteed Wage," Fortune Magazine, April 1947.

This is largely a discussion of the Latimer report, with some material drawn from other sources. The conclusion: Guaranteed wages "cannot be denounced as shocking nonsense or held up as a shining panacea. . . . Companies and industries that cannot guarantee wages would do well to marshal the facts that explain why. Those that can afford it—and have enough imagination to see what they are buying—will introduce the guarantee without waiting for the unions to demand it."

"ANNUAL Wage and Employment Guarantee Plans," by F. Beatrice Brower. National Industrial Conference Board.

This study, published in 1946, analyzes 125 guarantee plants, including 32 that were discontinued. While only seven of the failures were due to burdensome costs, the general impression left by the analysis is that guaranteed wage plans are feasible only for fairly stable industries.

A STUDY by A. D. Kaplan of Brookings Institution.

The conclusions of this inquiry were announced immediately after those of the Latimer report

were made public, though the complete study is not available at this writing. Mr. Kaplan holds that the establishment of wage guarantees throughout industry would introduce new factors of instability, although individual companies may be able to adjust production policies so as to make annual wage commitments possible.

INDIVIDUAL comment—

Emerson P. Schmidt, director of economic research, Chamber of Commerce of the United States:

Mr. Schmidt links the high hopes which guaranteed wages have aroused to the fallacious theory that depressions are due to a shortage of purchasing power. It is not guarantees of wages but stabilization of employment that is needed, he holds.

Henry Ford II:

He has expressed sympathy with the workers' desire for an annual wage, but he considers the plan impossible for Ford Motors.

Charles Luckman, president of Lever Brothers, writing in *Harper's*:

"I have a strong conviction that people who say, 'Oh, it is very well for the soap business, but it wouldn't work for a minute in *my* plant,' have not given it the kind of thought that American industrial leadership has given to the ingenious conversion of waste materials into useful by-products. The skill and imagination which gave us this leadership could as readily be turned to the utilization of wasted potential man-hours."

Ira Mosher, chairman of the board of the National Association of Manufacturers:

Speaking at the Palm Springs industrial relations conference, he expressed his approval of guaranteed annual wages as a desirable innovation. However, he underscored the fact that they call for the genuine cooperation of labor, management, and government; and further, that they are possible only on the basis of continuing profitable business.

The Annual Wage

with guaranteed wage plans, the Latimer report explores the feasibility and desirability of their much wider use in American industry. This turns largely on costs; it is to this practical problem that the report's longest section is devoted.

Computations are presented on the gross costs of unlimited guarantees (fulltime wages for 52 weeks) to all employes in forty-two establishments, in widely different industries, for which complete employment data for the years 1937 through 1941 were available. It was found that in nine of these the gross costs would have been less than 6 percent of the total payrolls for these years, but in one plant which was shut down completely during the 1937-38 depression, they would have reached 33 percent.

THE COSTS OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF limited guarantees were also computed and the conclusion reached that the soundest limitation is a maximum annual payment limit—say 10 percent of the total payroll. In the plant which had the worst employment record, such a limited guarantee, combined with unemployment insurance, would have assured the workers 60 percent of full time earnings in the worst year and 90 percent in the five year period 1937-41. In most of the other plants, it would have resulted in full time earnings in four of the five years and not less than 75 percent, even in 1938.

The estimates of gross costs do not take into account the offsets to be expected from the guaranteed wage. Such plans, experience shows, reduce labor turnover and hiring and training costs. They also result in improved labor relations and greater interest in production on the part of the workers. In the long run, they should also prove a much stronger stimulus to management to regularize employment and stabilize business than has experience rating in unemployment insurance.

The widespread adoption of guaranteed wage plans, according to the economic analysis of Professors Hansen and Samuelson, would have a beneficial effect upon the economy as a whole. A guaranteed wage should not be regarded as the sole, nor even the principle, anti-cyclical weapon. But if soundly conceived and

financed, such plans should prove helpful in averting minor depressions and mitigating short term business fluctuations. The analysis says:

The guaranteed wage, used with care, with full recognition of its limitations, can become an integral part of a rounded program for greater security, for harmonious industrial relations, and for a more lasting prosperity.

To facilitate the widespread adoption of this device, the plans must be coordinated with unemployment insurance and given encouragement by government. On two occasions, Congress sought to provide such stimulus but failed to do anything effective. The Social Security Act authorizes the states to reduce rates in their unemployment compensation laws for employers with acceptable guaranteed wage plans. Only a few states made these provisions and no employers took advantage of them, because without making any guarantees whatever they could get equal or greater reductions under experience rating.

Provisions in the Fair Labor Standards Act allowing leeway in the matter of daily overtime to employers with guaranteed wage plans were somewhat more effective. They are so rigid, however, that on the whole that act has tended to discourage rather than encourage the establishment of guaranteed wage plans.

Much the same problem has arisen under state wage payment laws, which often have had to be circumvented by guaranteed wage plans. Still more unfavorable have been the unemployment compensation laws. Not only do employers get no reduction in contribution rates, but their payments in fulfillment of the wage guarantees reduce the unemployment compensation to which their employes are entitled if they are laid off or discharged.

MOST DISCOURAGING OF ALL, PERHAPS, is the fact that payments into reserve funds established to meet wage guarantees are not recognized as a legitimate expense in computing income taxes, although payments into reserve funds for pensions, profit sharing, and stock bonuses are so treated.

To remove these handicaps, the Latimer report makes specific recommendations for changes in existing federal and state legislation. It suggests that employes under guaranteed wage plans be allowed unemployment

compensation on the same basis as other employes. In other words, wage guarantees would supplement unemployment compensation and could be made at greatly reduced costs.

Further, the Latimer report suggests amending the federal tax laws so that payments into reserve funds under guaranteed wage plans would be deductible expenses for income tax purposes. It also proposes a change in the Fair Labor Standards Act to allow greater latitude in daily overtime for employers who guarantee 2,080 hours of work a year (52 weeks, at 40 hours a week). While scrupulously refraining from even indirect compulsion, the government through such minor amendments to existing statutes would encourage, not handicap, the establishment of guaranteed wage plans.

AS HAS BEEN NOTED, THE LATIMER REPORT was prepared under the sponsorship of the Advisory Board of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion. This board includes in its membership many leaders of industry, agriculture, labor, and the public, among them Eric Johnston, George H. Mead, Edward A. O'Neal, James G. Patton, William Green, Anna M. Rosenberg, and George W. Taylor, the chairman of the board.

In their letter, transmitting the report to the President, this board, representing such diverse interests, unanimously agreed

—that plans guaranteeing wages or employment, when suitably adapted to the needs and conditions of the industry or establishment, are valuable to the entire nation and afford a wholesome and desirable means for improving both worker and employer security.

Their letter continued: "There is urgent need for achieving nationwide economic stability so essential to our national welfare and to the establishment of world security and peace." It agreed with the report, however, in the view that the "adoption of guaranteed wage plans should not be the subject of legislative action, but should be referred to collective bargaining." To this it added that both employers and employes have "the definite responsibility of seeking to stabilize operations within a plant or industry in order to advance the level of general economic security of the nation."

The advisory board did not en-
(Continued on page 557)

Skirmish In Hawaii

MICHAEL M. DAVIS

"THIS ISLAND SEEMED PARADISE WHEN I first visited it twenty-two years ago," writes a friend just landed in Honolulu. "Now the skies and beaches, flowers and trees are as beautiful as ever. But in that score of years, Honolulu has imported Western civilization and Western civilization has hit it hard. Eden is Bedlam!"

I have a story to tell of another importation which, only this year, has hit health in Hawaii hard. It is how the legislature and governor of the Territory decided that more health care might be needed by the half million people of their island; how they appointed a commission to study needs and make recommendations; how the commission reported a program and a bill; and how the eagle eye of organized medicine of the United States mainland saw a creeping precedent in the Pacific, and how a flying squadron went to make sure that it died before it could walk.

The legislature got started in 1945, partly because people interested in the hospitals of the Islands were urging public subsidies or other methods of meeting increasing costs; partly because of a pending bill proposing a comprehensive health insurance program. The governor was authorized to appoint a "Hospital Service Study Commission," but this body was directed to investigate not only hospital problems but also medical service in general.

The Hawaiian Islands are a melting pot as yet unmelted—over 30 percent Japanese, 10 percent Filipino, 6 percent Chinese, 15 percent Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian, 33 percent "Caucasian." Nearly 100,000 persons, largely "Caucasian," added themselves to the population between 1940 and 1946. That is one reason why Eden seemed Bedlam.

A little over half all live in the city of Honolulu. A little over two thirds of the 334 active physicians are there. Of the 250,000 persons living outside the major city, about 75,000 are sugar plantation workers or their dependents, and most of these get medical care from salaried doctors and hospitals, organized by the plantation owners—to all intents and purposes, compulsory insurance run by the employers.

HEALTH — Today & Tomorrow

—A series by the chairman, Committee on Research in Medical Economics; associate editor, *Survey Graphic*.

The ratio of physicians to population is good in the capital city and on the plantations, but generally low elsewhere. The over-all ratio of hospital beds to population runs to the very good figure of 4.7 beds per thousand persons, but, says the commission, "many of these reported beds are located in small, wooden buildings hardly classifiable as 'hospitals.' Close analysis shows a definite need for a comprehensive rural hospital program."

In January 1947 the commission presented to the governor and legislature a thirty-six-page report, buttressed by over a hundred pages of tables and exhibits. They also offered the draft of a bill to implement their recommendations.

ARE THE SERVICES OF PHYSICIANS AND hospitals physically accessible to the people of Hawaii? Yes, said the commission, for a large part of the people. Are they actually available? No, declared the commission, not enough nor to enough people, and largely for financial reasons. Everyone agrees that medical services should be available to people in proportion to their medical needs, but, says the report, actually services are available in proportion to people's ability to pay for them. To quote:

Self-supporting families do not welcome the imprint of charity. The services of physicians and hospitals are regarded as bills to be paid from savings or from current or future income. Hence, if a service is not regarded as extremely pressing, if a need can be postponed, there are economic and psychological incentives to postpone. The fault does not lie with the physician, neither can it be assigned to the hospital. . . .

Any doubt as to the validity of the above paragraph has been dispelled by the grim evidence of October 1946, some six weeks after the beginning of the sugar strike. In a news item (*Honolulu*

Advertiser, October 11, 1946) the statements of representatives of the medical profession and the hospitals relative to certain of the effects of the strike were quoted.

The medical spokesman said, "The extremes in the drop-off of patient attendance at doctors' offices range from 20 to 40 per cent with a 25 per cent average through all wage and income groups. There is a marked tendency for patients to withhold from medical attention as long as they can." And Queen's Hospital was said to have reported a decrease of ten per cent of male and twenty per cent of female admissions. The source of the hospital information is quoted as saying that, "Many of them (people) suffer and some of them die for inability to pay for proper hospitalization."

A VOLUNTARY HEALTH INSURANCE PLAN, the "Hawaii Medical Service Association," has been going for more than ten years, endorsed by the medical society and the hospitals, but it has attained a membership of only about twenty thousand. The commission studied this plan and other voluntary plans in the United States and elsewhere. "No convincing evidence was found," declares an official digest of the report, "that any such plan had secured sufficient coverage to justify the commission in accepting voluntary prepayment." The commission therefore recommended compulsory health insurance, and on this point it had some striking things to say. To quote again:

The word "compulsory" is displeasing to the American mind and anything to which it is attached arouses resistance. It implies the use of force to make people do something that they dislike. But the vigorous debate apparently gives little consideration to changes that have taken place in recent years in existing medical and hospital plans. . . .

Over ten years ago when hospital insurance was inaugurated the line between compulsion and volition was drawn rather sharply. What compulsory features existed were submerged in the various pressures of "good salesmanship." In what was regarded as a direct transaction between employees and a hospital plan, the employer was excluded except as an agent to collect the funds through payroll deduction. That period has been ended and today employers are urged

Hawaiian Skirmish

by the plans, both hospital and medical, to contribute all or a part of the costs for their employees. Furthermore, there is a growing tendency to include medical and hospital services among the provisions of collective bargaining contracts between employers and employees.

Thus, the once sharp dividing line is being erased in a significant fashion. Whatever may have been the theories regarding compulsion they are being displaced by a more solid and tenable concept. This is the concept of organized payment as a means of dignified self-support, as a device whereby the principle of mutual aid may be applied. The commission is impressed by the increasing emphasis that is being placed upon the obligation of people to accept the responsibility of mutual aid and to participate in a system of organized payment. . . .

The commission, therefore, recommends that the people of the Territory, by formal legislative enactment, accept the obligation to participate in a system of organized payment for medical care.

The commission, however, did not propose services as broad as the National Insurance and Public Health Act. For various practical reasons, care in the doctor's office and in the patient's home is excluded, except prenatal and postnatal care in an obstetric case. The plan offers only hospitalization and the services of physicians and surgeons while the patient is in a hospital.

WHO WOULD BE COVERED? ABOUT 90 percent of the population. The two chief exceptions are the legally indigent, who must be provided comprehensive medical service financed by general taxation, and people with incomes over \$5,000. This well-to-do group, about 8 percent of the population, would be covered, but only through indemnity. That is, instead of obtaining care for which the insurance fund would pay the hospital and the doctor, the over-\$5,000 people would receive in cash the cost of these service benefits, but they would have to make their own financial arrangements with their doctors and hospitals.

How financed? All employes would pay 1¼ percent of their wages or salaries (up to \$5,000); their employers an equal amount. This joint levy, the commission estimated, would yield \$9,750,000 a year. In addition, self-employed persons would pay at the rate of 2½ percent on the first \$5,000 of net income. This special tax is estimated to

yield \$500,000. The total of \$10,250,000 is what the commission estimates the whole scheme would cost, including \$500,000 for administration. So far as one can judge from the rather meager data on this point (page thirty-three of report), the commission used a rather high professional fee schedule. It also assumed that about 10 percent increase in volume of service would be demanded.

The commission bill assures free choice of doctor; provides for fee-for-service payment of doctors, and cost-of-service payments to hospitals; requires that patients with medical (as distinguished from surgical or obstetrical) conditions must pay the hospital personally for their first five days care in each illness; sets up a nine-member board, mixed lay and medical, for the over-all administration; provides for responsible local administration, in which employers, employes, physicians, and hospitals would share.

What happened? Commissions propose. Legislatures dispose. The commission submitted its report on January 18, 1947. On February 13 it met with a group of territorial senators and representatives, to explain its findings and its bill; not to bring pressure for its adoption, said the chairman in substance. Not until April 24 was there a public hearing.

In late February, an important radio forum lined up the director of Hawaii's CIO-PAC and the secretary of the Honolulu Council of Social Agencies in favor of the bill, against two doctors of the medical society opposing it. Meanwhile there had been coming into being what, by March, a Honolulu columnist was able to describe as "the best-organized anti-campaign of the legislative session."

An advertisement filling most of a page in Honolulu's leading newspaper came out on February 10 (you see it reproduced in reduced size here) from an organization entitling itself "Spearhead for Americanism." This was generally understood to be a public relations firm under the direction of a gentleman who declared over the radio: "The system here proposed is alien to the deepest instincts of the American people. The program did not originate in America, but in Communist Russia."

EARLY IN FEBRUARY THE HAWAIIAN Medical Society had gone officially on record against the bill. Some members who might have favored the commission's limited measure seem to have been persuaded against it because it was "a

foot in the door" leading to comprehensive health insurance. The commission's report had given some basis for this fear by declaring the "ultimate goal of any system of organized payment should be . . . comprehensive medical service," and that the limited program "should be expanded, within specified periods of time, to include the other services." The medical member of the commission had dissented from these statements, although he endorsed the immediate program.

Additional large advertisements appeared in February and March, some from the medical society itself, others from "Spearhead for Americanism." One of the latter, occupying an entire newspaper page, was reproduced in facsimile and distributed to the audience at the public hearing. The medical society arranged a series of broadcasts, running some weeks as often as four times, and took paid space in the papers to call attention to them. The board of directors of the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce went on record by a sixteen-to-one vote against the commission's policies and bill, the one dissenter being a commission member.

THERE WAS NO ACTIVE ADVOCACY OF THE bill by the commission or its members. The Political Action Committee and some social workers spoke for it. Late in the session the issue was confused by the introduction of another bill, slightly different, apparently at the instigation of the CIO-PAC, illustrating again the unhappy truth that in social legislation, the pros often split on their ideas, while the antis unite on their interests. "Twelve Little Men," anonymous as to source of funds, published a paid advertisement against it. A few little people wrote letters to the papers for it, to which the big guns replied.

"Compulsion is the First Step toward COMMUNISM," screamed the ads. "A government bureau would *dictate* what doctors are allowed to doctor you." "Bureaucracy thrives . . . your health suffers." "Will Hawaii be made a State with such a step toward Socialism?"

What happened? Simply that the legislative committee did not report out any health insurance bill. Perhaps the most regrettable part of the whole course of events is that the carefully worked out studies and proposals of the commission had almost no public discussion on their merits.

Such combinations of emotionalism and misstatement seem particularly inappropriate because of the character of the commission. Seven members were

appointed by the governor, but one died and one left the Territory shortly after the Commission organized. Of the five who served, the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman are first-rank business men of the Territory, a third, a former AFL official, is now a labor relations man for a business corporation; one is a woman prominent in social work, connected with the leading hospital in Honolulu; the fifth is a physician formerly president of the local medical society and long the medical adviser to the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association. It seems incredible that red-baiting could have been the chief weapon against the plan sponsored by such a group, yet it is the unbelievable that happened. The individual members were not assailed as such, but a more vulnerable target, the professor of public health at the University of Michigan, who had been technical consultant to the commission was a "foreigner" and was dealt with accordingly.

The color of this campaign is all too familiar to those who have followed the anti-health-insurance propaganda on the mainland of the United States. It is not necessary to speculate why. The National Physicians Committee, the AMA's propaganda arm, let the cat out of the bag in a report issued last May—not published, but mailed individually to thousands of doctors. After reciting the past achievements of the committee in fighting the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill and the continuing "threat" of such legislation, this report then goes on, with the title "The Acute Trouble Spot—Hawaii":

"A number of known Communists and a legion of their followers have moved to the Territory of Hawaii with the obvious purpose of breaking down the government structure of the Territory in anticipation of its becoming the 49th State.

Complementary to this move was the introduction into the 24th Territorial Legislature on April 7 of a proposal for compulsory sickness insurance (House Bill 747). This proposal is based upon the Report of the Hospital Service Study Commission of Hawaii which, in effect,

One of the paid advertisements of the anti-health-insurance campaign from the *Honolulu Advertiser*, February 10, 1947

proposed the enactment of a territorial Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill.

It became evident to alert observers in the Territory of Hawaii and to the National Physicians Committee that a vigorous effort would be made to enact this legislation prior to the date when Hawaii became a State. The national implications are apparent.

Since January, on invitation of the Territorial Medical Association of Hawaii, NPC technicians have been cooperating to defeat the compulsory sickness insurance proposal for the Territory. For more than a month, during March and April, a member of the NPC staff has been on the scene. It

is now believed that the line can and will be held."

One infers that the "technicians" included the public relations firm. It would be nice to know how much money was made available to it and to the NPC staff member, to spend in keeping Hawaii safe from Collectivism.

We do know that the Hawaii Medical Society has assessed its members \$75 a year for three years—a war chest of \$25,000 annually. "We hope," said the chairman of the society's Medical Economics Committee, "to have the machine rolling so we can fight the next legislation without a future assessment."

A

COMPULSORY

SICKNESS TAX

... is a signpost on the road to slavery. Compulsion is the opposite of the American way of life—Freedom of Enterprise. The recommendations of the Territorial Hospital Service Commission to the Legislature, if enacted into law, would bring to Hawaii as:

1. Compulsory sickness tax that would establish compulsion in a personal private field.
2. Compulsory sickness tax that would establish a compulsory "share-the-wealth" scheme.
3. Compulsory sickness tax that would express the principle of Taxation, not of Insurance, in that the individual with a low income and a large family will pay less than the single man with a higher income.
4. Compulsory plan that would deprive the citizen of his Freedom of Choice in spending the money he earns.

There are many more un-American features in the proposed Compulsory Sickness Tax, and Spearhead For Americanism will bring them to you in detailed form, so that all will know the disadvantages of such a scheme to the American way of life.

Let's keep the white and blue,
in the red, white and blue.



SPEARHEAD FOR AMERICANISM

The Eye, the Mind, and The Memory

HARRY HANSEN

A SCRAPBOOK OF PHOTOGRAPHS WITH comment intended to recall events and personalities of the United States between the wars has been assembled by Agnes Rogers and her husband, Frederick Lewis Allen, editor of Harper's Magazine and the author of "Only Yesterday." It is called "I Remember Distinctly" (Harper, \$5), and described as "a family album of the American people in the years of peace, 1918 to Pearl Harbor." Its primary aim is entertainment, to stir our memories of the recent past, and its chief effect, despite serious concerns, is to create amusement at the inexplicable fashions of yesterday, and wonder at the unfamiliar beginnings of well-knowns, such as Harry S. Truman standing before the showcase in his Kansas City haberdashery, just after the first world war.

At the same time, the long and highly competent career of William H. Jackson as a photographer is the basis for a book by his son, Clarence S. Jackson. "Picture Maker of the Old West: William H. Jackson" (Scribner, \$7.50) is both a memoir and a picture gallery with historical connotations.

Placed side by side, these two books suggest, first, a commentary on the camera that has made them possible. We see that Jackson, using cumbersome equipment and the old wet plate process, was frequently able to photograph landscapes with an exactness that led the scientist Ferdinand V. Hayden to exclaim: "Why, I could classify the strata from this." He was able to make portraits that reproduced all that the human eye might see. The difference between the camera work in the two books lies in the technical advance which has made possible the photographing of men in action. The Rogers-Allen book discloses the results of speed.

Another unexpected, upsetting fact develops as we examine the two books. The Rogers-Allen book, portraying events of which we have personal knowledge, if not by eye then by ear, gives them the romantic aspects of un-

real drama. The Jackson book, dealing with the pioneer West, its Indians, its mud-caked settlements, contradicts our impression of romance and high adventure and offers a logical and realistic history instead. The belief that the winning of the West was a glorious campaign will not down, despite memoirs describing the hardships of the pioneers. But the drawings and photographs that Jackson made are evidence of its plain beginnings, in an era that knew not Hollywood.

I MUST NOT GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT "I Remember Distinctly" is so thoroughly intended to entertain that it does not take account of serious matters. Many of the events in the years between the wars had a sobering effect on the relatively happy American temperament. The book dramatizes the financial crash of 1929 by reproducing part of the stock market report of that fateful October 29; it pictures the bread lines and the hovels of the unemployed, as well as the dust storms that ruined great areas of middle America.

But throughout the book, the character of the photograph determines its size and place. Although Mr. Allen has tried to put the essential significance of each event into a few concise statements, he has been unable to show, by photographs, the relative importance of the dust storms as against such social irritants as John Dillinger and Al Capone. Here, as in the press, burglaries and murders appear to be representative of daily life in America, when often they are only accessories to entertainment, helping to satisfy the appetite for thrills of the normal, domesticated American.

Another conclusion comes from examining the pictures in "I Remember Distinctly": that the intangibles are often mightier than recognizable evidence. Ideas are intangible matters, so far as the camera knows. The principals in widely publicized criminal cases can be photographed; here are the facts of

their bitter days. But with acquittal or conviction they fade into limbo and their influence is nil. We look at the pictures of the principals in the Hall-Mills case, the Gray-Snyder trial, the young, immature features of Richard Loeb, and the truculent mouth of John Dillinger, and pass on. But Sacco and Vanzetti, handcuffed, disposed of on part of a page, suggest more than the eye can see. Mr. Allen's comment is brief and neutral. He reports that "many people thought they had been railroaded" and "millions believed them to have been innocent." Some space is given to the arrest of those who protested. It seems to me that here the editorial inspiration faltered. The ringing declaration of innocence of these men came well within the formula of this book and could have been reproduced from a newspaper page, as was the news of Lindbergh's successful flight to Paris and Hitler's accession to the chancellorship.

MAN WEARS A MASK, AND SO FAR AS news photographs are concerned, gives little inkling of what goes on behind it. Do photographs suggest an individual's capacity for good or ill? I doubt it. We read much into them.

It is true that the faces of some of the criminals here shown appear unfriendly, but similar faces might appear in pictures of any innocent crowd. Without specific identification, many individuals are unclassifiable. Their actual faces may reveal more, since they are not immobile; their photographs do not. After what history tells us about agitators, we look amazed at the smiling faces of Father Coughlin and Gerald L. K. Smith, and see little to set them off from the kindly features of Wendell Willkie. The members of Jehovah's Witnesses, snapped at a convention, are more likely to inspire distrust, despite Mr. Allen's truthful remark that they are merely "pathetic."

We are too far removed from William H. Jackson's Pawnee scouts and Sioux

warriors to add details to his pictures from actual memory. From hearsay we know what the troopers of Fort Laramie looked like, but their period, well-remembered by our grandfathers, is rapidly being rubbed out. As Jackson, burdened with camera equipment, coils over the old Mormon trails, we get a chance to refresh our knowledge of the past. We, who fear standardization, observe how thoroughly the frontier towns were standardized, and how, in the larger settlements, such as Omaha, a brick "block" looked exactly like a similar structure in Springfield, Ill., and St. Louis, Mo.

Jackson also photographed natural "wonders" with the Hayden Survey. He was the first to photograph the Mountain of the Holy Cross, in 1873, and although airplane cameras may portray it from many angles inaccessible to the pioneer, I doubt that they will improve on his work. He photographed the Garden of the Gods and the geysers and springs of the Yellowstone region. He took the first photographs of the cliff dwellings on the Mesa Verde. He recorded the little locomotives and trains of the 1870's, binding the West together, and he made panoramas of bustling mining towns, such as Central City, Colo. But for the most part men do not appear in these pictures. When they do, they are posed, not caught on the run.

Pictures are often considered the lowest levels of communication, since anyone can be entertained by looking at them without exercising his mind. Just as many individuals can look at buildings, factories, and human beings in action without drawing any meaning from them, so they can sit before motion pictures of the most corrosive influence without perceptibly changing their views or attitudes. It is impossible to tell from the faces of spectators leaving a motion picture theatre, what horrors have been seen inside. One reason that pictorial dramas ranging all the way from bad behavior and alcoholism to brutality and murder seem to have no lasting influence is the indifference of the spectator, his lack of imagination. If movies brought on riots we might be more concerned about their subjects.

YET PICTURES CAN BE STIMULATING. They are an easy means of catching the attention; they can be studied repeatedly and can develop a string of associations in the mind. Nearly every adult American has had specific knowledge of the events in "I Remember Distinctly." If he has not heard Woodrow Wilson's

voice as clearly as Franklin D. Roosevelt's, he probably has seen Wilson's pictures in the newspapers and read about him, for Wilson is a part of the American family. Every man in this book is "one of ours"; we share each triumph and have a part in each defeat and mistake.

We must not think, however, that because the camera now takes pictures far more quickly than the flicker of an eyelash, and because news events are eternally before our eyes, our grandfathers were deprived of this great boon. William H. Jackson was one of the men who profited by the stereoscope

**GOVERNMENTS AND POLITICS
ABROAD, edited by Joseph S. Roucek.
Funk and Wagnalls. \$5.**

Hans Kohn

THERE HAVE BEEN A NUMBER OF BOOKS discussing the various governments and constitutions in Europe, and most of them are concerned only with the leading nations, Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and Italy. They discuss the constitutional and administrative problems of these countries in an abstract way without ever inquiring how far the "democracy" of the Soviet constitution of 1936 was translated into reality or how far the social and intellectual tendencies of Weimar Germany corresponded to the constitution of 1919.

Joseph S. Roucek and his four collaborators have followed a different, and in the opinion of this reviewer, a much more profitable approach. They have not been satisfied with the descriptive analysis of documents and texts; they have added a penetrating discussion of historical background and of social forces and intellectual trends at work in each of the various countries. And they have paid due attention to the nations of the Iberian peninsula, to the Baltic republics, and to the states of central and southeastern Europe. Of non-European countries only Latin America has been included.

The book is intended primarily as a text book for college classes. But also it will render excellent service to the general reader and to the adult student of the international scene. It will help in understanding the true nature of the governments in the Balkan countries, the forces struggling for the control of France or Italy, the place and nature of South America's labor organizations, the rapid progress achieved in Turkey

and made it popular. His pictures of the natural wonders of the west were widely admired.

I doubt whether there are proportionately more radio cabinets in American homes today than there were stereoscopes fifty years ago. The New York Public Library has a vast collection of such pictures. They prove that news events were often photographed—that pictures of the Johnston flood were as widely circulated as those of Bridal Veil falls. Jackson, who lived until 1942 and almost rounded out his century, could hardly have considered modern methods radically new.

during the last fifteen years contrasted with the stagnation in Spain, Russia's foreign policy, and Britain's domestic transformation—all complex problems elucidated in the present book with clarity and impartiality. Though the United States itself does not receive any formal treatment, conditions and developments in foreign countries are often contrasted with those in the United States and the interrelation is always carefully stressed.

**FOUNDATIONS OF DEMOCRACY,
edited by F. Ernest Johnson, Harper. \$2.**

Ralph Adams Brown

THE INSTITUTE FOR RELIGIOUS AND Social Studies, established at the Jewish Seminary of America, represents a unique effort at interfaith understanding. This volume is made up of a series of Institute lectures during the academic year 1944-45. The editor tells us:

The design of the series grew out of some academic experimentation on the editor's part aimed at bringing into one perspective the sources and various expressions of the democratic idea embodied in Western culture. So many strands enter into the development of democracy, and its expression has so many facets that their adequate presentation requires the collaboration of minds familiar with a variety of disciplines.

It is difficult to give an adequate idea of the scope of this volume in a brief review. After the editor's opening discussion of "The Crisis in Modern Democracy," there come six essays dealing with the sources of the democratic faith. Among the remaining ten essays are "The Founding Fathers," "Democracy and Economic Liberalism," "The Role

Letters and Life

of Economic Groups," "Democracy in a Collectivist Age," and so on.

The authors include many foremost contemporary thinkers: Irwin Edman, George Schuster, George Huston, A. J. Muste, Goodwin Watson, Scott Buchanan, Mordecai Kaplan, and H. Paul Douglas. Their essays vary somewhat in quality and in readability—always a weakness of any collective work of this kind. But in this case so many are outstanding that readers may feel well repaid for the purchase of the volume from the reading of a single chapter.

In spite of the diversity of subject there is a thread of binding continuity. All of the authors recognize the dangers that confront democracy; the necessity for a greater understanding of our democratic faith, if we are to strengthen it, runs throughout the volume. In his introductory essay Mr. Johnson remarks:

The gulf between contemporary systems of thought defines a problem of democracy. Diversity is not a denial of unity, but a counterpart; yet this is true only to the extent that differences are rationally apprehended, appreciated, and respected. . . . This is one of our major problems, and it means that we have to think out the function in a democracy of that sustained tension between opposites which keeps them in precarious balance but in vital interrelationship. The democratic instrument of persuasion is always in danger of mounting to coercion, on the one hand, and falling to the level of appeasement, on the other.

ONE OF THE MORE CHALLENGING ESSAYS is Dr. Elliot's discussion of "Democracy in Educational Practice." He begins:

In considering democracy in educational practice there must be some measure of agreement as to the meaning of the term democracy. It seems to me to be that arrangement of life by which the members of a group, small or large, have the opportunity to participate responsibly and cooperatively, in proportion to their maturity and ability, in deciding, planning, executing, and evaluating all matters in which the group is involved, matters both within the life of the group and in the group's relationship to other groups and to the common life of which the group is a part.

Applying this definition to an analysis of democracy in education, he writes, "Deciding and planning what to do, carrying out these decisions, and appraising the results are the steps in any democratic procedure."

Goodwin Watson's essay on "Democracy in a Collectivist Age" is stimulating and provocative; his conclusions are heartwarming to those who have feared that the rise of collectivism meant the end of our democratic tradition. He concludes:

Collectivism does not necessarily bring totalitarianism. A Collectivist Age *may be made* an age of increasing democracy. . . . The defense of democracy lies in our education to democracy. . . .

GERMANY'S UNDERGROUND, by Allen Welsh Dulles. Macmillan, \$3.

BERLIN UNDERGROUND 1938-1945, by Ruth Andreas-Friedrich. Holt. \$3.

THEY ALMOST KILLED HITLER, by Gero v.S. Gaevernitz. Macmillan. \$2.50.

Paul Hagen

DURING THE WAR THE AMERICAN PUBLIC became acquainted with the black record of Germany. It is natural that a reaction to the total condemnation should set in now with the first publications on what could be called the white record of a good many Germans during the Hitler period. In the heyday of the black record excitement even the existence of such an opposition was denied.

Allen Welsh Dulles dismisses those earlier emotional misjudgments:

Even in a totalitarian state the struggle for individual liberty does not cease. The knowledge that this was so in Germany can inspire all those who hope and work to build something better in the Germany of tomorrow.

Mr. Dulles has authority for his revision of the conception of an indiscriminate black record. His job during the war was to maintain secret contacts with the very opposition whose existence was publicly denied. He further "satisfied his curiosity" after the war when, assigned to the Nuremberg trial staff, he studied the documentary evidence.

The story of the abortive revolt of July 20, 1944, has received from him its first publication in this country. You will be surprised to read that, at least

temporarily, three chiefs of the German General Staff, the chief of counter-intelligence, several field marshals, and army commanders were involved. While their participation gave the plot its significance, they were also its weakness.

It is amazing to learn how much energy and effort can be spent behind the iron curtain of an authoritarian dictatorship without the recognition or knowledge of the outside world. Mr. Dulles makes this point very clearly.

Possibly the only weakness of Mr. Dulles' book is his overestimation of the opposition potential of the conservative wing of German society. The book is impartial in its presentation and praise of the assistance given the military plotters by the Left, but the real history of the classic German underground, the underground that formed on the first day of Hitler's usurpation of power, still awaits its historian.

"Berlin Underground," by Ruth Andreas-Friedrich, will be a contribution to the larger story that will one day be written. In diary form, it is the history of one small group of decent and courageous intellectuals and professional people in Berlin, whose day-to-day efforts to resist were hopelessly isolated, even from many similar groups. They could not get together under the conditions of totalitarian dictatorship.

In one important way this unassuming book (with the somewhat too assuming title) adds to the story of the conservative opposition. It defines a test of honor for Germans who did their best to counteract anti-Semitic persecution and other barbarisms of the regime.

Mr. von Gaevernitz, Mr. Dulles' assistant during the war, presents the story of one of the more courageous officer-plotters, Fabian von Schlabrendorff, who attempted to kill Hitler in March 1943, by placing a bomb in his airplane—another one of the bombs that did not go off. His book is fascinating for its detailed account of the opposition in the headquarters of the most important German army in the eastern battlefields.

October Reviewers

Ralph Adams Brown: *Professor of American History, Social Studies Department, State Teachers College, Cortland, N. Y.*

Paul Hagen: *Author of "Germany After Hitler"*

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Gruening of Alaska

continued from page 515

of power company propaganda, and he inveighed against newspapers which opened their columns to such material. In 1934, he served briefly as editor of the New York *Evening Post*, but resigned hurriedly after an angry rumput with the publisher, J. David Stern. Gruening was now ready for a career in government.

For five years he was director of Territories and Island Possessions in the Interior Department. He and Ickes quarreled constantly.

President Roosevelt may have felt he had hit on a happy solution in the winter of 1939, when he named Gruening as governor of Alaska. Gruening had been in the Territory once before, and then he had said, "At the age of forty-nine I had seen many interesting and beautiful places in Europe and the Americas. But no region ever gave me quite the profound thrill that Alaska did."

Gruening entered into frontier life with the robust zest of a Teddy Roosevelt. He and his tall, stately wife, Dorothy, who has occasionally been mistaken for Eleanor Roosevelt, swam in the glacial-rimmed salt water of the Inside Passage. The governor took countless kodachromes and kept visitors up until four in the morning looking at them. This vigorous participation in Alaskan life continues. Gruening's oldest son, Hunt, is a senior pilot for Alaska Coastal Air Lines. Dorothy Gruening, the most distinguished looking hostess in the history of the executive mansion, entertains a variety of visitors ranging from full-blooded Indian members of the legislature to Canadian Mounty inspectors.

BUT THE GOVERNOR'S CHIEF ASSET TO Alaska is not that he has shot the great brown bear or that he flies on days when even army pilots fear to take off. Gruening's congenital stubbornness, as well as his flintlike integrity, have opened the first breach in the stockade of exploitation which has surrounded the Territory since 1898. He has railed against the world's highest freight rates, and so at last competing steamship services have been established between southeastern Alaska and the railheads of British Columbia. When Pan-American began charging passengers, de-

laid by weather, for meals and cots only a few weeks after the company received certification from the Civil Aeronautics Board, Gruening made a public issue of it.

Gruening campaigned so persistently for a land road to Alaska that even the army, which disliked his criticism of its interior route, gave him credit for the basic decision at the White House. General Patsy O'Connor, selected by the War Department to construct the famous 1,519-mile Alcan Highway, said, "Gruening must be listed as a pioneer advocate of this great project."

NOT ALL THE GOVERNOR'S RELATIONS with the armed forces have been harmonious. He rejected the request of the late General Simon Bolivar Buckner that soldiers have the right to hunt without licenses. "Alaska shall not be gutted of its rich game preserves," said Gruening, despite the fact that he seemed to be depriving GI's of pleasure and recreation. Gruening was just as adamant when the Alaska Railroad sought permission to kill moose which were slipping through trestles and cow guards, and delaying trains. "Lift them off the track," ordered the governor. Gruening believes the tourist business is Alaska's greatest potential for the future, and he does not want the big game and fish runs willfully destroyed.

Nor has he hesitated to talk to Alaskans about the Territory's grave social problems. Despite the small population, five Alaskans die each week from tuberculosis. Many of these cases go unreported and untreated. Nearly 90 percent of the X-rays taken on the Bering Sea coast reveal the presence of tuberculosis. Alaska is a land of homeless, rootless men, and Gruening has claimed this will continue as long as the present balance between the sexes prevails. The Territory is inhabited by two white men for every white woman. Nine out of ten white girls in Alaska over fifteen years of age have been married at least once. The governor has often pointed out that Alaska needs nurses, teachers, and stenographers who will become wives and mothers in the fastnesses of the North.

These are things no governor of Alaska ever talked about before. Generally the appointment as executive at Juneau has been considered a proper post for political hacks who might be rendered harmless by a

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\$10,000 annual sinecure in the deep-freeze. If the \$55,000,000 canned salmon industry left less than \$6,000,000 to resident Alaskans in the Territory for wages and fish, other governors were grateful for small favors. Six million dollars was \$6,000,000, wasn't it? Ernest Gruening wants the whole \$55,000,000 to stay in Alaska. Today, he is demanding a progressive tax on fish traps which will make it impossible for a few absentee corporations to dominate the industry.

The demand may be far from realization, yet for the first time Alaskans are thinking of these issues. When a Cabinet official 5,000 miles away forbids their governor to leave the Territory to challenge rates imposed by the Maritime Commission,

Alaskans question the worth of absentee government. When the canned fish industry hauls away a fortune in Chinooks and Cohos and leaves behind a few pennies in taxes, Alaskans are not sure that this use of their resources serves them well. If it took an intellectual physician, journalist, and author from New York to disclose these things to the people of America's last frontier, that is merely another demonstration of the versatility and flexibility of Americans.

After 1948 Ernest Gruening may no longer be governor of Alaska. Yet Alaskans agree that the Territory never will be again as it was before he landed at Auk Bay in 1939, and most of them believe the changes have been for the better.

UN and the Waters of the World

continued from page 530

Mediterranean as a whole, for the Mediterranean with its *foci* at Gibraltar and Constantinople is a main field of international rivalry, suspicion, and ambition. But this is not enough.

Whether the world is one or not, we are in a period of global solution. The international character of the great oceans is, indeed, more evident than that of the narrow seas and the easiest way to deal with the smaller and bitterer problems may conceivably be by covering them in an over-all arrangement. At the 1947 meeting of the United States section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in Philadelphia in April, I presented a proposal for giving to the United Nations control of all those waterways of the globe which are of international interest, not only canals (such as Suez and Panama), straits, and narrow seas, but the oceans themselves. What was proposed was the creation of a United Nations Maritime Authority appointed by the General Assembly.

The Philadelphia meeting referred the proposal to the international authority of the WILPF, the International Executive Committee of which was to meet in Geneva the following month. At this meeting all the eleven members, from as many countries, were present, the Philadelphia proposal was discussed, and it was voted to send a petition to the United Nations asking the appointment of a committee to study the subject—both its substance and the practical meth-

ods of realizing it, should it be approved. Each national section of the WILPF was asked to secure signatures for this petition from a small number, say from three to ten, of persons of known competence, official or unofficial.

This procedure means that the idea will be presented to various leading persons in eleven different countries and that if it commends itself to them, it will be laid before the UN with interesting evidence of international support.

Suggestions included in my memorandum to the Philadelphia meeting were substantially as follows:

1. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE United Nations should appoint a Maritime Authority, superseding any existing body of the sort, with wide powers covering all the waterways of the world which have an international character, including the oceans, narrow seas such as the Mediterranean, straits, canals such as Suez, Kiel, and Panama, and so far as may seem indicated, international rivers such as the Rhine and Danube, although very possibly the latter might be best left to a purely European authority.

2. THE INTERNATIONAL MARITIME Authority should be charged with the following functions:

1. The making of a maritime survey covering the main international waterways of the world as well as scientific

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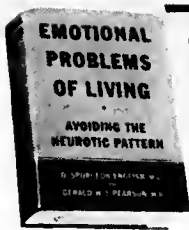
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7. The possession and maintenance of key positions, points of control or bases for the use of the vessels of the Maritime Authority (and where this seems indicated of other vessels). Merely to illustrate the plan—suggested are the island of Helgoland (or what remains of it), Jersey, Malta, Cyprus, a base in the Azores and/or the Canaries, a Caribbean base, Singapore, New Caledonia. Obviously, complicated negotiations and treaties would be necessary to obtain control of such stations.

8. Support and maintenance of installations, vessels, and activities generally. Obviously, the expenses of such an establishment would be very heavy, but it is to be hoped that they could largely be met in connection with services rendered and if possible without recourse to subventions from nation members of the United Nations. It might, for instance, be given the right to receive fees for clearance papers at ports under control, ad valorem port dues on vessels using its conveniences or other charges for assistance given.

THIS WHOLE PROGRAM IS OBVIOUSLY an ambitious one, involving a large extension of the role of the United Nations. It means long term development, the different parts interlocking.

The advantages of the plan, if it could be realized, are important:

It would take the poison out of the strategic problem of the Mediterranean, especially the Dardanelles, and of other areas where national difficulties focus.

It would facilitate trade, navigation, and use of natural resources, including fisheries.

It would prevent the development of a naval race to fill any vacuum caused by shifts in naval policy and would make it easier to lessen naval establishments pending disarmament. Incidentally, it would offer opportunity for distinguished service on a national plane for ex-navy officers.

It would increase the prestige and usefulness of the United Nations and build up consciousness of the globe as one world.

It ought to be self-supporting and no burden on national exchequers but, on the contrary, a method of lightening burdens of naval powers, especially England, who, as said above, has so long performed an important international service in policing the seas.

A major crux is the relation of the Maritime Authority to armed naval forces until such time as national navies may be superseded, if that consummation is achieved.

Some of the things suggested as possible functions of the proposed Maritime Authority have already been initiated, or are being dealt with, in other ways. For instance, the League of Nations Section on Communication and Transit was active in the matter of buoyage and lighting of coasts. And free trade zones exist, or have existed, under national or local administration. A classical example was the Free Port at Hamburg, but they also existed at seaports, riverports, and even key points on land frontiers in many countries.

POINT SEVEN IN THE ABOVE LIST relating to bases or points of control is one that presents both great complications and great possibilities. The securing of necessary concessions might prove, as already suggested, a troublesome business. On the other hand, the proposed bases might serve various useful purposes. They might be posts where mails were re-sorted and sent forward, and serve as landing spots for cables and as sites for powerful broadcasting stations, where such uses were indicated. Or again, they might prove suitable for laboratories for the study of plant and animal life, for facilities for prospecting for natural resources, including oil and minerals, as important links in the chain of posts reporting on epidemics and other matters bearing on public health, and as sites for hospitals.

If such a system develops, the globe will be irregularly spotted with international footholds which might come

to have considerable significance psychologically in the development of world-mindedness, and materially in the development of all-human use of the resources of the planet.

Some functions may be best dealt with as they have been hitherto, but it would seem to be an advantage to group some, if not all, under a general Maritime Authority, as here contemplated.

There is need of some conspicuous and convincing step toward internationalism. People are skeptical of progress, scared by the nightmare forces which we have been clever enough to unchain but are not wise enough to control and devote solely to useful ends. We need something that will submerge the chicanery and jockeying that are so perilous, something that will catch men's imaginations and enlist their interest.

It is a handicap that this proposal has not yet, as far as I know, been put forward by any competent authority or pushed from any powerful quarter, but if the idea has value this is a handicap which should prove temporary.

Annual Wage

continued from page 546

dorse the report's specific recommendations for changes in present statutes. It recognized that "existing legislation in the fields of social insurance, minimum wages, fiscal and tax policies, among others" vitally affects "progress toward the achievement of stability through the institution of guaranteed wages." Instead of recommending definite changes in law, however, it merely suggested that all such programs be reviewed, and evaluated.

It urged that the Council of Economic Advisers assume "leadership in integrating government efforts" in this field "with the understanding that they will consult and call upon other agencies concerned."

President Truman, promptly complying with this recommendation, in a letter to Chairman Nourse of the Council of Economic Advisers asked that agency to "study the economic implications of the guaranteed wage, particularly as a device for helping to stabilize employment, production, and purchasing power." At the same time he asked the Labor and Commerce Departments to continue the survey

of the experience with guaranteed wage plans and to make this information available to labor and industry. He did not, however, recommend to Congress any of the changes in existing laws suggested in the Latimer report to encourage the wider adoption of such plans.

THE COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS designated Leon Keyserling, one of its members, to supervise the gathering of further data on the economic implication of guaranteed wages. The Bureau of Labor Statistics has announced that it is continuing its studies of the operation of guaranteed wage plans and it is expected soon to publish the findings. What the Department of Commerce is doing has not been disclosed and Congress, in its recent session, did nothing to change the laws which handicap the adoption of guaranteed wage plans. This is the present status of the government's action in this field—not a record of accomplishments but a promise of further inquiry.

In contrast to the increasing interest in guaranteed wage plans and the recent widespread approval of them, progress in the actual establishment of such plans has not been great. In the U. S. Steel, General Motors, International Harvester, and many other 1947 contract negotiations, the unions demanded guaranteed annual wages but dropped these demands in the final settlements. Despite the almost unanimous support for wage guarantees by organized labor, few unions have come forward with offers which allow employers sufficient leeway to make the guarantees attractive. Most managements have declared that they would like to give guarantees to their workers but that the conditions of their business make this impossible. Only in a few instances have labor and management actually sat down together to work out a guarantee scheme.

The greatest progress has been made in meat packing. This is a consumer goods industry, with pronounced variations in demand and even more extreme fluctuations in supply. But this industry has had, a weekly employment guarantee for more than thirty years. The effect has been to afford year round employment to a very large percentage of the workers. Further, it is in this industry that one of the most successful of the existing annual wage plans,

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the Hormel plan, has long functioned.

The largest union in this industry, the United Packing House Workers, CIO, at its 1946 convention declared annual wages to be its foremost objective. In the ensuing negotiations it was successful in getting annual wage provisions written into its agreements, not only with Hormel, but with the Tobin Packing Company (two plants), the Glaser Provisions Company (four plants), and the Gus Glaser Produce Company (one).

EVEN MORE SIGNIFICANT, POTENTIALLY, is the section included in the 1946 agreements with the Big Four packing companies, in which, to quote from the Swift agreement: "The company recognizes the importance and desirability of stabilizing employment on an annual basis and to that end will, to the extent practicable, attempt to give employes fifty-two weeks' work per year including the vacation period."

This promise represents merely a statement of policy and imposes no contractual obligations upon the companies. But there is in addition an unqualified promise that the companies and the union will each undertake a study of the practical aspects of an annual guarantee of wages.

In other industries only a few new wage guarantees are to be reported. The United Automobile Workers, CIO, in April concluded an agreement for the first wage guarantee covering employes of Maremont Automotive Products, Inc., Chicago, a parts manufacturer. The International Ladies' Garment Workers Union,

AFL, in the same month made an agreement with the Gernes Garment Company of Kansas City, for 52 weeks pay for all its employes, with the 10-percent-of-payroll limitation suggested in the Latimer report. Finally, Lever Brothers and its union, the International Chemical Workers, AFL, have set up a joint committee to work out a wage guarantee plan.

This record of progress is not nearly as good as that made in England. During World War II, the Essential Works Orders froze most British workers to their jobs. In fairness to them, these orders also provided that employers had to pay them for a full week whether they had worked or not. As controls have been withdrawn, they have been replaced by provisions in many major collective bargaining agreements continuing the guarantee of a full week's pay. This is a week-by-week guarantee, terminable upon the discharge of an employe, but it actually has worked pretty much like an annual wage plan. Although these guarantees proved very costly during the shutdowns necessitated by the great storms of last winter, they are not only being continued but extended, according to the latest reports.

Progress on a similar scale toward assured annual earnings for the mass of the production workers seems quite far off in this country. Increasing recognition of the value of such guarantees, however, affords hope for more rapid gains in the near future than in the past. The greatest need now is for more action rather than more reports.

Covenants for Exclusion

continued from page 543

non-whites. These are 1940 census data and the situation probably has worsened since.

Overcrowding spawns its own ills: the correlation between poor housing on one hand and prostitution, juvenile delinquency, crime, and disease rates has been demonstrated by every sociologist who has turned his attention to it. Obviously, low economic status plays its part in confining Negroes to undesirable urban quarters, but race restrictions aggravate the problem. Every attempt to expand areas of Negro occupancy is met with delay and expensive law suits.

Grasping landlords and selfish real estate speculators have turned this sit-

uation to their advantage. The Negro home buyer or renter must accept whatever terms he can get in this artificial seller's market.

THE PROSCRIBED GROUP BEARS THE INITIAL burden imposed by restricted dwelling space but the ultimate cost is borne by the entire community, which has to pay increased taxes for jails, hospitals, and correctional institutions. Nor is that all. Segregated communities breed segregated institutionalism. Schools, YM and YWCA's, relief centers, police precincts, churches, and neighborhood activities of all kinds located in Negro communities become "Negro" institu-

tions. Despite statutes to the contrary, we have many separate schools in all large cities. High school students in Los Angeles, Gary, and Chicago have staged strikes in the past two years when Negro children were admitted to what they had been taught to regard as "white" schools.

Although these strikers were soundly lectured by their superiors, adult behavior has been equally undemocratic in comparable situations, and often more violent.

Chicago's racial disturbance in the fall of 1946 climaxed a row over the right of a Negro veteran to live in a public development and came on the heels of more than fifty bombings of homes bought by Negroes in "white" districts.

Today, whites and Negroes are glowering at each other in such widely separated places as Buffalo, N. Y., and the West Coast cities because Negroes are venturing out of "colored" districts.

New York real estate dealers recently complained bitterly about a New York City ordinance forbidding discrimination in publicly aided housing and demanded its repeal. They asserted the right to exercise "proper discrimination in the selection of their tenants."

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS strengthened the pattern of residential segregation over the past dozen years. The Federal Housing Administration pledges the credit of government in insuring loans for race restricted dwellings. Its early manual recommended racial covenants and furnished a model agreement for subdividers. The revised manual provides that FHA is "not to be concerned with protective (sic) covenants" but its insurance policy remains the same. FHA formerly refused to insure loans for Negroes who sought to build homes on unrestricted lots in "white communities" and just as consistently refused to guarantee more than minimum loans in "Negro" districts on the ground that property values were low due to age of buildings and overcrowding. What changes may be expected in these fields is not yet clear.

During the war, the government handed out priceless priorities for home construction and then permitted contractors to cover the housing with race restrictions, thus increasing "ghetto" areas. The results were what

might have been expected. In Los Angeles, for example, where homes were built for in-migrant war workers only, Negro war workers, who comprised about 14 percent of the total number of newcomers, got less than 5 percent of the privately constructed war housing. All the rest was covered by racial covenants, usually running for a period of ninety-nine years.

Urban redevelopment acts extend the right of eminent domain and grant indirect subsidies to builders who undertake large scale housing developments. New York City got the first of such projects and a lawsuit is now in progress to test the race restrictions imposed by its sponsors.

DESPITE THE WIDESPREAD USE OF restrictive covenants, it is easy to overestimate popular demand for them. There is a highly vocal minority in every community that promotes such covenants by scaring home owners with tall tales of falling property values and repetition of stock-in-trade racial myths. The standard practice is to form a "Neighborhood Development Association" which seeks to attract community support on the basis of excluding Negroes but hardly one such organization is self-sufficient. Funds are almost invariably supplied by special interest groups of real estate speculators who make tidy profits out of the promotion.

The second, and more important, factor in the multiplication of racial covenants is the subdivider. Imposition of race restrictions has become standard subdivision practice and is demanded by lending institutions. Appeals to democratic and religious precepts fall on deaf ears in such quarters. "Our way" produces profits, and all-too-human bankers and money lenders, with their own share of racial prejudice, are not given to changing "standard business practices." Only a clear-cut Supreme Court decision invalidating these covenants on constitutional grounds can call a halt to the spread of the ghetto, the tightening of its restrictions.

Individuals, no matter how well intentioned, can do little. Once the home buyer purchases a race restricted parcel of property, he is tied hand and foot—and today he can buy little else. One, or a dozen, prejudiced individuals can demand and secure the enforcement of a racial covenant



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against the will of other owners in the tract.

"Every man," President Truman told the 1947 conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, "should have the right to a decent home." Continued use of race restrictive covenants aborts that right for Negroes. The President went on:

We can no longer afford the luxury of a leisurely attack upon prejudice and discrimination. Our case for democracy should be as strong as we can make it. It should rest on practical evidence that we have been able to set our own house in order.

Our house will not be in order as long as any citizen, solely because of his race, can be deprived of the right to own a home or to live in one.

It is undoubtedly true that judicial invalidation of race restrictive covenants would not result in immediate breakdown of the walls of segregation. Long habits of living together, hostility in other neighborhoods, agreements against sale to Negroes that could be voluntarily observed, low economic status, traditions nurtured by racial separatism would tend to preserve Negro communities for some time to come.

All that could be accomplished immediately would be to admit Negroes to the free housing market. Their chances of finding better homes in that market would depend entirely on the readiness of schools and communities to teach, and to practice, the basic principles of American democracy.

(In answering advertisements please mention SURVEY GRAPHIC)

Food for All Mankind

continued from page 535

of the late 1920's which contributed to the world economic crisis of 1929. The world economic system, shaken as it has been by the war, will not stand the additional strain of another such crisis.

There is another aspect of the situation to which I should refer. Although, through lack of purchasing power, the supply may exceed the economic demand, *never in our lifetime will supplies catch up with the needs of the people of the world.*

Taking account of the anticipated increase of the world's population, food production will need to be doubled in the next 25 years to enable all people to be reasonably well fed.

Unless measures are taken on a world scale to preserve and extend the food producing resources of the world, human society may be faced in a few decades with food shortages which cannot be rectified by humanitarian, economic, or political measures. The FAO, first at its conference called in Washington in May, 1946, then in repeated appraisals of the world food situation and in its reports has warned all governments of these dangers—so clearly and lucidly that they have no excuse for not understanding the position and considering what action should be taken.

CONSIDER THE JOB WHICH FAO HAS to do. Its job is:

—to enable the nations to develop and organize the production and distribution of food so as to provide sufficient food for health for the people of all countries;

—to raise the standards of living of food producers, the great majority of whom throughout the world are in abysmal poverty;

—to stabilize agricultural prices in the international market at levels fair to producers and consumers; and through all these

—to contribute to an expanding world economy;

—in other words, to provide material for adequate food, clothing, and shelter for all mankind.

But consider the means given FAO to accomplish the task. It has power to collect statistics, to disseminate information, to publish technical reports, to send missions to countries and to make recommendations.

All these things have been done for

the last fifty years, but all the statistics, technical reports and missions did not prevent the slump in agricultural prices, did not prevent the economic crisis in 1929, and did not prevent two world wars.

At the FAO Conference at Copenhagen a year ago proposals were submitted for the establishment of a World Food Board as an addition to the structure of FAO to make the organization an efficient and effective instrument for promoting the concrete measures needed to attain its great aims and objectives.

Unfortunately, in my opinion, not all the nations were prepared to give up the small amount of their authority necessary for this board to function. But with the facts before them, they agreed that the things which the board was to do must be done and they recommended the setting up of a World Food Council of representatives of eighteen nations the conference will choose if the proposals are approved.

My hope in coming to Geneva has been that in these historic buildings of the League of Nations, where governments failed their duty because they were so shortsighted they could not put the interest of the world before their own immediate national interest, we may see a new spirit of international cooperation.

But though governments decide that certain action should be taken, we realize that FAO cannot do the job alone. What is needed in the world today is not so much food as tractors, agricultural implements, and fertilizers to enable food to be produced. What is needed is flood control schemes and irrigation plans, to extend the fertile areas of the world, and, not least, more consumer goods to offer food producers in exchange for their products.

To bring about this great industrial expansion is the job of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. The council and the FAO can cooperate in the development of the resources of the world.

Some people may think this plan would conflict with the interests of trade. On the contrary it would make trade flourish. If we had the great plan of development devised by a World Food Council, an Economic Council, and a World Bank, we

would know what the trends of trade are.

It is now the general view that trade agreements should tend toward abolishing all restrictions to production and toward tearing down all barriers to the free distribution of the things men in all countries produce.

I know that FAO alone cannot do all this; but it can take the first step towards getting the United Nations Agencies to work together with a great common objective—to develop the resources of the world for the benefit of the people of the world for the expansion of trade and industry.

THE WORLD IS SPIRITUALLY SICK; people are losing hope; great nations are afraid of each other. The shadow of an economic crisis is already upon us. There is danger of drifting into a third world war unless something is done.

The immediate proposal is for the setting up of a World Food Council through which the nations will cooperate with each other for the development of food production, fisheries, forestry and the industries needed for the expansion of agriculture. This will be the first step toward getting the proper functions of government internationally performed. The Food Council must link up and work jointly with an organization for industrial development under the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

At a time when the structure of the League of Nations was crumbling, Viscount Bruce, the chairman of our Preparatory Commission, suggested a new approach to the problem of world peace. He suggested that the nations should cooperate to provide food for the people and, in a great expansion of production, bring prosperity to agriculture and industry. He warned governments that if this were not done the world would be plunged into chaos. His prophecy was fulfilled. We have seen the chaos which preceded and the worse chaos which has followed the war. By setting up a World Food Council the Geneva Conference can take the first step towards bringing order out of world chaos. You will decide whether FAO will be a mere fact-finding body or whether it will at least attempt to become a great instrument for creating a world of plenty, a world of prosperity and a world of peace.

SITUATIONS WANTED

GRADUATE SOCIAL WORKER (female), experienced with teaching and group work techniques through helping adults take social action for sound community organization and improved legislation to meet social welfare needs and problems of race relations. Also experienced in public speaking and public relations. Desires supervisory or administrative position. 8633 Survey.

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SUPERVISOR: Girls Home for Protestant girls, ages six to sixteen, located in St. Louis. Professional training and experience required. Salary dependent on qualifications and ability. Write Mrs. R. F. O'Bryen, 412 Union, St. Louis 8, Mo.

CASEWORKER—SUPERVISOR—for job leading to full supervisory position soon. Must have completed graduate training, have interest in supervision, and have had substantial casework experience in agency of high standards. Opening January 1. Family and Children's Service, Inc., 313 S. E. Second Street, Evansville, Indiana.

CASE WORKER—MALE—SINGLE: Graduate in social work. For Connecticut School for Boys (juvenile delinquents). Beginning salary \$2144 plus maintenance. Box 706, Meriden, Connecticut.

CASEWORKER, Family Service Department of multiple service Episcopal agency in Eastern city. Intake on non-sectarian basis. Trained supervisor. Retirement plan. Salary up to \$2600. Qualifications must include at least one year graduate training. 8631 Survey.

WANTED: Superintendent for 45 bed Children's Convalescent Hospital. College graduate, medical social work background, executive ability and adaptability desired. 35 to 45 years of age. Quarters. Salary open. Position available January 1st. Send dossier to Mrs. Helen V. Haason, Children's Convalescent Home, 850 South 36th Street, San Diego, California. Interview to be arranged.

SOCIAL SERVICE WORKER (WOMAN) FOR FRONTIER NURSING SERVICE IN THE KENTUCKY MOUNTAINS. FOR INFORMATION WRITE AGNES LEWIS, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, WENDOVER, LESLIE CO., KENTUCKY.

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CASEWORKERS for national agency with multiple service program for adjustment of foreign born in U. S.: M. S. degree required; salary range \$2700-\$3925; appointment within range depending on experience. Promotion opportunities. Knowledge of German or Yiddish desirable. Write or telephone United Service for New Americans, Inc., 15 Park Row, New York 7, N. Y., CO-7-7900.

SENIOR and JUNIOR CASEWORKERS wanted for home finding and adoptive studies, excellent supervision assured. Salary range—\$2200 to \$3300. Write to the Children's Home Society of Florida, 403 Consolidated Building, Jacksonville 2, Florida.

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EXECUTIVE SECRETARY for recently established Catholic Charities Agency in Northern Virginia "opposite Washington, D. C." Salary \$3500 a year. Opportunity to grow with Agency. Address applications to Catholic Charities of Northern Virginia, 3304 North Washington Boulevard, Arlington, Va.

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SOCIAL WORKERS—male, New York City office, New York State Training School for Boys. Salary \$2,760.00-\$3,360.00, increment \$120.00 yearly. Case work services to adolescent boys. Require satisfactory combination graduate training and experience. Apply R. L. Sullivan, 205 East 42nd Street, Room 515, New York 17, New York.

CASE SUPERVISOR: Male or female. Minimum requirements include MSS from accredited school with previous supervisory experience in agency handling family or children's casework program. Salary up to \$4,200. Challenging opportunity. Family & Children's Service, 602 South Cheyenne, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

COUNTY CASE WORKER NEEDED. Family Agency expanding its county program. A worker, interested in county organization, needed. Car required. Write—John W. Anderson, 411 Walnut Street, Allentown, Pennsylvania. Salary commensurate with experience.

CASEWORKERS—Catholic Family and Child Care Agency has two staff vacancies. Salary in accordance with professional training and experience. Opportunity for advancement. At least one year's graduate training required. Catholic Welfare Bureau, 855 South Figueroa Street, Los Angeles 14, California.

SUPERVISOR, man or woman, for child guidance agency where treatment is carried mainly by psychiatric social workers, under immediate and close supervision of an outstanding nationally known psychiatrist. Experience in a child guidance agency or related psychiatric work desirable. Interesting and challenging opportunity. Apply Jewish Child Guidance Bureau, 682 High Street, Newark, New Jersey.

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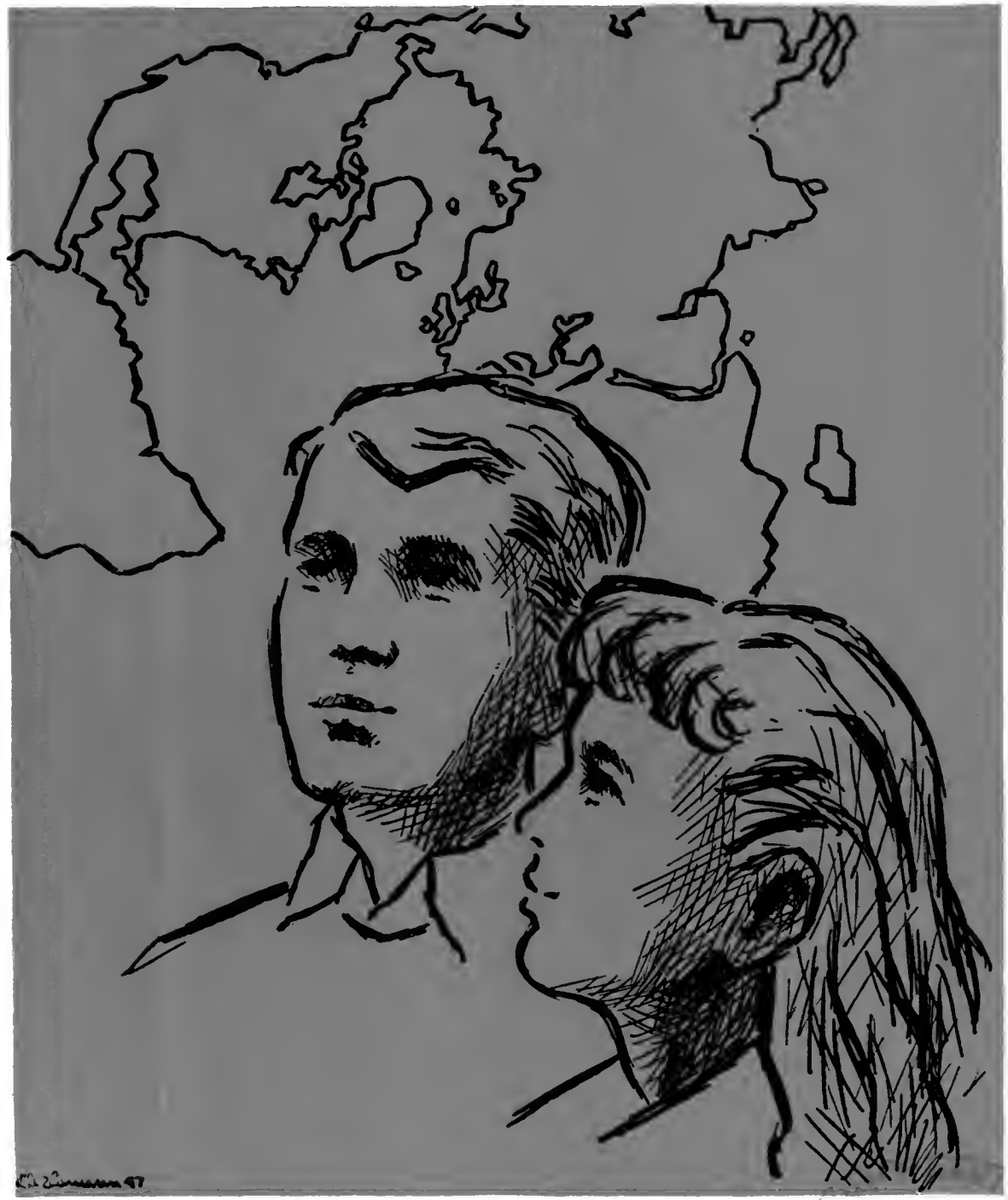
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Survey Graphic for November 1947

Thirteenth in CALLING AMERICA Series

BEULAH AMIDON, Special Editor

Cover Drawing and Design by Ole Hamman

THIS SPECIAL NUMBER IS THE THIRTEENTH in the "Calling America" series, started in the shadowed beginning of 1939, continued through the grim and anxious days of rearmament in this country, and of total war around the world.

We have carried the series forward into the postwar years, because it seems a time when to contribute to the informed and candid facing of the problems of democracy in this country is to contribute to the cause of peace and understanding everywhere.

THE STAFF IS INDEBTED TO MANY FRIENDS for generous contributions of time and thought in bringing this number to fulfillment. Several members of the board of directors of Survey Associates sat in with us in the initial stages of planning the range and focus of the issue, and in our casting about for authors, picture sources, and research materials.

From the earliest inception of the project and through all the stages of hope, enthusiasm, anxiety, and the final mad scramble to meet the printer's schedule, we have had the advice, counsel, and encouragement of members of the Education Committee, and particularly of its chairman, Dean Ernest O. Melby, School of Education, New York University.

THE FOREWORD (PAGE 567), IS BY BEULAH Amidon, senior associate editor, and the special editor of this issue, as she was of our last education number, published in October, 1939.

GEORGE N. SHUSTER, PRESIDENT OF HUNTER College, writes of the new international opportunities and responsibilities of American education (page 569). Mr. Shuster is a member of the U. S. National Commission of UNESCO, and was a member of the U. S. delegations to the London and Paris conferences, at which the objectives and methods of UNESCO were formulated.

THE GAINS AND LOSSES, BROAD TRENDS AND developments in education since 1939, here and in Europe (page 573), are defined by I. L. Kandel, professor *emeritus* of education, Teachers College, Columbia University, and editor of *School and Society*. Professor Kandel is spending the current academic year in England, as visiting professor at the University of Manchester.

EVELYN SEELEY, A WRITER WHOSE SPECIAL interest is education, writes (page 579) of new applications of mental hygiene knowledge and techniques, to prevent maladjustments before they have had a chance to warp young personalities and sow the seeds of adult tragedy.

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THE EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF THE PRE-school years are made clear (page 586) by Jessie Stanton and Agnes Snyder, of the faculty of the Bank Street Schools, New York City, both recognized authorities in the nursery school field.

THEODORE D. RICE WHO WRITES ABOUT American schools for the difficult teen age (page 590) was until this year an administrator of the Oklahoma City public school system. He is now a member of the faculty of the School of Education, New York University.

THE OVERCROWDED COLLEGE CAMPUSES ARE the center of the educational ferment in this country today. A group of three articles present as many aspects of the current college scene.

On page 595, John Dale Russell, director of the Division of Higher Education, U. S. Office of Education, poses and discusses the question: can this country—the only nation in the world which provides universal secondary education—also make college available to all?

The issue of the quality of college education today, and of its product, is examined, (page 598), by Ordway Tead, president of the Board of Higher Education, New York City, and lecturer at Columbia University.

Francis J. Brown and A. B. Bonds, Jr. (on page 602) inquire into the problems posed by increased college costs, shrinking returns from investments, the passing of "the big donor," the mounting demand for higher education. Mr. Brown, a staff associate of the American Council on Education, is serving as executive secretary of the President's Commission on Higher Education; Mr. Bonds is assistant executive secretary.

WHY, IN A DEMOCRACY, EDUCATION CANNOT stop with formal schooling, but must be a continuing process, is shown (page 606) by Malcolm S. MacLean, professor of education, University of California.

A UNIVERSITY EXPERIMENT WITH WORKERS education is reported (page 610) by Kathryn Close, an associate editor of *Survey Graphic*, now on leave of absence.

HOW CAN WE FREE OUR TEACHERS TO TEACH and our children to learn as individuals? We offer the answers (page 617) of Farnsworth Crowder, a former teacher, now a free lance writer with a California base.

MAXWELL S. STEWART, EDITOR OF PUBLIC Affairs Pamphlets, shows the present inequalities in the school opportunities of young Americans, and poses the pros and cons of federal aid to education (page 620). The issue is underscored in a telling example cited by Margaret S. Lewisohn (page 623), president of the board of trustees of the Public Education Association.

HAROLD R. BENJAMIN, DEAN OF THE SCHOOL of Education, University of Maryland,



SIDNEY AND BEATRICE WEBB

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AS THIS EDUCATION ISSUE GOES TO PRESS comes word of the death at eighty-eight of one of the world's great educators, Sidney Webb, who, with his wife, probably did more than any university of their day to influence public thought on social and economic change.

Two memorials to Beatrice Webb were recently established in England: a conference house in London; and in Surrey an educational center, for residential conferences, summer schools, and weekend institutes—both for use by all sections of the labor movement.

shows that the teacher shortage applies to quality of personality and training, as well as to numbers (page 624).

JAMES HENNESSY, AN EX-SERVICEMAN TELLS (page 627) why he is now preparing himself for teaching as a life work.

THE FACTS AND THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE "quota system" in higher education, are revealed with an unsparing hand (page 628), by Alvin Johnson, director *emeritus* of the New School for Social Research, member of the Temporary Commission on the Need for a [N. Y.] State University.

CAN THE MASS MEDIA OF COMMUNICATION, especially radio and movies, be made to serve the ends of education? How? Two authors collaborate in supplying some answers (page 630). Gloria Waldron, formerly economist with OPA, then statistician with WRA, is now associated with the Twentieth Century Fund. During the war, Robert Snyder, once a college teacher of English, was Film Utilization Officer with OSS in charge of enemy films. He is now executive director of Film Program Services.

DEAN ERNEST O. MELBY, SCHOOL OF EDUCATION, New York University, challenges education to save freedom by "making it work" (page 635).

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN, MEMBER OF THE faculty of the New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, points to the enduring goal of education in terms of individuals, and of a better common life for us all (page 637).

A SPECIAL ISSUE IS A SPECIAL, AS IS CURRENTLY demonstrated, but a series from month to month goes marching on. The latter clause is a reminder from those of the staff who have kept their eyes to the future during recent weeks when the subject of education had all the priorities.

The series remain with us, in the plural. The one on recent developments in social thinking, which presented its views on politics and economics in the past two months, claims the whole of this November issue for its own. Here is recent social thinking in education, today's developments in both theory and practice. Next month the series continues with, it is hoped, a group of articles on intercultural relations, or in more words, getting on in America with minority groups and insuring that they have a decent break, too.

The Mental Health series which opened last month is continued herein by Evelyn Seeley's article, "No Child Need Be Lost." This, indeed, is one of the most appealing phases in the whole field of Mental Health. In December this series leaps across to middle age, with a discussion of its problems by the eminent Chicago neuropsychiatrist, Dr. Roy R. Grinker.

Another continuity in December, although not quite to be considered as part of a series, will be a firsthand article on Alaska by Richard L. Neuberger, who only recently returned from spending a large part of the summer there.

Mr. Neuberger contributed to the October issue an exciting study of Alaska's Governor Ernest Gruening.

SURVEY GRAPHIC

Thirteenth in CALLING AMERICA Series

EDUCATION FOR OUR TIME

This special issue of *Survey Graphic* rings the old school bell, calling citizens together to discuss our schools, and how they can be made more nearly equal to the demands of these crucial years.

It is a time when Americans need to take stock of our institutions, and to consider their strengths, and where they fall short of the needs of the difficult today, the uncertain tomorrow. Basic to our whole scheme of things is our system of education. In the face of this nation's present opportunities and responsibilities, domestic and international, how do our schools measure up? Does the adult generation have a reasonable chance to keep abreast of current events, reasonable access to the fruits of scholarship and research which will help interpret our duty as citizens? Are we equipping youth with sound preparation for urgent tasks ahead? Are we applying to education the best of our modern knowledge of psychology, public health (physical and mental), of learning processes and communication?

In this introductory section, we look first at UNESCO, as a symbol of this country's obligation to approach the problems of peace from the viewpoint of intelligence; then turn to analyze the impact of the war on education.

The first major section assumes that we are already deeply concerned about many educational shortcomings, and shows how we are beginning to move ahead along a dozen lines, affecting the preschool years, maladjusted children, the high schools, the campuses, adult education.

Next we turn to areas of controversy, to consider inequalities in the schooling we afford children of different economic levels, family and community; the ways we circumscribe the freedom of teachers to teach and of children to learn; why we are so short of teachers skilled in their high art; the effect of undemocratic prejudices on educational opportunity; how we are using (and misusing) twentieth century tools of mass communication.

Finally, two writers lift our sights for a long view of the permanent values of education as the bulwark of freedom, the transmitter of what mankind in its long, uneven progress toward civilization has learned of right and wrong, of good and evil, of selfishness and human brotherhood.

Here, perhaps, we lay hands on the wisdom for which the world has paid such a terrible price, the knowledge which is ours to use—or to fling away. For the ordeal of our time teaches us, if only we will learn, that war can undermine freedom and morality; but that only the slow processes of education can establish and maintain liberty and justice for all.

Beulah Amidon



Charles Phelps Cushing

. . . that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed. . . . From the Constitution of UNESCO

Education's New Responsibility

GEORGE N. SHUSTER

I SHOULD LIKE TO CITE IN THIS turbulent hour a few pertinent words from John Milton's letter on education, written in the England of the seventeenth century. He said to his friend that if schooling were sound young men going to other countries "will be such as deserve the regard and honor of all men where they shall pass"; and that as a result "other nations will be glad to visit us for their breeding or else to imitate us in their own country."

It would be difficult to state more effectively the imperative which education now confronts. Though "One World" may still be remote from political realization, there can be no doubt that commerce, of the things of the mind as well as of goods, will be universal and incessant. That is why, from the international point of view, education has become so very important. For what is education if not the ever continuing experience by which a people's civilization is both conserved and changed? And if this experience is henceforth necessarily to include, as never before, the exchange of idea and custom across national boundaries, then it matters tremendously who the agents of the exchange are and how they conduct themselves. Nor will they be the few privileged "young men" of Milton's day. They will be countless thousands of men and women, of all kinds and callings.

Looking back, we see that after the sanguinary civil wars which drained the resources of medieval England, there came the peace of 1485 and a great wave of influence from the continent to revive universities and schools parched and wilted by the long cultural drought.

Or we note that after the dire blood-letting of the Thirty Years' War, the prostrate schools of Germany became little more than fiefs of Paris and Versailles.

But these were happenings resulting from need rather than decree. There simply took place a beneficial infusion of alien cultural blood, after which

the patient was himself again. Today there is a rather different story to tell.

The current tense struggle for ideological power has developed a strategy and a tactic all its own. Many thousands of Russian "cultural relations" officers have poured into both occupied and liberated countries to wage a propaganda offensive on all fronts. Newspapers, magazines, music, radio—these and other devices are used less, it would appear, to drive some ideas home than to keep other ideas out. It is a truly grandiose effort, inspiring fear even as it wins allegiance.

Over against this is set the still experimental program of the United States, embryonic now but no doubt destined to wax mighty and complex unless the general tension is somehow relieved.

The British are tenacious and intelligent in this area, too, though like the French they may suffer from the fact that while they must continue to talk as if they possessed great power, regard for that power has diminished in the rest of the world.

NOW THE SURPRISING AND EVEN ENCOURAGING fact is that while these titanic maneuvers are being executed, the cultural virility of most of the peoples shows no sign of weakness. Cities may be in ruins, universities scarcely able to find the stones in which their former grandeur was housed; yet the intellectual ferment is great and the sense of cultural continuity strong.

I believe that Italy, for example, is wider awake and more daring than she has been since her unification. France is suffering from every kind of economic woe, and there seems to be no way in which the power its industries need can be supplied except at prohibitive cost. But the French themselves have not been for generations so intellectually alive as they are today. I am not thinking of great writers whose epigrams the boulevards repeat. There are fewer of

them now than there have been, and paper is scarce. But France rocks with stimulating debate in her own traditional cadres. Young Frenchmen are not tied to as many slogans as their fathers were. They are on the hunt for reality, and they have a notion where it may be found.

Probably the most remarkable illustration is Germany. It would be a mad optimist who would profess to have found for this battered country any applicable formula of political reason. Yet the intellectual activity now manifest is extraordinary. The universities are crowded and almost tensely intent. Read through a sampling of the new journals and books, and you will be amazed at the pertinence, depth, and energy of the discussion. The Germans live on Spartan rations in a huge and somber poorhouse, but among them are still to be found poets and philosophers.

THIS, THEN, IS THE PATTERN OF OUR time. On the one hand we are witnessing an unprecedented drive for ideological conquest opposed by a determined effort to buttress ideological stability; and on the other hand we are aware of unexpectedly tenacious cultural individualism. The conclusions are obvious. There must be a crusade against what remains of nefarious fascist doctrines, but there must above all be a crusade for freedom. The intellect is not a set of rules; it is spiritual life in action. If we can create a worldwide structure of education inside which liberty, service, and courtesy are established as habits or norms, our children will live through a time of invigorating intellectual commerce the like of which the world has never seen. But if we fail to create such an order, rival efforts at indoctrination assuredly will lead to universal repression, sterility, and war.

Because these alternatives were at least dimly perceived, UNESCO—the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization—came into being. The job is new and breathtaking in scope. No one is as yet

Education's New Responsibility

wholly sure of what UNESCO's objectives should be, or of what methods it should employ. Some few things are, however, obvious:

First, all international educational effort must be free, not committed to any single philosophy or doctrine, not dominated by political forces as such, whether they be dictators or foreign offices.

Second, more and more of the energies expended by the several nations on their own "cultural relations" programs must be siphoned off into a cooperative cultural effort.

Third, this effort must be carefully directed so that although the specific tasks assigned will often be highly specialized, the underlying general purpose—the promotion of understanding among the peoples—always will be kept clearly in view.

Fourth, though direction requires administrative officers empowered to make decisions, these officers must always hear from, have access to, the people.

These are all very difficult assignments. I am myself persuaded that if the United Nations organizations are to make progress, their sessions should open with a solemn ceremony the principal event in which would be a silent procession behind a huge flag bearing the inscription, "War is easy—Peace is hard!" The cause of peace has always been the victim of chronic optimism.

More exacting still for UNESCO are the conditions under which intercultural discussion must be conducted. This cannot be anything like a laboratory experiment. It must take place between human beings of varying moods, interests, ambitions, and convictions. What is *known* must also be *wanted*, and wanted by those to whom power belongs. Many Germans living under Nazism knew that the policy of fanaticism and blood-lust could not succeed. Some of them wanted to set up a different set of political objectives for their country, but they were powerless to influence the trend of Hitler's leadership.

In short, intercultural discussion depends upon leaders who have learned through experience how to reconcile direction with difference.

But it needs, above all, constant interested participation by the masses of men. The talk must get down to the level of the conventions, emotions, and images which form the mental lives of those who are not primarily thinkers but bearers of the normal burdens of society.

That is why the schools are important, and why the mass media of communication are destined to play a great role in the making of human society. Even if we assume that all these are given intelligent and benevolent direction, the nature of the service they are to render still remains to be determined. The truth, for instance, must rigorously be served. But we all know with what scrupulous care truth must be sought, and with what impartiality it must be reported.

UNESCO HAS ALREADY GIVEN THESE problems intensive consideration. It has planned conferences between leaders in all the fields of intellectual endeavor—the sciences, the social studies, the humanities. Efforts to help schools formulate a modern policy have made some progress, both in the sense that education in the several countries has been made aware of the value of the exchange of persons and materials, and in the further sense that schools in war-devastated countries have been given some aid. On another level there has been discussion of the mass media, particularly radio. The concept of a World Radio Network, to make it possible for the peoples of the earth to share their views of current problems and their cultural heritages, has come to seem a wholly practicable venture.

We know now that the great task can at least be attempted. Anyone who has witnessed, as I have, the deep interest which is taken by the people in this country and elsewhere in the purposes of UNESCO, realizes that the quest for peace through understanding has the eager support of millions. The horror and folly of modern war are plain to everyone. But deeper than this anxiety is the growing feeling that human life and civilization are worthless—unless the pillar of fire that illumines all activity is the dignity of the individual man.

But though these things are true,

the present puny stature of UNESCO is an ironical caricature of the aims it serves. Its budget is smaller than that of a minor American university. Face to face with the grave problem of Russia's relationships with the Western world, it must carry on not only without Russian participation in its deliberations but without any means for establishing some sort of *modus vivendi* even with Soviet scholars and writers.

One must unfortunately add that even inside its own councils UNESCO is far from harmonious. If the spectator wishes to observe the growing pains of a new international order, he can hardly expect to find a more revealing sample than is afforded by this organization. It is the bitter truth that although billions were poured out for a weapon of war which no human being can think of without dread, the poverty and other limitations imposed upon the task of helping mankind to live in peace often invite a shrug of official shoulders.

Indeed, looking back we may say that, half unconsciously, mankind has, for a good two hundred years, been devoting its best efforts to "national defense," even though the reasons for doing so became continuously more nebulous. And yet, even in this desperate time of atomic energy, nothing is more difficult to suggest to any people, even the most impoverished, than radical disarmament. The best songs of all the nations are still battle songs. The last lyrics directed to mankind as a whole were written long ago in the Latin language.

EDUCATION, SURELY, MUST REALIZE soon that although it can be proud of having transmitted the scientific methods which have transformed modern living, it cannot find a simple formula which will transform knowledge into intellectual and moral service.

Proximity alone is not an advantage. Odom can fly around the world in a few hours, and demonstrate again that the enterprising citizen may, if he wishes, see a good deal of scenery in a short time. Even living close to people does not make one like them any better. Does anyone suppose there is as much affection among the close-packed apartment dwellers of Manhattan, as exists among the scattered farmers of the Dust Bowl?

Nobody knows why individuals detest or are fond of each other. One

prophecy it is quite impossible to make it whether the partners to a wedding ceremony will love and honor an obviously cherished mate one year after the bells have chimed. No living soul has the faintest notion what can be done to make groups or nations compatible. The study of such phenomena is in its infancy.

Of one thing we are sure—there was a time when national differences meant far less than they now do. Nobody objected to the Irish teachers of Charlemagne's age because they came from Ireland. A proud Florentine like Dante could write and dream of a universal monarchy. The Christian was, and presumably still is, committed to the vision of universal brotherhood. A genuine Marxist is a man who recognizes no valid differences between the proletariats, no matter how intolerant he may be on the subject of the bourgeoisie. But we know that in the main the culture-building processes of the modern age have sworn by a different philosophy. Men have striven to create sovereign nations by hook or by crook. They have cultivated traditional languages and gone to almost fantastic lengths in order to teach them to their children.

THAT ALL THIS SHOULD BE SO IS NOT strange. Civilizations, as Toynbee and Spengler have shown, are in large measure the expressions of group quests for survival; therefore they are competitive, even combative. Now it is obvious that the only civilization which can survive henceforth is the civilization of humanity. But it must be as broad as humanity. It must give free scope to the cultural individualism of the peoples. It must be at once a cooperative, a ceaselessly wrangling, and a many-sided civilization, wise enough to know that tension is a necessary ingredient of life.

We can, if we wish, make UNESCO an instrument for getting on toward that kind of common order. It will not lift itself by its own bootstraps. It needs men and women—thousands of them. The inspiration by which it moves is kindled in your community and mine. The subject matter with which it is to be concerned, the impact of diverse civilizations upon one another, for good or ill, must become the basic course of study of

our whole scheme of education.

The question is not whether we can profitably surrender what is good and inspiring in our own way of life. Of course we cannot—and should not. And it ought to be remembered that even the most judicious subordination of national pride to international solidarity will be opposed everywhere by men more strongly than they think. One cannot keep the windows of the mind open without running afoul of those who believe all such windows ought to be closed. Dr. Samuel Johnson cautions us that "minds are not leveled in their powers but when they are first leveled in their desires." There will be no dearth of chauvinists to insist that the leveling process is theirs to determine.

Speculation as to the method of this basic education for international understanding must of necessity be tentative. I shall, however, permit myself to outline what seem to be opportunities:

FIRST, THERE IS THE ACADEMIC CURRICULUM.

In the Western world, we have been rather arrogantly Western. Looking abroad, we Americans are likely to think only of Europe and the Near East, with a casual gesture in the direction of our Latin neighbors. Therefore, it is often urged that we must immediately include the Orient in our study books, and stress India, for example, as we do France. At the risk of inviting trouble, I shall dissent on the ground that the suggestion is quite impractical. We do not understand the French, despite our many teachers of their literature and history and our innumerable

tourists. How then will a few random samplings of Indian lore help us to fathom the world of the Upanishads?

It seems to me imperative that education make a real effort to understand the French—or the British or the Russians or the Spanish. Once we succeed in this we shall have learned how to step outside ourselves, how to see an alien people clearly, with no illusions as to our own superiority or significance.

As things are now, the American who ought to be telling his boys that they could find no more illustrious exemplars of manhood than Champlain or Brébeuf is whispering to them instead that all Gaul is divided between bad women and good perfume. When we shall have reared a generation of tourists who can walk about Paris without advertising their vapidness, the time will have come to discuss the inclusion of Sanskrit in the curriculum.

Fostering oriental studies as such is quite another matter. We have neglected them, as latterly we have all the histories and the humanities. It will be necessary to pursue them for a long while with seriousness and humility before we shall have trained teachers and writers who can report to us with lucidity and pertinence.

SECOND, WE SHALL HAVE TO MAKE A concentrated attack on race prejudice.

For two centuries we have been exporting education, technology, and religion to the so-called backward peoples. Our Anglo-Saxon ancestors hunted down primitive tribes and enslaved them. Our more recent forebears set such a store by empire that they annexed the terrain inhabited by old peoples like the Filipinos. But we now live in a time when these peoples have demonstrated their ability to keep pace with us.

We still maintain a technological superiority, though even this is probably transitory. In other fields—music, art, theater, philosophy, scholarship, religion—the "colored races" are doing quite as well as we are. But just when the myth of superiority is being proved absurd, it flares up anew to do us infinite harm. Even if the sole question were the national defense, it would be obvious that we could not successfully protect our-



Education's New Responsibility

selves against a uniformly hostile "colored" world. But when the quest is for international understanding, the irony of our practiced prejudices is greater than Swift or Rabelais could encompass.

Yet this is no easy combat, this against the demon of race feeling. We do not understand that demon. Some men have surmised that it may be a deeply settled malady, atavistic and rooted in instincts not yet described. Others have declared, far too jauntily, that "children have no prejudice" and that their later intolerant behavior results from training or association. It would help us greatly if it were admitted that nobody knows how to account for these rabid hatreds.

Many believe that if research in this area of human relations were subsidized at the major universities of the world under the auspices of UNESCO there would emerge, perhaps within a generation, findings as revolutionary and helpful as have been those of Adler and Freud in the psychology of individual behavior. For our safety we should most assuredly support such research, and call a halt to the paraders and haranguers and charlatans who profit by the emotional ills we suffer, even as nostrum peddlers have made fortunes out of physical sickness and pain.

There is hardly another problem which so clearly demonstrates the character of the work UNESCO must do and the urgent reasons why it should be enabled to carry on. One may note the impressive symbolism of the international conferences themselves, when the prestige of national representation is conferred on those who come from all the countries of the world, regardless of color or creed. I have myself observed how notable the effect on morale and confidence may be, as distinguished Indian philosophers and Chinese scholars participated in discussions presided over by a great French Jew, Léon Blum, while a Negro American served as rapporteur.

This beginning must, however, be tenaciously carried forward to a successful conclusion. One American who has devoted his life to the question of the Negro in a white environment recently expressed the conviction that a research program in racial

tensions and their causes, as extensive as that planned for the natural sciences, is imperatively needed.

The success of such an undertaking would depend, as do all efforts in the field of international cultural relations, upon the recruitment and use of men and women adequately trained and properly motivated. Everybody knows that such unity of spirit as Europe has ever known was in an era of vigorous intellectual exchange, the classic illustration of which is the Italian Thomas Aquinas who, trained in Germany, became the most illustrious professor of the University of Paris.

The desirability of academic "exchange" has long been recognized as a vital concern of our time. But no amount of mere shipping to and fro of students and teachers will help greatly. This is particularly true of those aspects of international intellectual commerce which bring the problem of race relations to the fore.

THIRD, THERE IS THE SIGNIFICANT problem of mass communication.

Education by book and lecture, has long since ceased to compete seriously with these great forces in most urban areas. The minds of our children are for the most part molded more subtly by the pictures they see, the radio programs they listen to, the daily newspaper the family reads, than they are by their teachers.

If we except the more primitive regions of the earth, it is clear that only a dwindling minority of our citizenry are really products of formal schooling. That this fact may be deplorable is obvious. On the other hand an inquiring person can, if he so desires, be better educated in music by listening to the radio than he ever could be at school. And if a citizen assiduously read the better columnists—Walter Lippmann, say, and Anne O'Hare McCormick—he would probably get a course in contemporary political science which a college could rival only in the sense that it would offer a more comprehensive historical approach to the discussion.

If therefore these media of communication could be ennobled, if they could be harnessed to the job of promoting mutual understanding by the peoples, it might almost be taken for granted that a different intellectual

climate could set in throughout the world.

That "if" is a tremendous one. Obviously, if the mass media are to function, they must first of all have free access to information and to the listener or reader. So far, all efforts to assure freedom, modest though they have been, have failed. There is less frank exchange of opinion now than there has been at any time since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Here Russia is one of the barriers, but by no means the only one. It is almost impossible, for example, for an American to find out what is happening in Japan. The average citizen also has access only to the most fragmentary news about Latin America. And to seek for information about China, or even about the relations between China and the United States, is to embark on a hunting party as arduous as any organized to look for a hiker lost in the Vermont woods.

Even if freedom of communication were at present realizable, we should still confront thoroughly disorganized processes of selection. The movies, to be sure, make use of a vapid code in order to delete at least some of the more offensive clichés and stereotypes. Regulations compel the radio to present two sides of moot questions, though nothing assures the listener that either side will be presented fully or intelligently. Perhaps the best newspapers come closer to the kind of service we must envisage as vitally needed by the world now emerging. Yet even the editors of these dailies would concede that methods of deciding what the reader is to find in his paper are often dogmatic, seldom determined by such educational essentials as we are considering in this issue of *Survey Graphic*.

IT IS TO BE HOPED THAT UNESCO will grow strong enough to undertake the basic studies in mass communication which alone can make the achievement commensurate with the opportunity. To say this is to indicate anew how vital a role has been assigned to this agency. Again we enter a critical era in history realizing that man's knowledge is inadequate and his procedures amateurish. Montaigne once said that all the good rules had been laid down and it remained only to put them into effect. At least we are certain that Montaigne was wrong.

Balance Sheet of the War Years

I. L. KANDEL

NO MORE IMPRESSIVE ILLUSTRATION of what global war means can be found than the disruption of education everywhere during World War II. In addition to the emotional disturbances among the children themselves, the very nature of modern warfare dislocated the normal processes of education in Europe and enlisted school children and youth in the active war efforts of their countries. Over large areas, the school systems were perverted, or virtually wiped out, by the deliberate policy of the Germans and their allies to use the educational institutions of the conquered countries to encourage collaboration, and to deprive other peoples of all cultural advantages—since “slaves need no education.” Thus the war left every country with the burden of repairing its educational losses—in buildings, equipment; and personnel.

The war had a further effect, however; it directed popular attention to the strong and the weak points of the educational system of each nation and indicated the essential tasks of reconstruction. This was as true of the United States, where the fabric of education remained relatively intact, as in communities where it had been destroyed. Rarely has the importance of education as the basis of national and social welfare been so clearly recognized as during the war and post-war years.

To this the activities of the teaching profession in all countries con-

tributed greatly, during the war. The efforts of Britain's teachers during the evacuation of school children to “safe” areas and their almost unending war service all along the home front; the resistance of the teachers of Norway to Nazi oppression and their famous pledge of April 9, 1942; the migration of the Chinese universities, literally on the backs of teachers and students—these will always stand

out as epic events in the history of education.

The members of the United Nations began to turn their attention to the problems of postwar reconstruction when the Allied Conference of Ministers of Education was created in London in 1942. This coincided with the most comprehensive movement for reform in the history of English education. The famous

White Paper on “Educational Reconstruction,” published in 1943 by the Board of Education, marked the beginning of the end of the dual system—one for the masses and one for the select minority—which has been characteristic of all educational schemes outside the United States and Soviet Russia. That new note is to be found in the statement in the White Paper that

—in the youth of the nation we have our greatest national asset. Even on a basis of mere expediency, we cannot afford not to develop this asset to the greatest advantage. . . . For it is as true today as when it was first said, that ‘the bulwarks of a city are its men.’

This was the principle upon which the Education Act, 1944, and similar Acts in Scotland, 1944, and Northern Ireland, 1945, were founded. The same note was echoed in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand.

In a plan for the reform of education in France, prepared in 1944,

Warsaw children at the bomb-scarred entrance to their school



Polish Research and Information Service

"I will not call upon you to do anything which I regard as wrong. Nor will I teach you anything which I regard as not conforming with the truth. I will, as I have done heretofore, let my conscience be my guide, and I am confident that I shall then be in step with the great majority of the people who have entrusted to me the duties of an educator." From Norwegian Teachers' Pledge to Their Pupils—April 9, 1942



while the government was still in Algiers, the principle was stated thus: "There is, in truth, no better investment of funds than that devoted to the instruction and education of children." The Langevin reform which is based on this principle is at present being slowly introduced in France, although no fundamental legislation has yet been passed.

The principle is not new in this country, but it was restated in a pamphlet, "Public Education in Post-war America," published in 1944 by the National Education Association: "One of the major problems confronting the American people is that of further conserving and developing our human resources through education."

The reforms already enacted in England, Scotland, and Northern Ireland are being put into operation; they are still in the stage of planning and discussion in other of the United Nations. The task is formidable, everywhere. Building materials and labor are scarce and expensive; there is a universal lack of textbooks and equipment. Above all, there is the problem of securing an adequate supply of teachers to take the places of those lost in the war and to fill the new positions which the reforms imply. UNRRA was able to make a slight contribution to meet the educational needs of devastated countries; UNESCO and the American Council on Education furthered the creation in the United States of the Commission for International Educational Reconstruction.

This non-governmental, cooperative agency seeks "to stimulate and coordinate American voluntary efforts on behalf of education in the wartorn lands." In 1946, the affiliated organizations made contributions, in cash and in kind (books, educational and scientific materials, services such as educational missions, fellowships, study grants, and costs of shipping and administration) totaling \$61,994,295. Incomplete figures for the first six

months of 1947 amount to \$42,422,990.

The general lines of educational reform, which in many countries are the results of discussions and proposals initiated during World War I and continued through the years between the two wars, are as follows:

Establishment of equality of opportunity for all, irrespective of the accident of ancestry, family circumstances, or residence.

Secondary or postprimary education for all up to the age of fifteen, differentiated according to tastes and abilities, and part time education up to eighteen.

Increased opportunities for higher education with expansion of the universities to provide for larger numbers.

Increased provision for the health and care of children.

In some countries, expansion of the facilities for adult education.

In all proposals for educational reconstruction it is realized that the new programs call for the appropriation of larger funds than ever before.

COMPLICATED AS IS EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION among the United Nations, it does not compare in difficulty with the task in the former Axis countries. There, in addition to reconstruction, is the more formidable problem of redirecting education. Of the three leading Axis countries, Germany poses the most complex problems.

In Italy, the control of education has been entirely returned to the government.

Japan has a new government and a constitution in which the right to education is guaranteed, but reform of the educational system is still under the supervision of the occupation authorities. Following the recommendations of the United States Education Mission to Japan (1946) the Americans, after placing prohibitions on certain prewar emphases and

practices, have sought to help and advise the Japanese educators in the reorganization of their own scheme of education rather than to impose an American system.

Germany, under the control of four military governments, each with a different pattern of education, without any present prospect of an orderly economic future, and faced with the task of reeducating a generation thoroughly infected with the Nazi ideology, presents a far more serious challenge. Nor is the problem likely to be solved until the political and economic situation is clarified. Each military government does what it can, but the four systems of education will have to be reconciled, if and when the future of Germany is determined. Meantime, a plan for the organization of education in the American zone was suggested by the United States Education Mission to Germany (1946).

In Italy, Japan, and Germany the hope of establishing educational systems based on democratic ideals depends entirely upon the emergence of leaders in each country, as well as upon political and economic conditions. Perhaps the time will come when the suggestion that potential leaders should be given opportunities to study American educational theory and practice in this country will be more favorably received than it is today.

Education in the United States fortunately escaped war's direct destructiveness, but it underwent a nationwide survey far more extensive than in World War I. Even before this country joined the United Nations, leaders realized that education could not go on as usual.

Soon after the war broke out in Europe, campaigns were launched by the leading educational organizations to promote education for national defense. In this country it was not necessary to wait for directions from the government. Leadership was assumed by voluntary professional organizations. The National Education Association and its Educational Policies Commission initiated in 1939 the publication of a series of pamphlets which defined the guiding principles for education both before and after this country entered the war. The American Council on Education published a bulletin, *Higher Education and National Defense*, in which the various problems of immediate in-

terest in the field of higher education were discussed as they arose before and during the war.

After Pearl Harbor, John W. Studebaker, U. S. commissioner of education, organized the Wartime Commission on Education with representatives from fifty-eight educational organizations, and in March 1942 began to publish a biweekly, *Education for Victory*, as the organ of the Office. The publications of these various bodies served as a clearinghouse of information, guidance, and suggestion on all aspects of education during the war years.

The keynote for this period of crisis was sounded by Paul V. McNutt, Federal Security administrator, in the first issue of *Education for Victory*:

Education has been ever in the nation's service. But in these days of total war that service has a new significance. "You're in the Army Now" is no cliché—it is an expression of national necessity.

AFTER PEARL HARBOR THE WHOLE SYSTEM of education was dedicated to the war effort.

In this dedication, both the strong and weak points of the American system of education were revealed. Its strength lay in the emergence of professional, non-governmental leadership, and in the adaptability and flexibility of the system to meet new demands. On the educational side, the country raised an army of soldiers with longer schooling than those of any other country. The general level of education had been raised by two years above that in the first World War.

On the industrial side, the educational institutions, both old and new, were able to adapt themselves to the demand for speedy training of war workers. Federal funds for vocational training, which began to be provided in 1917, were vastly increased. Between 1940 and 1945, a total of \$326,900,000 was appropriated by Congress for training in trade and industrial occupations and \$63,000,000 for rural and food production training programs. It was estimated that in this period 11,500,000 men and women were enrolled in training schools, many of which remained open for a three-shift, twenty-four-hour day.

At a higher level, Congress appropriated funds in 1940, administered

by the U. S. Office of Education, to train personnel for efficient planning, production, management, and research needed in the rapidly expanding war industry. The program, known as the Engineering, Science, and Management War Training (ESMWT), provided short intensive courses of college grade, shaped to meet local manpower shortages.

SO MUCH ON THE CREDIT SIDE.

The indirect national survey revealed weaknesses in the educational system, however, which, although known in the profession, came as startling revelations to the public.

The Selective Service System found that 5,000,000 out of the 17,000,000 called up had to be rejected for educational, mental, or physical deficiencies. Of these, about 2,000,000 were rejected because they were "functionally illiterate," that is, unable

to read orders, signs and regulations. These figures confirmed the findings of the 1940 census that 10,000,000 adults were virtually illiterate and that nearly 2,000,000 children between six and fifteen years of age were not in school.

Nearly 4,500,000 registrants were rejected on physical grounds, a situation which justified the statement made in 1943 by Colonel Leonard S. Rowntree, chief of the Selective Service Medical Division: "The greatest internal national problem of the American people, after complete victory in World War II, concerns the health of the American people, their physical and mental fitness for their present and postwar responsibilities." That inadequate attention has been devoted to the health of children has been known since the White House Conference in the early Thirties.

Nor has the care of young children



Bill Mauldin

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"Zat's just like parents. Zey always leave their messes for their kids to clean up."

War's Balance Sheet

received the attention it demands. The result of this neglect was shown when measures had to be improvised for the care of the children whose mothers entered war industries. The need was met by federal funds under the Lanham Act (1940) and by state funds, but how inadequately may be gathered from the fact that by March 31, 1945, a total of only 101,319 young children had been provided for in 2,856 nursery schools and centers.

Nor was the situation better in the provision of out-of-school care for children of school age. Emergency federal grants were made for extended school services and for school-lunch programs, but not enough to take care of the large number of children whose parents were either in the armed services or engaged in war work. The disturbed condition of home and family life and the absence of adequate arrangements for the care of children and youth resulted in an increase in juvenile delinquency. An analysis of such statistics as are available for the war years does not, however, indicate that the increase was nearly as great as alarmists claimed. The situation did reveal the great gaps in the provision for children and youth during out-of-school hours, a situation already emphasized in the prewar reports of the American Youth Commission.

EQUALLY SERIOUS WAS THE SHORTAGE of teachers in such subjects as mathematics, sciences, and foreign languages. In mathematics, for example, professional standards had to be lowered to secure enough teachers for navy training programs. In foreign language instruction, special courses and methods had to be devised to meet the wartime need, not only in modern languages not normally taught in high schools and colleges, but even in those which long have had a place in the curriculum.

By 1945, it has been estimated, 350,000 teachers had left the profession, and in consequence 110,000 were teaching on substandard certificates, far below acceptable standards. One reason for the shortage was the obvious attraction of higher incomes in war-related or other activities. But there were other factors, such as unsatisfactory relations with administrators and supervisors, with local school boards, and with the public.

Those who remained in the profession in addition to their normal duties undertook a variety of activities essential to the war effort. They served as air raid wardens and on ration boards, distributed ration books, assisted in registering for Selective Service, and so on.

The general unrest and strain produced by war conditions had another consequence in the restlessness of youth in high school. Patriotic motives, a desire to contribute more directly to the war effort, and employment opportunities induced large numbers to leave school to engage in war work. Some responsibility for this situation must be borne by the authorities in government who constantly emphasized the shortage of manpower and the importance of immediate vocational preparation. It was not until 1943 that a "Back-to-School" or "Go-to-School" drive was launched by federal and local bodies.

The restlessness of high school youth was also interpreted as an indictment of the curriculum. Long before the war, the rapid increase in high school enrollment had directed attention to the need of reform in the high school curriculum. In 1944 the Educational Policies Commission issued a report on "Education for All American Youth," in which the major curricular emphasis was placed on work experience, vocational training, and social studies. Despite the recognized need of trained personnel in academic subjects, and the extensive literature, published during the war years, on general or liberal education at the college level, the report paid little attention to the place of academic subjects.

The weaknesses in American education, revealed during the war years, underscored the fact that the nation had failed to implement the ideal of equality of educational opportunities. They also indicated that the only solution that could help remove the serious and widespread inequalities—in buildings and equipment, in educational opportunities, in length of school year, and in the quality and remuneration of teachers—lay in the provision of federal aid. (See page 620.)

OF ALL THE BRANCHES OF EDUCATION, colleges and universities were the most directly affected when, on September 8, 1939, President Roosevelt announced the existence of a national

emergency. Since the government issued no statement of policy, the institutions attended by men liable to military service remained entirely uncertain about their future. The American Council on Education in a pamphlet on "Education and National Defense" (June 1940) urged the need of a master-plan to avoid the confusion and waste of time which occurred in World War I. The War and Navy Departments, each with different plans, entered into competition for college men.

In January 1942, the Committee on Military Affairs of the American Council on Education and the United States Office of Education held a conference in Baltimore, attended by about one thousand college and university presidents. Of the many recommendations made by the conference, only two were immediately adopted—the accelerated programs and the deferment of selectees who could show that they were "necessary men" in services essential to "the national health, safety, and interest."

A SECOND CONFERENCE, IN JULY, 1942, deplored the failure of the government to draw up a plan for the fullest use of the resources of colleges and universities.

A scheme to train men for the army and navy in colleges and universities was not announced until March 1943; but the Army Specialized Training Program and the Navy V-12 Program affected only 479 (less than 25 percent) of the institutions of higher education. How seriously colleges and universities were affected by the drop in enrollments, reduced income from fees and investments, and increased cost of operation was brought out in 1945, in a detailed report on the "Effect of Certain War Activities upon Colleges and Universities," prepared by a special committee at the request of the Committee on Education of the House of Representatives.

It was as a consequence of this report that President Truman, on July 13, 1946, appointed a Commission on Higher Education to "reexamine our system of higher education in terms of its objectives, methods, and facilities; and in the light of the social role it has to play." There is no doubt that this role will become increasingly important as enrollments in colleges and universities continue to increase to an estimated figure of 3,000,000

(Continued on page 647)

LINES OF ATTACK

Americans like to speak of "our system of education." Actually, we have as many systems as we have states, territories, and dependencies. Each of these systems is profoundly affected by the economic and social pluses and minuses of the area it serves and from which it draws its support; by the make-up of the population, the prevailing ways of livelihood, by beliefs, practices, prejudices, means of transportation and communication, community services, and a host of other factors. Nor is each of the many systems uniform throughout. Local control of education is a firmly rooted American tradition. And so the schools of a single system differ widely from city to city, from district to district.

But common to all American education is the immemorial instinct of parents to "give our children the best," and, out of this, an uneasy questioning of the schools and the job they do. The emphasis of the questioning may shift from community to community, but the general lines are the same. Nor have parents, school authorities, teachers been content to stop with questions. The demand is for action—"let's do something about it."

The next section of this special number raises some of the insistent issues: the problem of emotional and social maladjustment, the clearest evidence of which is to be found in current figures on juvenile delinquency and adult mental disease; high school restlessness; the overcrowded college campuses, and the thousands of qualified applicants turned away for lack of space or lack of scholarship funds; the obvious fact that in a democracy literacy is not enough, that education must not stop with the Three R's, nor even with graduation from college.

The articles pose many problems. They also portray solutions that are being suggested and tried in hundreds of communities, in a wide variety of school situations.—B. A.

"NO CHILD NEED BE LOST"
 THE MOST IMPORTANT YEARS
 HIGH SCHOOL—A HOT SPOT
 THE BROADENING COLLEGE BASE
 STANDARDS OF QUALITY
 HOW SHALL WE FOOT THE BILLS?
 LIFELONG LEARNING
 STEELWORKERS WITH DIPLOMAS



"No Child Need Be Lost"

EVELYN SEELEY

THEY ARE BEGINNING TO BEGIN AT the beginning. This is the real news in mental hygiene, although only the widening practice—not the knowledge or need—is new.

"It seems the sensible approach," Evelyn Adlerblum, head of a mental hygiene project that begins with five-year-olds in New York City's Public School 33, understated the situation. She was starting the fourth year of this project, the only such effort I know of in the main stream of public elementary schools although private agency preschool clinics are developing for children from infancy to six.

"Sensible," because the wrong kind of life experiences now — in these pliant first five or six years—can make a path for adult maladjustment which psychiatric backtracking then may find too late to cure. Studying the child now can turn the light on emotional needs that, unless filled, may bring this later serious illness.

Sensible, to say the least, in the face of the national picture that shows 13 percent of our children doomed unless help is extended. Out of every 100:

—four will eventually enter some mental hospital affected with a serious mental disorder;

—one will become delinquent because of inner inadequacy or unfavorable environmental influence;

—eight will be handicapped with twists and distortions of personality or with nervous breakdowns that will seriously interfere with their happiness and efficiency.

And the figures on the U. S. Department of Health's fact-sheet report more than 8,000,000 Americans, over 6 percent of us, suffering from some form of mental or nervous illness; more than half the hospital beds in the United States, some 600,000, occupied by mental patients; and about 10,000,000 of our current population expected to require hospitalization for mental illness at some time in their lives. Mental illness and handicap were the leading cause for rejection

from military service in World War II, accounting for 36.8 percent of all rejectees, and in spite of this screening, neuropsychiatric disorders caused more medical discharges than any other factor.

The mental hygiene people knew, before it was stated, that many of these boys rejected or returned as psychoneurotics were suffering from maladjustment caused by emotional deprivations or scars incurred before they were six years old.

"SENSIBLY," THEREFORE, MRS. ADLERBLUM, whose project is sponsored by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, sat interviewing mothers of kindergartners about to come to school for the first time. In the yellow-curtained kindergarten room of P. S. 33 she was starting the process of finding the fearful, insecure, retreating children; the over-tough and defiant who struck out; the lost youngsters, strange in a new social environment. She asked questions, jotting down the answers on the questionnaire, checking routine fundamentals of the child's life at home, reassuring the mother by her quiet voice, her sense of humor, the obvious understanding of child and parent problems she has gained from her own work and her own child, as well as from her professional training.

In about eleven minutes, as she filled out the questionnaire, she learned a great deal about Dick and his mother and his life at home. Dick's mother had a difficult pregnancy and delivery—harder with Dick than with her other three. She had trouble with Dick's formula and later feeding; she couldn't get him trained as early as the others. She has worried because Dick sucks his thumb, in spite of every device she thought she must use to break him.

"Dick has always made me so much work," his mother said. "Along with the other kids, it's just been too much. I'm tired all the time and not as patient as I should be. I can't wait to get him into school, out from un-

der my feet and asking questions all the time. His sister, just older, never caused me any trouble; she was just a little doll."

Mrs. Adlerblum took quick notes of what the mother said, but reserving judgment as to such dogmatic labels as "rejection" and "sibling rivalry" until she had a chance to observe the child in the classroom. Her study of Dick would show her whether these attitudes, grown out of his mother's hardship, had slid off his young skin or scarred him.

If she saw trouble or incipient trouble in his behavior, she would talk with his teacher while both got better acquainted with the child, and she would call his mother in to talk with her further. She would invite Dick into one of the small one-hour groups in her room, where he would have more freedom, less excitement, and a chance to play or talk or work with clay, and where she could learn more about his needs. Then she and Dick's teacher would consider together what positive things the school could plan for him.

They would keep in close touch with Dick's mother and tell her what they learned, or as much of it as she could accept and use constructively. And they would pass their information on to his first-grade teacher. If Dick grew happier and more at ease in school, reflecting also a better relationship at home, he would be considered a sort of graduate from the Project room—to return any time he wanted to or whenever his teacher thought it would help him. If his troubles persisted, Dick would be referred to the Bureau of Child Guidance for deeper treatment.

THIS MENTAL HYGIENE PROJECT, MRS. ADLERBLUM stressed, is preventive — not a clinic. Begun with kindergartners, it now works also with first-grade children and their teachers, with group teachers of the All Day Neighborhood School program, with second-grade teachers, and special children.

No Child Lost

Dick's story is a simplified version of how the National Committee's project sets out to help children and in this process to train or retrain teachers in mental hygiene philosophy and methods, meanwhile building up practical information for use in such training.

“WE TRY TO HELP CHILDREN AND teachers painlessly, not to cut across as experts,” Mrs. Adlerblum told me. “Our work has gone slowly because it must be done cooperatively and without resistance.”

From what I have heard and seen, the project is succeeding. I heard teachers talking at lunch, with deep understanding of how children feel. They were talking about “alumnus” Pete, whose preschool illness had overprotected him and made him antisocial; alumna Maryann, whose divorced warworker mother has now married again, and who after a long search for “mother-substitutes,” is now thriving with a mother at home, a sympathetic father, and a “grandmotherly” teacher whom she loves; alumnus Mike, who used to be a “smarty-pants,” away ahead of himself in learning and socially very lonely.

“Teachers do change and grow,” said Mrs. Adlerblum. “A teacher can't come to feel one way about one child and another way about all the rest in her room.”

It is true that P. S. 33 is a favored school where the widely known program of the All Day Neighborhood School developed. It is headed now by Morris C. Finkel, the kind of principal you are apt to find having coffee before or after school with his teachers at the corner cafeteria. In speaking of his own school, he said, “We do not surrender our children to schools for ‘special problems.’ Our teachers work hard to accept and help the children in their own natural school environment—the community where they live.” It is far from a privileged community; 50 to 60 percent of its homes are broken by divorce, desertion, death, or illness; its health statistics show infant mortality and tuberculosis rates among the highest in the city.

The project in P. S. 33 stemmed from the growing insistence that the school give a child a strong, favorable start and that it take a measure of

responsibility for his emotional needs as well as his ABC's.

I heard a junior high school principal talking with deep discouragement about some of the “unmanageables” in her school. “By the time we get them, they're hopeless!” she said.

“They weren't born hopeless!” flared Dr. Marion Kenworthy, professor of psychiatry at the New York School of Social Work, Columbia University. “If they're hopeless by the time they get to junior high school, we're to blame—we, every one of us. We missed our chance to help them at the point when they could have been saved.

“We could have seen what they needed in the first grades of school and we could have done something about it. A good school system must take this responsibility; if families can't help children, the substitute-parents of the school must.”

Dr. Kenworthy and the principal were meeting with educators, children's court judges, psychiatrists, child welfare leaders to complete a report of the Harlem Project, a demonstration they had sponsored in three schools to diminish maladjustment and delinquency by special services. She said to me later:

No child need be lost. If our teachers were selected for their motivation, as people deeply interested in children, if they were trained in the primary principles of what creates tensions in children, what gives them security, and the whole realization that every child is a product of his home environment, if they were helped to see and understand the symptoms of behavior that may mean trouble later on, and if simple adjunctive services were provided—clinical, recreational, curricular, and social worker or counselor to provide the essential liaison between school and family—then no child, whether the teacher had 25 or 40, need drift into the hopeless stage.

This approach and this philosophy were the basis of the experiment in one elementary school and two junior high schools in Harlem which proved that “the school itself, in spite of the deprived conditions prevailing in most of the homes of the children concerned, can help children to adjusted lives.”

The Harlem Project grew out of the stark emotional needs of an area where in one school, one child out of every five was known to be maladjusted or delinquent, and where other

schools were trying to handle almost unbelievably heavy loads of “problem children.” The report says that “unless grade schools in underprivileged areas are helped to meet the problems of children stemming from their home and community life, they will continue to send a flood of maladjusted children into junior high school where the maladjustment frequently becomes overt antisocial behavior.”

Many of these children, the report warns, “have been so repeatedly kicked about, rejected and punished, that rebellion and aggression must be expected. . . . For a long time many adolescents damaged from infancy by the tragic inadequacies of family and community life must get help through a new approach to their problems in junior high school.”

The project report calls on the New York Board of Education to implement the kind of program Dr. Kenworthy had just sketched—to revise and deepen examining methods that can sift out the kind of human beings we need as teachers, to give training in the “mental hygiene approach,” to provide clinical, recreational, and extra teaching services that afford curricular flexibility, and to make possible through social worker or counselor a real relation between school and home.

The project's sponsors, all people who work overtime on end-results of unfulfilled emotional needs, asked the Board of Education to end its “patchwork approach” and plan a mental hygiene program that “begins at the beginning.”

THE FOCUS ON BEGINNING AT THE beginning is not new; the war and the postwar period only sharpened it. The war opened up knowledge of adult need and the childhood deprivations from which it came, and it added the crop of “war babies,” fearful, insecure, needing help now against future trouble.

Postwar days brought other tensions. And the shift of responsibility for child-rearing from the home and family to the school, church, playground, went right on.

“We have been aware of this shift for more than a decade,” said Herschel Alt, executive director of the Jewish Board of Guardians in New York City. “Virtually no one believes it will be reversed, and still we have done little to strengthen

those community institutions which are being asked to take this added responsibility."

The war strengthened the techniques of preventive work, too, by showing that psychiatric treatment alone is limited unless coupled with a broad educational and environmental approach, that total treatment must bring into play not only psychotherapy but changed living patterns. They call it "milieu treatment"—treating "in the midst"—or "conditioned environment." It came of the army's need to restore men to func-

homes but from all sorts of homes.

The preschool centers, for children from infancy to six, began to be developed to fill the steady and new need, using the "milieu treatment." The Council Child Development Center opened in New York last February. A cooperative venture of the New York section, National Council of Jewish Women, the Lester N. Hofheimer Estate, and the Jewish Board of Guardians, planned to accommodate fifty children in treatment at one time, with forty in its therapeutic nursery, it had 291 applications

ers with mental hygiene training—pool their knowledge of the young.

Through clinic and nursery school the center provides individual psychotherapy for children with personality deviations, group treatment and re-education for youngsters two to six, and psychotherapy and counseling for parents with personality problems and unhealthy attitudes. Its concern is not to criticize parents or blame them, but, as Mr. Alt said, "to restore to them their right to enjoy their children."

This pooling of special knowledge,



Wide World

tioning as soon as possible. Without time to take personalities apart and put them together again (if such is possible) they had to rely on conditioning, group discussion, health-building activities.

Meanwhile, Mr. Alt said, the stream of children poured into guidance centers faster and faster—war children, postwar children, and just children. More children, younger children, brought now mostly by parents (rather than mainly from schools or agencies, as formerly): children not predominantly from underprivileged

A lonely and discouraged little boy, "kept in" by a teacher who understands the rules of long division better than the needs and anxieties of childish hearts

in its first two months.

This is the first clinic in New York exclusively for the treatment of emotionally disturbed children so young; it aims "to prevent establishment in a growing child of patterns of social maladaptation, delinquency and mental ill health; and to promote the establishment of healthy patterns of personality." Under Dr. Nathan W. Ackerman a team of specialists—psychiatrists, psychiatric social workers, pediatricians, psychologists, group therapists, and nursery school teach-

this teamwork by experts, to help young children, is the most important new growth in mental hygiene.

There is a center of this sort in Boston, the well established James J. Putnam Children's Center; one in Louisville, Ky., one being set up at the University of California in Berkeley, and others being planned in other parts of the country.

SIGNIFICANT VENTURES IN TOTAL TREATMENT, which seeks to harness direct psychotherapy and planned therapeu-

No Child Lost

tic living, are the residential schools or "treatment homes" for younger school age children now being developed in many places, among them The Children's Center in Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; Bradley Home at Providence, R. I.; the Orthogenic School of the University of Chicago; the school maintained by the Children's Aid Society in Cleveland, and the recently established Pioneer House in Detroit, directed by Dr. Fritz Redl, sponsored by the Junior League.

Probably not more than a thousand children are concerned, in all, but it is the pattern of teamwork and the emphasis on the problems at this early stage that are important. These will influence child guidance everywhere.

H. Edmund Bullis has taken another approach to strengthen children emotionally. Mr. Bullis, secretary general of the International Committee for Mental Hygiene and executive director of the Delaware State Society for Mental Hygiene, feels that "mass preventive programs" must be undertaken. Through "human relations courses" for sixth- and seventh-graders, he is trying to bring "positive mental hygiene principles" to normal children in the classroom.

He has established his human relations courses in most of the sixth grades in the Delaware schools, and over a hundred communities outside Delaware have sent for his plan.

With Emily E. O'Malley, Mr. Bullis started developing this idea six years ago and after its interruption by war service they launched the Delaware plan. Mr. Bullis said:

Statistically speaking, as a nation we are in poorer mental health now than in 1930. The discouraging fact that we are not keeping even in our search for improved mental health led me in 1939 to start experimenting with a preventive program. The average teacher is no better qualified to deal with the emotional problems of children than she was in 1930.

Psychiatrists are not numerous enough nor are they enabled by their training to be leaders in mass preventive programs. Educators must take the lead if real progress is to be made. The Delaware program is no panacea; it may be forgotten in five years. It is an attempt of a different type and on a more extensive scale than other mental hygiene preventive measures up to now.

Mr. Bullis believes, if the human

relations courses are successful, boys and girls completing Course I (sixth grade) and II (seventh grade) should be better able to face many problems — "to make decisions more readily, to accept responsibility more easily, to meet unexpected changes without too much embarrassment, to bring their emotional problems into the open rather than repressing them, to make compromises when necessary and to be better able to carry on after meeting failure."

The class begins with a "stimulus story" built upon some personality trait or emotional drive. In the discussion that follows each story, the children find that they are all alike under the skin, all have told lies at some time or other, all have been afraid, all have been greedy, all have suffered from certain troubles at home. Facing these common drives, these common weaknesses, helps them to understand them; bringing troubles and worries into the open may make them seem less frightening. Teacher and children will suggest ways to overcome weakness, constructive things that can be done to clear up emotional complications.

The Bullis and O'Malley book, "Human Relations in the Classroom," recently published by the Delaware State Society for Mental Hygiene in Wilmington, states no special teacher is required. The course, it says, can be handled by an English teacher or a social studies teacher, an athletic coach or manual training instructor.

"All you really need," asserts Mr. Bullis, "is a human being, with emphasis on the *human*."

IT WILL BE HARD TO MEASURE VALUES of this approach and it is too soon to see the results. To some mental hygiene authorities I have talked with, the course seems a little too pat, particularly the statement that any teacher can teach it. They think only a very special kind of person, with a real "mental hygiene approach" — whether acquired by experience or training — can handle such material and such confidences. Some children who need help most, they say, cannot unburden themselves in a group and many find it painful. In some cases children should not be pressed by a group pattern to bring their troubles into the open. A few more years in the schools, however, will tell the story.

Many important unlabeled things,

many facets of the mental hygiene approach, are going on in various schools all over the country. Dr. Roma Gans, professor of education at Teachers' College, Columbia University, who works with teachers from hundreds of schools, told me about "the homely kind of things that are going on."

She mentioned such "unlabeled work" by administration and teachers in Glencoe, Ill., and Elmont, Long Island, basic mental hygiene without the terms; a joint child health project by the schools of Rochester, Minn., and the Mayo Clinic; "mental hygiene" report cards now being worked out, in Schenectady, N. Y., for one place, without "A's" or "B's" or "C's," but affording real reports of what the child is doing and how he is growing; the widening practice, in California schools and in an increasing number of other communities, of keeping one teacher with one group of children the first two or three years.

"Teachers," Dr. Gans said, "are beginning to feel the feelings of children."

Dr. Gans sees a great wave of interest in mental hygiene sweeping both teachers and parents. She said:

What causes behavior is the number one topic of conversation. They gobble up every bit of reading matter on mental hygiene — from women's magazine articles to heavier pamphlets, reports and books. They listen to radio programs that deal with it. There is a great push for mental hygiene services and it is the teachers who are pushing the administration.

That is the way good growth really happens, Dr. Gans believes—an inner growth out, a flowering from the roots up.

"We cannot impose this change from above nor put it on like a cloak," she said. "We are tackling a field that demands the revision of the inner soul."

She distrusts what she calls "colossal mental hygiene" — plans with a "surface glamor" that may be dangerous, promising to push too fast, to lift more than they can carry.

AT THE OTHER END OF MANHATTAN Island, Dr. Jay B. Nash, chairman of health and physical education at New York University, finds the talk about "mental hygiene" irritating.

"There is no such thing as mental hygiene!" he said to me. "You can't separate physical and mental health.

There is only one health and that's the functioning body. There *are* mental conditions—worries, fears, tensions, strains. If you call the absence of those things 'mental health,' I'll agree—but it's recorded in the body.

His terms are different, the ideal school toward which he trains his teachers is the same. He asks for "a feeling of freedom in the classroom," for "an atmosphere of confidence," for "the absence of the stigma of failure."

"The very pressure placed upon the child to get high grades, to be promoted, to graduate and to be eligible for college is contrary to laws of wholesome living," he says. He wants "busy-ness" in "interest-driven activities." He wants every child to be himself, permitted to relax into "his own rhythm" as much as possible, rather than to be forced to fit himself to rigid patterns.

The Health Coordinating Council he works toward in the good school would include the psychiatrist and any mental hygiene workers—whatever they called themselves.

THE GULF BETWEEN DR. NASH AND the mental hygiene people seems to be largely a matter of semantics. When the psychiatrist talks of "the total personality" he does not separate emotional and physical well-being. He recognizes that the sound emotional life has its physical expression, and the good physical life its emotional components.

Dr. Paul V. Lemkau of Johns Hopkins University says this:

Mental health is difficult to define, but it certainly is not chronic unhappiness and does not include bitterness between parent and child, hatreds within the home, and the physiological discomforts and organic lesions due to very severe and prolonged unvented emotion. . . . That these states can be relieved and people put at ease instead of disease can be proved. . . . If you need figures, look to the results of out-patient psychiatric and child guidance clinics; almost all report a high percentage of improvement in human happiness and adjustment.

Meanwhile many cure-alls for the tensions and strains and maladjustments that are resulting in such a shocking national loss of useful, normal living, are being suggested. Courses and classes for children, courses and classes for parents, teen-



Evelyn Adlerblum, head of a school mental hygiene project that seeks to prevent early emotional scars—the forerunners of adult maladjustment and unhappiness

Press Association

age canteens, jail terms for the parents of delinquents—they range from good to bad. Herschel Alt said:

There is no dramatic key that will open the door to mental health. There are no painless panaceas or easy cure-alls. We have demonstrated that we can help the troubled child. I feel sure that if we were to use all the techniques we know about we could substantially reduce delinquency and maladjustment. Let us go to work and train workers in what we know works."

The new workers will have plenty of work to do. They will be busy with the new crop of "war babies," many of whom need help. But in a sense, all our children who need help are war babies, suffering from some emotional lack that parents, schools, society have not been able to fill.

Added to the war babies, scarred by rejection, maternal deprivation, lack of a father's care, will be the "post-war babies," sharing their parents' tension from housing shortage, from too high living costs, from fear of a new depression and a new war.

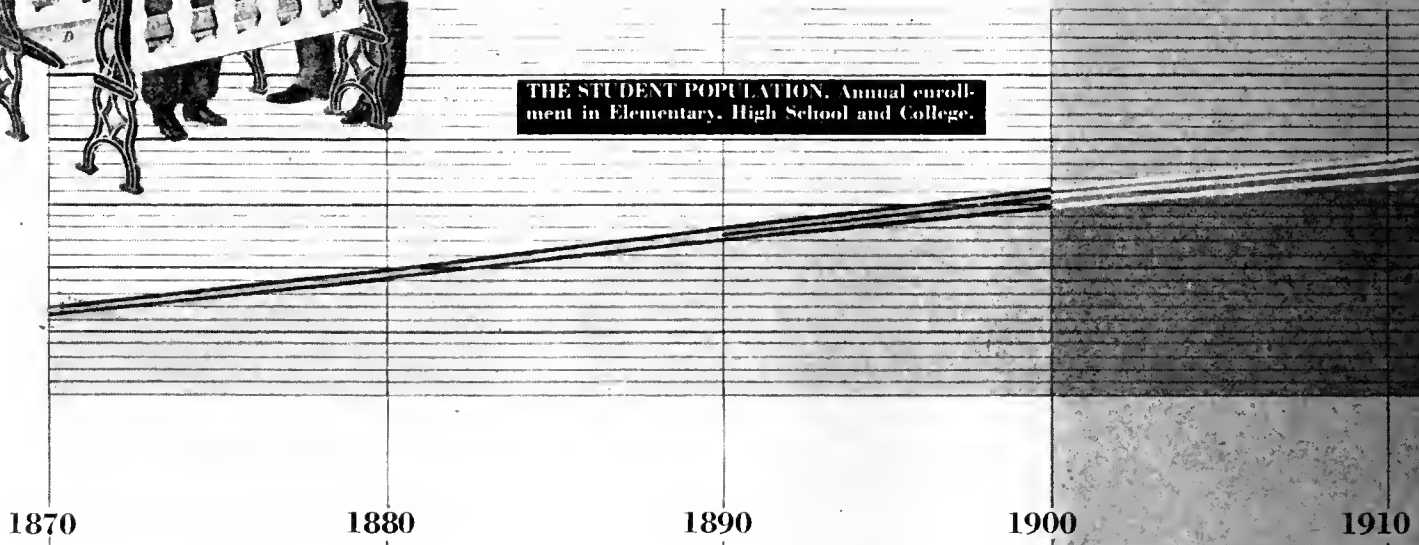
OUR HOPE FOR THE CHILDREN LIES IN the spreading and deepening knowledge of children's emotional needs among parents and teachers, in the slowly growing practice of mental hygiene in the schools, and in the newly emphasized teamwork by child specialists to unravel emotional tangles at the first twisted thread. The growing demand by teachers to be part of these teams and the lengthening procession of parents bringing their children to be helped is the measure of our encouragement.

EXPANDING PATTERN

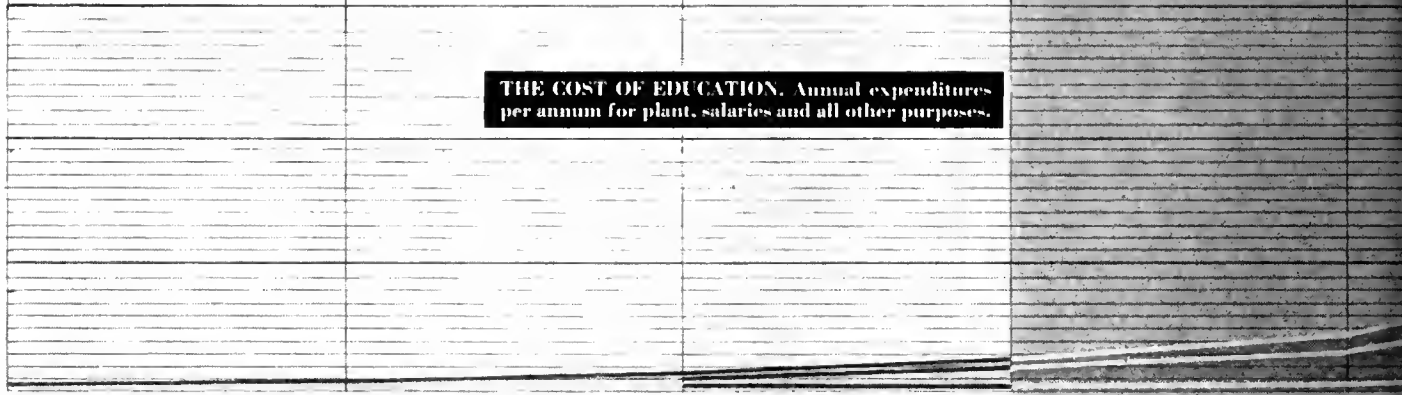
A primer of basic facts about our educational system



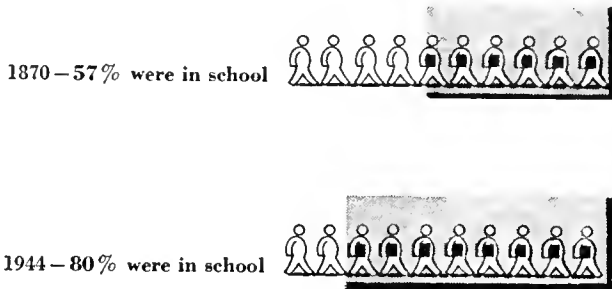
THE STUDENT POPULATION. Annual enrollment in Elementary, High School and College.



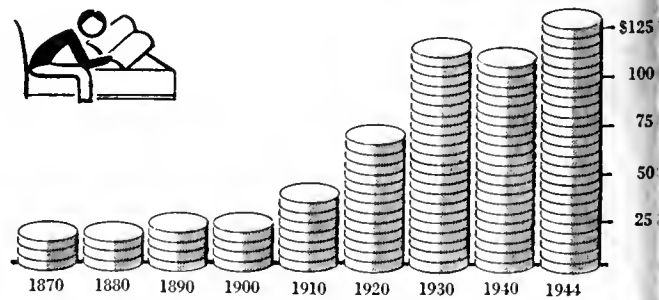
THE COST OF EDUCATION. Annual expenditures per annum for plant, salaries and all other purposes.



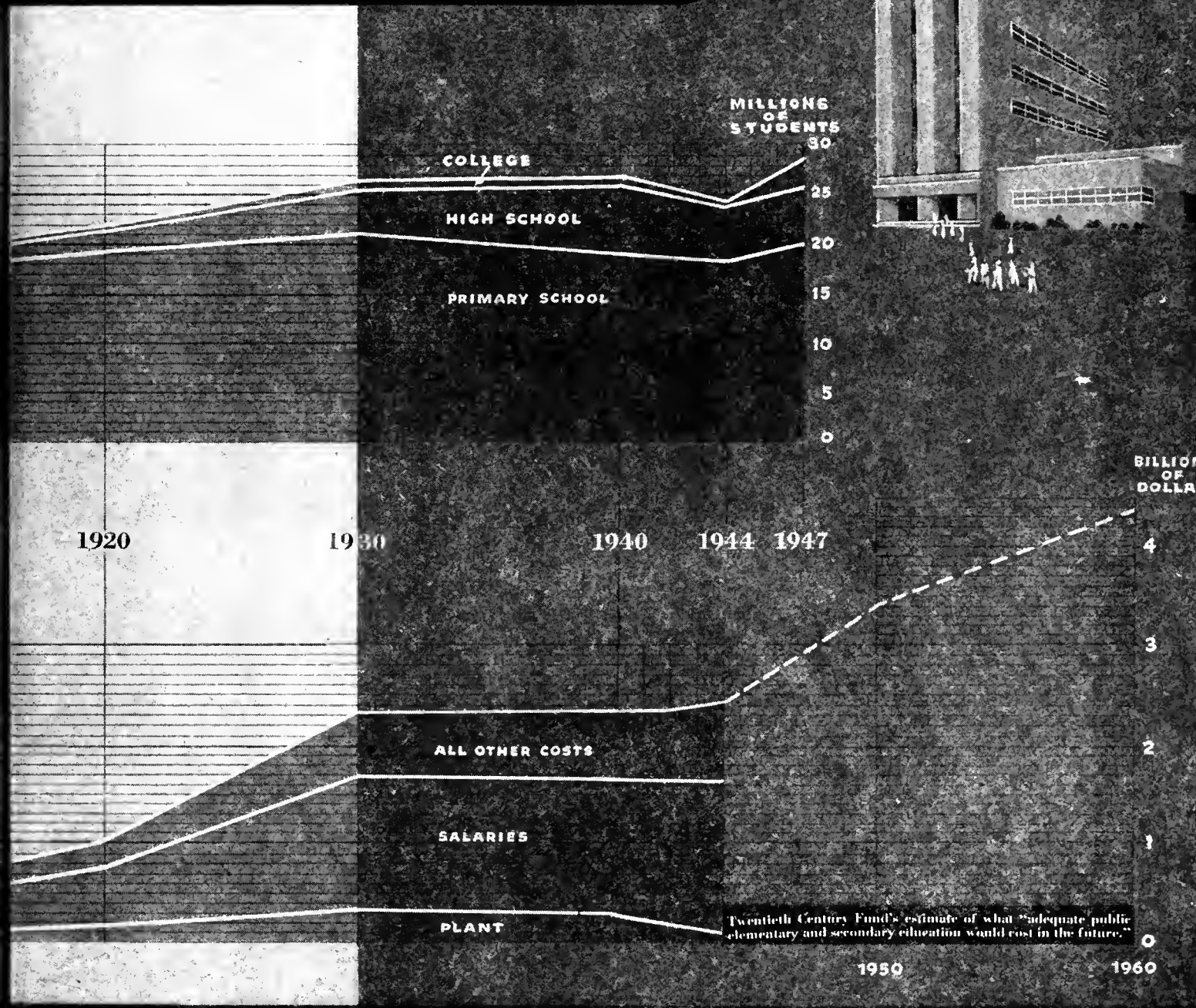
Percentage of population age 5-17 in school



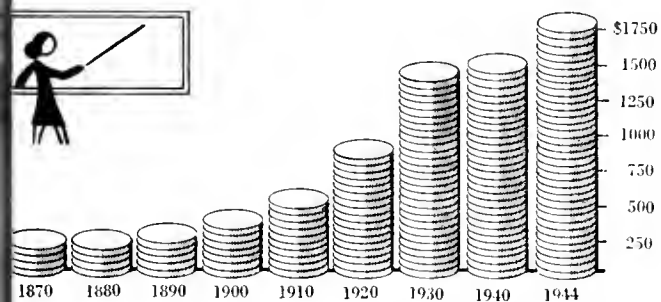
Average cost per pupil of U.S. education



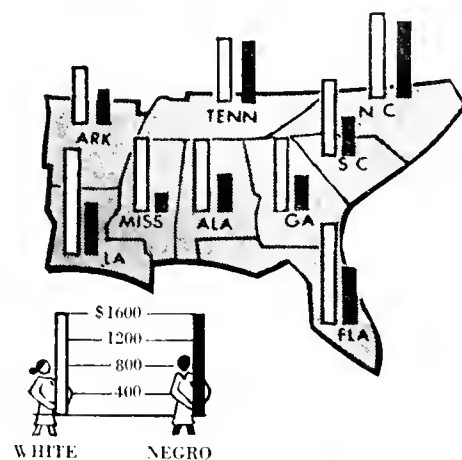
OF U.S. EDUCATION



Average salaries of all U.S. teachers



Average salaries of white and Negro teachers in nine southern states



Drawn for Survey Graphic by Ted Fari and Irving Geis



Lucian Atguer for Bank Street Schools

The Most Important Years

JESSIE STANTON and AGNES SNYDER

NURSERY SCHOOLS ARE NEEDED TODAY. Not to take the place of the home—no school, however good, can do that, and most certainly not in the first five years of life — but to cooperate with the home in working for the best interests of children.

The relation of the nursery school and the home is fundamentally a cooperative one. The teacher contributes her specialized training and her wide experience with many different children; the mother contributes her intimate knowledge of her own children and of their background. Of course there is overlapping, for some teachers are mothers, too; and some mothers have specialized training. But, in general, teachers and mothers supplement each other.

The mother, taking her child to and from nursery school, sees the school practices, and carries some of them over into the child's home life. Listening to the parent's anecdotes of the child, the ways "that work" with him at home and those that do not, the teacher gains additional insight and can check procedures based upon scientific knowledge against the test of practical usefulness. Together, but only together, home and school will work out increasingly effective education of young children. Home and school can learn together, and from each other.

For example: A mother coming a little early for her child at the close of the day watches from a distance as Tommy washes his hands. When

the slow process is finished, he tugs at the chain, the stopper comes out, and the water disappears. He looks very thoughtful over this interesting sequence of events.

"I want to do it again," says Tommy.

"Go ahead," suggests the teacher.

The child puts in the stopper, turns on the water, watches it run in, turns off the water. The water stays there. He takes the stopper out. The water goes away. He repeats the whole process. The same thing happens every time. Tommy looks at the pipe under the basin.

"How can it?" he asks.

The teacher realizes that Tommy is wondering how the water which filled the large round hollow of the wash basin can go down that small pipe—but she doesn't answer him. She lets him do his own thinking.

Suddenly he says triumphantly, "It gets littler!"

The teacher and the mother smile. The teacher says, "Learning by experiment and discovery takes time."

In the hurry and bustle of today there is seldom "time enough." Many busy mothers hurry children on and off buses and street cars, yank them through crowded streets and stores—the tempo of the child completely out of step with the tempo of the grown-up of today. In the nursery school there is time enough to play, time enough for leisurely meals, time enough for affection. For sometimes even the last is slighted in the rush of modern life, and of all the ingredients that go into the nourishment of a child, we now know that none is so essential as affection.

Not only is the nursery school a common ground for the parent and teacher, but it is also a meeting place for the parents of the community. As parents come together, learn to know each other, and exchange anecdotes about their children, they discover how similar—often identical—their problems are.

Mrs. A's Bobby is not the only "war baby" who will have nothing to do with his returned veteran father. It is not only Mrs. B whose home is being disrupted by the enforced presence of homeless "in-laws"; not only Mrs. C who cannot pay the high price of butter; not only Mrs. D, from the other side of the Atlantic, who finds it difficult to adjust to the ways of a new community; not only Mrs. E's Connie who bites, hits, uses

"dirty words," won't eat, wakes up early in the morning and makes her father cross—and so on.

In the discussions in parent groups many important ideas are developed: that children are not "bad" when their behavior does not conform to adult standards; that the uncertainties and fears of our times are particularly hard on children; and that only through the cooperation of everybody interested in children can solutions be found for the problems generated by the changed conditions of family living. These are ideas that are basic to the joint work of school and home in the care of little children.

MUCH HAS BEEN GAINED THROUGH THE wider spread of nursery school education during the depression and the last war. It took these two national emergencies to give group care to any appreciable number of preschool children in this country. At their peak during the depression, in 1934-35, there were 1,900 tax-supported nurseries accommodating 75,000 children; at their highest point during the war, in 1945, there were 69,379 children under six in 1,481 public nursery schools. To indicate the extent to which the facilities provided met the need, it should be noted that the 1940 Census reported 10,541,524 children under five. Thus, at most, there have never been more than .7 of one percent of the nursery school age group in some kind of public nursery school.

In both the depression and the war, the tax-supported nursery schools were established not primarily because of the children. In the first emergency, the WPA nurseries were organized to give employment to teachers and maintenance workers; in the second, to relieve mothers of their major responsibility at home, and thus provide more woman power for war industry.

Notwithstanding this meager record, educational reformers have been pleading, since the early part of the eighteenth century, for better provision for the first years of life — the period that determines the basic personality pattern of the adult. Nevertheless, educational systems have rarely assumed any responsibility for the child under six. Instead, group care for young children, in the main, has come not because it was believed to be good for the pupils, but because for one reason or another, the home could not take care of the children.

The earliest group care of children grew out of the industrial development of the nineteenth century. Women in great numbers were needed in the factories. Philanthropists, moved by the plight of neglected children, established day nurseries for their care. Here mothers left their infants and young children in the early morning and called for them at the close of the long factory day. Of course there was wide variation in the quality of the care given, but for the most part, the early day nurseries were utterly unequipped to meet educational needs. As those who have been laboring recently to raise the standards of group care of young children know only too well, many of these old-fashioned day nurseries still persist.

As for private nursery schools, by 1928 there were in this country only 89 with acceptable educational programs. Most of these had been set up as laboratories for home economics and research departments of colleges and universities. It is from these, particularly the ones established for the study of young children, that the nursery school movement has received its greatest impetus.

In both the depression and the war, federal funds supplemented local and state funds in the support of the nurseries. When federal funds were withdrawn in 1942, there was little local interest in the continuance of the WPA projects.

The contrary was true when on March 1, 1946, government support of war nursery schools ended. Only three states — New York, California, and Washington — continued to appropriate funds for their maintenance, but there has been a steady and persistent public effort to continue the modern day care centers. In some communities this has been expressed in agitation for municipal and state support; in others, funds have been provided by junior chambers of commerce, the Junior League, parent associations, citizens committees, and similar agencies. Further, a number of organizations — the American Academy of Pediatrics, the Congress of Woman's Auxiliaries of the CIO, the Commission of Educational Reconstruction of the American Federation of Teachers, AFL, and the International Labor Conference, among them—are urging the development of nursery schools for all children, regardless of economic need.

But what of the children themselves? Are nursery schools good for children? If the home could provide space, equipment, adequate adult supervision, would it still be desirable for a child to go to nursery school? What happens to children in nursery school?

Certain materials and certain practices in nursery school education are so well established that one expects to find them in any good nursery school. Building blocks, for example — of different sizes and lots of them — easels, big sheets of paper, paints and brushes, crayons, clay, water and tubs, a tool bench, and an infinite variety of miscellaneous materials — sturdy, smooth-edged tin cans, cereal boxes, jars, packing boxes — all these are standard equipment. Why so much emphasis on materials? Because children are by nature active. The form the activity takes, constructive or destructive, depends on the materials available and the guidance given in their use.

TO THE UNINITIATED, CHILDREN IN A nursery school seem to be working without any direction from the teacher. Painting at an easel, sitting at a table with clay, building a bridge with blocks, each child seems to be going his own way. The teacher, however, is not inactive. Thoughtfully watching what goes on, saying a word now to Jimmy, now to Joan, she answers questions, suggests the use of a bit of material, unobtrusively produces a book or a game when it is needed. Through her sensitivity to the needs of children and her knowledge of the stages of child growth she has learned to say the right word — or to refrain from speaking.

Emphasis is upon experience both within the school building and in the wider community. The child's horizon is stretched by starting from the home and school, and pushing farther and farther afield. The carrots Michael eats for lunch are followed back to the kitchen, where they were cooked, to the store in which they were purchased, to the wholesale market in the city, the farm in the country. The heat in the radiator is traced to the furnace in the cellar; the day the coal is delivered, the children watch it sent down the chute.

Then come trips beyond the school into nearby places in the community — to the bakery, the garage, the gro-



Photos from Kandel-Sachs Associates

Teacher and mother at the Hudson Guild Children's Center, New York City, look on while the playhouse dishes are washed up

cery store, the cobbler shop, the fire engine house, the market, the dock, the railroad station.

The children learn the feel of many textures, the sights, the sounds, and smells, the taste of things, the softness and the hardness, the cold and the warmth, the bitterness and the sweetness. Always they are given opportunity to express their world in a variety of ways in materials, in language, and in their behavior with other children. For they learn, as Lucy Sprague Mitchell puts it, through "a shuttling back and forth of intake and outgo."

GOOD HEALTH PRACTICES ARE STRESSED in the nursery school program. It has been a long, uphill fight to establish the right of children to strong, healthy bodies. While much has been accomplished, the battle is by no

means won. There still are children who are victims of health superstitions, patent medicines, and a vague reliance upon "growing out of" whatever ails them. For this reason particular care is given in the nursery school to good health practices. With little children this is preeminently a matter not of learning about health but of living healthfully.

Difficult as it is to achieve good physical care for children, their social development is far harder. Few adults can accept behavior in young children which does not conform to grown-up standards. The concepts of sin and natural depravity have cultural roots reaching far into the past. "You're a bad boy" is a rebuke all too frequently heard on the tongues of grown-ups.

In nursery schools social development is a major objective. Visitors

are sometimes surprised that teachers do not get excited when Susan bursts into tears and cries out, "I hate you!"—even to the teacher herself. Or when David throws himself on the floor and kicks. Or when a reasonable request to Nancy is answered by a vigorous, "No!" or "I won't!" The teacher knows that a little child's feelings are sudden and violent, and that he is often swamped by them. She accepts the child as he is with all his tempestuous emotions and allows his expression of hate and anger. She knows that violent emotion is not got rid of by being suppressed; that it persists and finds an outlet later in some undesirable form, long after the emotion-rousing incident has been forgotten.

This does not mean that the teacher lets the child bang around as he pleases, making his companions the victims of his aggression. When and how to step in, when to check and when not to check—in these are the supreme art of both mother and teacher.

THE EMOTIONAL LIFE OF THE CHILD is the most significant aspect of his social development, for the way he feels about things, himself, and others is, in the last analysis, the deep inner source of the way he gets along with himself and others. It is on this phase of human development that we can as yet speak with very little scientific assurance.

There are a few things, however, that we do know about emotion, and these the nursery school teacher tries to apply. We know, for example, that the feelings a child develops around the routines of eating, resting, toileting, and so on are infinitely more important than the acquisition of skills in these matters. Therefore, the trained nursery school teacher concerns herself not only with the outward act but with the inner feelings the child is developing — not only with getting Steve to eat, but with his enjoyment of eating; not merely with having Judy rest, but with her satisfaction in the relaxation that comes after happy activity.

When outbursts occur, the nursery school teacher makes no fuss, but goes about helping the child meet the situation. She knows that it takes a lifetime to grow from absorption in the needs of self to concern over the needs of others. Be she ever so ardent a believer in cooperation, she

does not expect much of it from two- or three-year olds.

Mary is holding a doll; Alice comes up and grabs it.

The teacher gets a doll for Alice and says, "How about putting your babies to bed and feeding them?"

In a moment the children are playing with the dolls. They are too young to cooperate, but they like to do the same things side by side.

Through many similar incidents, little by little the socializing process goes on. For this, group life is necessary—we become human only as we associate with human beings. Not only do we need to be with people, but with those who are on our own maturity level. If we are, in the main, with those who are older, wiser, bigger, abler than we are, a lot of unfortunate things are likely to happen. We get out of step with our own generation, making it very difficult later to find a place among our peers; we become so dominated by the more powerful adult, so dependent on him, that it will be difficult ever to walk alone.

To learn the give and take of life, little children should be with children in situations where the chances for success are not stacked on one side or another. This takes place most successfully when those of approximately the same maturity level are together under the supervision of an understanding adult. It is in its guidance of children into social behavior that the nursery school makes its most significant contribution to their education.

BACK OF ALL THE TREATMENT OF BEHAVIOR in the nursery school is recognition of the worth of human personality. Each child is respected as an individual and care is taken to preserve his self-respect.

Certainly Peter must learn to accept his limitations and to meet failure. Certainly the road must not be made too smooth for him by over-protective adults. But as far as possible he must be shielded from experiences so devastating as to cause him to lose faith in himself and in



"All children are by nature active," and block building in nursery school furnishes a constructive outlet for their energy

his ability to meet his problems successfully. For the beginning of faith in others is faith in self.

By the time they leave nursery school little children will not have developed a broad base of human acquaintance or human sympathy. They still will be overwhelmingly concerned with their own wants. But they will have had the opportunity to learn to work and play successfully with others of their own generation, and to acquire the self-confidence which is the best insurance against fear, hate, and aggression.

Much has been discovered of practical worth about the care of chil-

dren in groups—about the gradual induction of children into group life, individual differences in response to group activity, the best size for the group at different age levels, the kind of training needed for nursery school teachers, ways of establishing school-home cooperation, ways of consolidating the resources of the community in the interest of young children.

BUT PERHAPS THE MOST SIGNIFICANT gain of all is the growing public conviction that the nursery school is the foundation of all education and that therefore it has a place in the public school system.

High School — a Hot Spot

THEODORE D. RICE

WHY DO SO MANY OF US CALL THE high school a "hot spot" in American education? Any part of the educational scheme which falls short of its opportunities and responsibilities, which fails to fulfill its role of helping young citizens develop the attitudes and skills necessary for meeting the challenges of our time is a problem area—a "hot spot," so to speak. In the high school, the institutional lag is augmented by phenomenal growth of high school enrollment during a period of rapid social change.

In 1920, about 86 percent of the fourteen-year-olds and 35 percent of the seventeen-year-olds were in school. In 1940, the figures were 92 and 60 percent. The high school enrollment continued to grow in the face of a dropping total public school enrollment. Between 1922 and 1942 the total public school enrollment decreased more than 1,700,000, while the enrollment in high school (grades 9 to 12) increased more than 1,200,000. Over a ten-year period (1930-1940) the number of high school graduates increased approximately 83 percent.

But the inadequacy of the present provisions for the education of teenagers is indicated by the consistent lack of ability on the part of the high schools to hold their pupils. Thus, of those who entered the ninth grade in 1935, only 57 percent graduated with their class four years later. More recent figures are not available, but we know that the war accentuated this trend, and that postwar conditions have not retarded it.

Whether they graduate or drop out along the way, high school means the end of formal education for millions of young Americans. Since this is so, it is pertinent to consider some of the major responsibilities of secondary education:

—to develop individual values and aesthetic appreciations, within a philosophy and outlook adequate for our time;

—to develop and exercise skills in democratic processes of government;

—to enable the student to see how he can participate in the conservation and planned use of all resources—personal, public health, economic and social resources of the community and nation;

—to help students develop and use economic efficiency and vocational skills, giving them opportunities to earn and spend, to share in cooperative undertakings, to compare values and learn wise consumer practices.

While these are stated in terms of the responsibility of secondary schools to youth, they reveal also the responsibility of the school to society.

TO MEET THIS CHALLENGE, I BELIEVE that the secondary schools will have to undergo a sort of gradual revolution—not sporadic modification but persistent and comprehensive change in attitudes, methods, and relationships. Let me set forth what I see as some of the essentials of this process:

A comprehensive concept of school. The school is not four walls on board of education property. American boys and girls receive their education from the social milieu in which they live, work, and play. Home and community are as potent educational influences as is the school—a point that many educators overlook, both in attitude and practice.

Teacher education. Adequate secondary education requires teachers with educational philosophy as well as skill, and modern concepts of the processes of learning and working. Realistic opportunities for enrichment designed to add dignity and effectiveness to the work of both teacher and student seem unlikely to develop from even the most carefully planned requirements for higher degrees or advanced certificates, from required course hours or from travel. Such resources must be brought to school

staffs and teachers on the job for their use as they reshape their programs.

Economic stabilization and support. This need does not stop with the provision of adequate salaries. In fact, other needs often are most acute in school systems with relatively adequate salary schedules. The support should be sufficient to reduce the size of classes, and to provide space and equipment according to modern standards.

Communitywide improvement. In the kind of high school we are at present discussing, students not only gather data on planning, health, recreation, marketing, and other facets of the life of their town or city, but they also share in the community study and interpretation of these activities. In this the school has the cooperation of the various community agencies.

For example, a rural high school asks the help of sanitarians, soil conservationists, health authorities, home demonstration agents, county agents, and others in surveying local land utilization and its relation to health. In other words, the high school can give youth direct social-civic experience, through activities definitely designed to improve community life.

International and intergroup relationships. A fifth essential is to strive toward world understanding and cooperation. The urgency of this need is made clear by each headline on international crisis, each book on the peoples of other lands, each example of racial friction, each labor-management dispute, each instance of students *vs* each other, *vs* their teachers, or *vs* the school authorities. Only as it is handled on a broad scale of human concern can teacher and students see clearly the relationship between intergroup and international problems and their solution.

Economic efficiency. The high school student stands at the threshold of economic independence, if he has not already crossed it. As the eco-

conomic scene stabilizes, youth presumably will have to compete with his elders for employment. Where will he gain the requisite experience?

The logical answer is for the high school, employers, and community agencies to provide young people with actual working experience during their school years. A record of training, skills, and adjustment enables the high school to certify to employers and to colleges both the theoretical study and the kind and extent of its application on part time employment.

Closely related to the need for actual job experience is that of helping young people develop taste and discrimination, so that they may be not only effective workers themselves but also alert consumers of the work of others.

Skills. "Learning by doing" is a maxim of educational efficiency that seems all but forgotten in many high school classrooms. It is an essential principle, especially in seeking to develop skill in interpreting data, in applying scientific and social principles, in writing and speaking effectively. A high school program which is rooted in community life offers endless opportunity for this sort of creative practice.

THIS STATEMENT OF RESPONSIBILITIES is made without reference to the *status quo*. Where do secondary schools now stand in this regard? Throughout American secondary education many teachers and principals are tackling perplexing tasks in their endeavor to lift the high school to a new level of effectiveness. A composite picture of these undertakings, such as that submitted by the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association in its study, "Education for All American Youth" offers encouragement. Taken school by school, such efforts seem piecemeal and inconclusive. They are worthy of attention, however, for they are steps toward the solution of fundamental problems.

Let us review some representative current efforts, in the lights of the responsibilities of the secondary school today.

How can high school youth become a functioning part of school and community life?

In many schools, the barrier between teachers and pupils

is being broken down through a partnership in the learning process. In one school, for example, the mutual interest in sports provided a basis for studying many aspects of health—the effect of diet and daily routine on health; how physical environment affects health; social responsibility for public health; the health benefits of spectator sports as compared with less publicized participating sports. Gradually the inquiry broadened out to include community health hazards and an investigation of community health habits, and this in turn led to study of the extent to which school and community were serving the local needs for recreation and sport. From this emerged a plan for a community program which had wide repercussions.

And in another high school several classes in social science, English, and science collaborated in analyzing and interpreting a report of the city planning commission. The study was particularly useful to a high school group and their families because the zoning provisions had aroused intense local feeling.

In a similar study in another community the students constructed a model of the commission's plans and this prompted many searching questions about the proposals. The commission finally revised its plans in the light of student suggestions.

High school students in another school system made a survey of the recreational needs of the city and worked with adult groups in developing a scheme which was adopted by the city council.

School councils and youth councils are giving many students experience in governmental responsibility and in social-civic action.

For example, a radio commission of an interschool student council in

one city puts on a "Youth Speaks" program in which students from the several high schools present and discuss information about basic problems of school and community life.

A student council in cooperation with the English department in another school system prepares and distributes material for local study groups on atomic energy.

A student safety commission cooperates with the local safety council in educating students and community in safety practices, both as pedestrians and as drivers.

Here again the purpose is to develop the kind of high school program which brings students into direct contact with their own problems—in school, in the locality, and in the larger community of the country and the world, to help them define goals and courses of action.

Finally, students are being given some opportunity for vocational exploration and actual work experience.

These efforts vary in range but they include in some high schools an employment interview and part time work, with a related school program of background and theory.

SCHOOL TEACHERS AND PRINCIPALS WHO are trying to make high school a more realistic experience are also trying to know individual students better, and to follow up both those whose graduate and those who drop out. An obvious step in this direction is to reduce the "pupil load"—the number of students in each class. Another means toward the same end is to keep groups of students with individual teachers for longer periods of time.

To date little progress has been made in reducing the number of students per teacher. But there has been real progress in "block scheduling" which places groups of students and teachers in close working relationship for a considerable time. "Block scheduling" means class periods longer than the customary forty-five or fifty minutes, enabling students and teachers to know each other, to work together in diverse situations in school and in the community, and to tackle individual personal, social, and educational problems over a three or four-year period.

Conventional school pro-





DICTATION EXERCISES



STUDENT COUNCIL



GETTING OUT THE PAPER



THE FLUTE SECTION

These scenes from the day's round in the Great Neck, N. Y., high school leave out two of the educational imperatives stressed by Mr. Rice—employment experience and community activities.

Ruel Tucker, the principal of the school, points out that since nearly 65 percent of the students go on to college or to specialized training, there is little demand on their part for employment experience at the high school level, nor are there many local openings for part-time work.

As to other out-of-school activities, the boys and girls of the Great Neck high school, like those in hundreds of American towns, study a variety of local problems at first hand, take field trips, attend town and school district meetings. They also carry on an Inter-Faith Council, to further understanding and cooperation in the community.



Photos from European

GENERAL SCIENCE



CLASS IN MECHANICS

High School—a Hot Spot

grams are constantly trying to measure their achievement by tests and rate it by examinations. Block scheduling enables both teachers and students to accumulate evidence of growth and application, as well as of progress in acquiring information. The establishment of personal relationships over a longer period of time makes possible a deeper understanding of individuals, including home backgrounds.

THESE ARE ONLY A FEW OF MANY promising current developments. To thoughtful critics of education such a sampling does not obscure the lag between the prevailing practice and the job that should be done. Even an effort to bring about a minor change in the program or in the organization of the school reveals a series of obstacles to progress.

One of these is the gap between the possible function of the school in the community, and community attitudes as to what should constitute a high school education. If concrete choices were presented to typical citizens most of them would give an affirmative answer to the question: "Should high school youth learn how to interpret and evaluate news, editorials, and radio comment?" Nevertheless the same persons would argue for the retention of required courses in the literary classics rather than for a required course on contemporary news and thought.

Similarly, most people tend to place a higher premium on the learning that takes place in classrooms than on learning through firsthand contact with problems of employment, or with the functions of government as revealed by visits to meetings of the city council or the board of education.

To modify such community stereotypes requires effective public relations on the part of school personnel. Teachers and administrators are seeking to meet this need through the organization of community councils and parent advisory groups, and through school cooperation with service clubs, health and recreational organizations, and other groups. But such changes in current attitudes cannot be brought about on the initiative of school personnel alone. The situation calls for help from individuals and organizations sensitive to community, national, and world problems and to the adjustment prob-

lems of youth.

As has been indicated, the developments here reported have been sporadic. There probably is no comprehensive approach to improvement in any one high school. This is due, in part at least, to the institutional inertia which permeates secondary education. Consider the implications of a changing secondary school program, with students increasingly active in their own education, and pupils and teachers working together more closely, over longer periods of time. In this setting the teacher's role gains in stature.

In many secondary schools, teachers have time to plan together; and their principals release them from routine duties, to help develop functional parent-teacher organizations through which organized groups of parents work with the teachers of their own children.

These provisions are in themselves a means of giving teachers retraining on the job. This is vital, since few teachers have had real training in groupwork, casework, social psychology, or sociology. Their professional education has been limited to one or more of the conventional subject fields and the related "methods."

In-service teacher education includes teacher participation in community surveys, interdepartmental planning committees, and the consideration of teaching aids and materials in fields not usually departmentalized. Some school systems have enlisted the aid of colleges, universities and other agencies in adding to the professional equipment of administrators and teachers. Some experimental programs, carried on in the long summer vacation or outside school hours, make it possible for teachers to get help from experts on their own programs.

ANOTHER DIFFICULTY OF SECONDARY education is the "inspection" to which high schools have been subjected by state authorities and higher institutions. Perhaps this has been salutary in lifting educational standards, especially in states where the average enrollment per high school is under sixty-five. However, the system of subjecting high school to approval by higher authorities has resulted in subservience to "what is expected" and in rigid and often artificial standards of excellence which have no

relation to community needs.

Today, some state departments permit the local faculty to determine the school program, except for legal requirements. Some higher institutions, through agreements with schools, are dropping "requirements" and accepting students on the recommendation of the principal and teachers. This puts on local educators the burden of evaluating the competence of their pupils and giving them sound guidance.

The widely criticized criteria for the "accredited" stamp of the North Central Association of Schools and Colleges have been recently revised. These agencies are seeking to free the high schools from arbitrary limitations on their programs.

THIS BRIEF REVIEW NECESSARILY OMITTS many promising developments in the high schools. But any report, however sympathetic and complete, would reveal divided purpose and lack of clear vision on the part of secondary education as a whole.

To move toward the goals indicated here calls for sustained, well directed effort on the part of all those concerned with secondary schools, locally and nationally.

No existing school plants, however modern, can take care of today's increased enrollments. The public, under professional leadership, must provide the physical setting—a school plant which permits a scheme of education adequate for our time. This calls for additional buildings, and also for additional equipment, particularly the dramatic new teaching tools of radio and films. At the same time, state agencies and higher institutions, responsible for teacher education, certification, and in-service training must provide ample opportunity for the continuing professional enrichment of the school staff.

Above all, high schools for our time cannot be built by looking backward. Business men, workers, farmers, home makers, educators, young people must join in examining the world of today, and the needs of youth in relation to it. Traditions, heritages, and customs have their own values, but it is no solution of current educational problems to insist that "the schools get back to fundamentals." The answer can be found only as Americans consider the educational program in the light of today's realities.

The Broadening College Base

JOHN DALE RUSSELL

DURING THE PAST HUNDRED YEARS, elementary and secondary schools have been placed within the reach of virtually all this country's youth. The rapid expansion of opportunities for schooling has affected the college level also, though as yet higher education cannot boast of anything approaching the nearly universal service to its age-group that has been achieved in the elementary grades and in high school.

Once limited to the privileged few, college or university training is now sought by an increasing proportion of young Americans.

The most obvious evidence of this trend toward the democratization of higher education is the mounting enrollment in colleges and universities, and the growing percentage of young people who attend these institutions. About 1,500,000 students (15 percent of those in the age group) were attending colleges and universities in 1940, the last normal year of prewar operation—a tenfold increase over 1890, the earliest year for which re-

liable figures are available. Except for the periods of the two world wars and for a short span during the economic depression of the 1930's, enrollment of college students has increased steadily, year after year.

A second evidence of this trend is the increasing number of strong institutions. The number of accredited colleges and universities has gone up ever since the accrediting agencies began their work some thirty-five years ago. These agencies have tended to raise their standards from time to time, and to require both member institutions and those seeking membership to meet stiffer tests of their strength and quality. During the past two decades the colleges and universities have had to meet two great crises—the depression and the war. They have weathered these catastrophes without loss in the total number of accredited institutions, and with almost every institution stronger now than ever before.

The rapid development of junior colleges and technical institutes af-

fords a third evidence of the trend toward a broader base for higher education. These widely distributed institutions permit thousands of young people today to continue their schooling for at least two years beyond the twelfth grade without having to leave home.

Several surveys have shown that communities having an agency of higher education nearly always have a larger than normal percentage of young people who go to college. Many of the new junior colleges and technical institutions are extensions of local school systems, with free tuition or relatively low fees. This has opened the doors of higher education to many young people who otherwise could not have continued their schooling.

The fourth evidence of the trend is the broadened range in the subject-matter included in college and university curricula. A hundred years ago, all college students took the same course, made up of a few prescribed subjects, largely mathematics and the classics. Today the number





European

A physics class at the Henry Ford Trade School, Dearborn, Mich., typical of the increasingly popular local technical institutes

of things that can be studied for "college credit" or counted toward a degree is almost incredible. This expansion in subject matter has not been achieved without resistance on the part of traditionalists on faculties and on boards of trustees. Every new subject has had to make its way into the curriculum against the opposition of professors of subjects which happened to have been accepted before it. But many such battles have been won, thanks usually to pressures and demands from the world outside the ivory tower.

The fifth evidence of this movement is linked with the expansion of subject matter—that is, the increasing tendency of institutions to accept students with talents that do not lie strictly along the lines of "book learning."

The process most probably began with the acceptance of science students almost a hundred years ago. As instruction in science became academically respectable, institutions of higher education began to admit students more talented in laboratory procedures than in Latin or in philosophical discussion.

The development of departments of modern foreign languages, English literature, drama, speech, and journalism brought another kind of talent into higher education. These subjects appeal to young people with ability

in creative expression rather than grammatical analysis.

Music and art, now completely at home in the college curriculum, have attracted young people with tastes and abilities very different from those considered suitable for higher education a century ago.

And what shall be said of physical education, including schools for preparing athletic coaches, and the emphasis on intercollegiate football and other sports? A young man with athletic ability (whatever his academic prowess) is sure to be welcomed eagerly on most college campuses.

One wonders if there is a young American today of reasonable intelligence, who does not have at least one talent that will make him or her acceptable as a student at some college or university.

A sixth evidence of increasing democratization in higher education is the almost universal recognition of vocational preparation as a sound objective. Today virtually all colleges and universities, even those directed by presidents who still insist that vocationalism is a curse on education, provide many opportunities for the student to acquire salable knowledge and skills.

A seventh evidence is the extent to which college is now a job requirement. The number of occupations

that demand college training and the number of employers who give preference to those who have attended or graduated from college is constantly increasing.

A final bit of evidence is the extent to which financial subsidies are being provided for students. The colleges have built up their resources for assisting needy students through scholarships, loans, and employment. A growing number of commercial firms offer scholarships, some, undoubtedly as advertising, others as a public service. Some states have scholarship plans. For a long time New York has awarded annually about 750 "Regent's Scholarships" to high school graduates. Similar plans have been discussed in several other states.

The first great federal plan for the subsidy of college students was organized during the depression years through the National Youth Administration. This plan was conceived, not to give more education to more people, but as part of the relief program and as a cheap method of keeping potential job-seekers off the labor market. The result was to send to college each year about a hundred thousand young people who would not otherwise have been able to attend.

WORLD WAR II HAS PRODUCED THE most extensive plan of public subsidy of individuals wishing higher education that has ever been attempted in any country. The funds provided through Public Laws 16 and 346—the so-called GI Bill of Rights—are today enabling more than a million ex-service men and women to attend college with most of their expenses—tuition, textbooks, and maintenance—borne by the federal government. Whether this plan of furthering the education of veterans will be followed by a general recognition of the value of providing higher education at public expense for all capable young people remains to be seen.

This review of evidence indicating significant tendencies toward the democratization of higher education in the United States must be matched by a survey of the trends in the opposite direction.

The most obvious counter-democratic tendency in American higher education is the rapid increase in the fees charged students, and the rising costs of college attendance. Except in

the case of ex-servicemen, higher education is becoming a privilege of the upper economic groups to a larger extent than ever before. Numerous studies, made in various states and localities, have shown that 50 percent or more of the most capable high school graduates do not continue their education, and that lack of financial resources is the most important reason for their failure to enter college.

A second factor is the maintenance of admission policies which discriminate against certain groups of students, a problem considered at length in "This Business of Admissions" in this issue (see page 628). Related to this is the inadequacy of the educational opportunities for Negro high school graduates in many states. The Supreme Court decision in the Gaines case requires the states with segregated educational systems to maintain for Negroes educational institutions equal to those for white students. As yet the facilities for Negroes have not been brought up to this level. Negro leaders have been extremely patient, but progress toward equalization of college opportunities has been slow.

A fourth trend is the policy, adopted widely since the end of World War II, of restricting admission to publicly controlled institutions, to the residents of the state. A number of states have never matched the midwestern, southwestern, and Pacific Coast states in providing higher education at public expense. Publicly controlled institutions in many of these states have now set up barriers to the admission of non-residents, holding that tax money appropriated for higher education should afford maximum service to their own citizens. The restriction has worked a special hardship on students interested in training available in relatively few institutions — for example, forestry and veterinary medicine.

Finally, mention may be made of the resistance within the institutions themselves to the expansions—in physical plant and in curriculum—necessary, if the democratization of higher education is to be continued. Privately controlled institutions often limit the

number of students they enroll. They do not want to increase their enrollments beyond the announced limits, partly because of the real difficulty of obtaining the additional resources necessary to maintain their standards, partly because they fear the sacrifice of educational values in becoming larger. Expansion will have to come chiefly through the establishment of new institutions and through an increase in the size of publicly controlled institutions.

In all types of institutions substantial groups of faculty members are likely to oppose the introduction of new courses and curricula. Expansion in the subject matter offerings is a necessary part of the process of democratization. Faculty resistance seems to be on the wane, but there is still enough of it to act as a drag on the further liberalization of higher education.

This review raises the issue of the wisdom of further expansion in higher education. Three questions must be answered in this connection.

THE FIRST: HOW LARGE A PROPORTION of the young people have the capacity and taste for higher education? Certainly the ability of an individual to profit from further schooling seems directly related to his intelligence. But careful studies have shown that the students now attending college could be matched by an equal number of high school graduates of comparable promise who are not continuing their education.

In other words, if proper selective measures were used, and if adequate scholarship funds were available, the campus population could be doubled without lowering the average ability

of the college student of today.

It is, of course, a fallacy to speak of intelligence in the singular. In this context, the reference should be to "intelligences," that is, the various kinds of intelligence found in the human species. The increasing tendency of colleges to serve many different kinds of talents, would indicate that the special form of intelligence usually measured by so-called mental tests, or by the fact of having completed prescribed high school subjects, is by no means the sole ability that can and should be cultivated in institutions of higher education.

Recognition of many special types of intelligence does much to remove the fear that the colleges and universities will be overcrowded by young people who cannot profit by further instruction. Here the solution is to reorganize the curriculum to provide varied programs, so that both in method and content college teaching will be appropriate to a broader range of talent and ability.

A second question: Can society absorb the product of extended schooling?

And this in its turn raises more questions—is there a danger that too many young people will be educated for professional and white collar jobs? Will those unable to obtain employment in their chosen field be frustrated and unhappy?

There is not space here for a thoroughgoing exploration. One thing is clear—in a democratic society there can be no overproduction of general education. The urgent need is that an increasing proportion of the population be well grounded in economics, political science, history, philosophy, literature, art, music, and related subjects that lead to better citizenship and an enriched personal life.

BUT IN OCCUPATIONAL preparation the situation is not as clear. Here the question of "effective demand" comes in.

It is obvious that it would be possible in a short span of time, or in a particular community, to produce more doctors, dentists, engineers, teachers, accountants than could be absorbed at once, or in that place. But experience shows



Golden

Crisis on the Campus

that the availability of qualified persons increases the demand for the sorts of services they can render. After examining considerable evidence on this point, it is my conviction that the limits of the capacity of modern society to absorb the product of higher education far exceed any present

prospects for the production of college-trained specialists.

The third question: Can this country afford real democratization of higher education? The answer seems simple. Given our present capacity to produce goods and services, the people of the United States can afford whatever they want badly enough. The cost of extended higher educa-

tion would be trifling compared with the amount now spent, for example, on professional sports, cosmetics and beauty parlors, liquor and tobacco. Finally, the money spent for higher education does not represent values consumed, but capital invested, and from that investment the society of the future may expect generous dividends.

2

Standards of Quality

ORDWAY TEAD

ALL EDUCATION DEALS IN INTANGIBLES. And especially is this true of higher education. Look into the mind and heart of the student; consider the contribution of the teacher; try to sense the subtle influence of campus tradition; venture an opinion about the potency of a college's leadership. Whichever way we turn to try to make appraisals of quality of effort and attainment, the imponderables confront us. Indeed, we may as well remind ourselves that all the returns are truly never in. For, as Henry Adams once said, "The teacher affects eternity; he never can tell where his influence stops."

Despite these truths, the question properly rises to plague our consciences: in this congestion in our colleges are we doing a quality job, or at least an adequate job, to assure a learning experience for 2,500,000 college students, which is, in personal and public outcome, worthy of the time, energy, and money now being expended?

Obviously, even the approximate conclusions tentatively offered vary from student to student and from institution to institution. Disconcerting rumors can be heard about laxity in admission standards, in course marks or grades, in too generous grants for free books for veteran students. It was to be expected that some colleges would regard their responsibilities under the GI Bill of Rights more seriously than others.

Nor were all colleges and universities equally good in educational value when the veteran program got under way; and any rapid elevation in quality would not normally be antici-

pated. The tempo of change and improvement in any one institution, we know, requires a longer cycle.

Indeed, a searching question had been pushing insistently forward even before the war as to whether most of the colleges were doing a good enough job in terms of the quality of the product, *alumnus Americanus*. I do not want to deflect focus from the current and prospective campus scene as the veterans experience it. But it is important by way of introduction to look quickly at what we thought we had obtained from college education in the days before we sanguinely decided to usher 1,500,000 veterans through these numerous memorial gates to the tune in 1946-47 of \$2,500,000,000 in federal money to foot the bill.

Had we, in short, any right to expect that the money would be well spent in personal and social terms? In the light of value received from the quality of the college graduate of the last three or four decades, did veteran education promise to be a good national investment? Had we previously delivered a product to be proud of?

MY OWN ANSWER TO THESE QUESTIONS has to be a qualified one. I am sure that the veterans themselves have expected more than they may be getting in the same sense that so many able non-college adults have always had a too exalted notion of the value of what four years in the "ivy league" can yield.

But on the other hand, to the extent that since World War I our generation has been urgently in need of

more individuals than we seemed able to rally, capable of experiencing spirited leadership and informed followership in all areas of community life, we have been entitled to register disappointment. And this deficiency can in part be placed on the liability side of the college ledger.

But American colleges, in the normal case, have not anticipated or spearheaded social advance. They have reflected the social sentiment and opinion of their time and place. And I do not argue that this is a fatal flaw, though the Twenties and Thirties seem to me to have witnessed too great conformity, in and through college education, to standards of value which could not be characterized as daringly different from those of a confused and immature adult community.

But the point to keep before us is that the prewar record as to the quality of the product was a mixed one, often socially unsatisfactory, even where it may individually have been thought to be satisfying. Yet had we any right, as of our total national condition, to expect anything better? That is the other side of the ledger which I believe has always to be held in view.

The fact is that the prewar college was in the main a class institution—ministering even in the state universities to upper middle class families where an income of above four thousand dollars a year (this alludes to prewar dollar values and includes the "kind" as well as the "cash" of farm incomes) was as a rule required for the children to be able to cope with college costs. I do not forget the gen-

erous scholarship provisions. They were a boon to many, myself included. But the resources for subventing needy students have thinned out as enrollments have increased and as tuitions have gradually been raised. And as class institutions our colleges since the turn of the century have suffered—no more and no less perhaps than other institutions — from a George F. Babbitt tone, complexion, and atmosphere.

IF THIS STATEMENT BE THOUGHT TO BE exaggerated, I call to mind the various studies made in recent years of the class ten to twenty-five years out of our prominent colleges. The attainments of the graduate in various aspects of adult life have been evaluated by various criteria. And by any criteria, the outcomes certainly have not been too heartening or reassuring.

It is a commonplace observation among those given to any objective scrutiny of that peculiarly American institution, the alumni or alumnae reunion, that it has no peer as a depressing, discouraging, and disillusioning phenomenon. And this is true not because the renewal of youthful friendships is not valuable, but because so many older college graduates give so little evidence of having advanced substantially in intellectual and spiritual stature since their college days.

It would appear that for too many there had not been that profound arousing of curiosity, of mental stimulation, of a hunger for more learning, which hopefully should have been the justification of the college diploma. It would appear that involvement with the significant values, aspirations, and challenges of life had somehow not taken place deeply with any substantial proportion of the graduates. Too many went out by almost the same door through which they entered—in terms of any profound alteration of their attack on life.

And yet, despite the critical and disappointed estimation I feel compelled to put on the record, I would be the first to add, also, that the conservation and articulation of most of the values cherished in our land have been immeasurably aided in and through the colleges.

Where else but to our colleges have we turned for the preparation of professional leaders in all walks of life? The preponderant proportion of the

American "Who's Who" listings who are college graduates is impressive, whatever it does or does not prove. The record in two world wars of competence, bravery, and sacrificial devotion of officers and soldiers who were graduates or students from colleges is a sobering testimony to character and to patriotism of which the nation is rightfully proud. Finally we have to realize that the colleges of the Twenties and Thirties were coping with a greatly expanded body of secondary school graduates whose purpose on the campus was not always clear to themselves and far from understood by the colleges.

HAVE WE THEN ON BALANCE, SINCE THE turn of the century, assured that our colleges produced graduates of the quality desired? I repeat my answer: we have indeed done well in the light of the conditions. And my answer also is: certainly we have not, because the colleges and universities carry a responsibility in the national community for turning out the guides, philosophers, and friends of our common humanity and culture, who must help bear the burdens of those less able to be burden bearers.

If all this retrospective reflection suggests that the newly arrived veterans are entering institutions of somewhat mixed potential as agencies of transforming and elevating power, that will be a conclusion not far from my own. It is to the efforts of some

seven hundred colleges and universities characterized by these confused and confusing purposes and outcomes, that we may now again address ourselves, and in more adequate perspective weigh the progress and prospects of the collegian beneficiaries of the GI Bill of Rights.

The facts about the present situation are generally familiar. But it may be as well to record them concretely, as affecting the total educational outcome. Virtually every college which has qualified to enroll veterans has now in attendance from 50 to 100 percent more students than in prewar days. Dormitories have three in a room where formerly they had two; and many live in off-campus lodgings. Class-rooms, laboratories, and libraries are frequently worked from eight in the morning until ten at night—with students in two or three shifts. Teachers are teaching more hours a week and each course or section is likely to have at least a third more members than formerly. The clerical work entailed in applications, credits, and records of all sorts, has increased prodigiously, especially in relation to the Veterans Administration.

It all adds up to a sense of overcrowding, hurry, and impersonality of human relations on many campuses, which is far removed from a certain graciousness of life formerly believed to be one of the subtle assets of the college world. The total spiritual impact of all this on teacher and student may not be measurable, but I am sure it is real and that it represents a qualitative loss.

There are, however, many who feel that this loss is offset by other considerations. Take, specifically, the work being done in the classroom. The facts are: that the veterans—on an average three years older than non-veteran students of the same educational level—are getting better marks than the non-veterans; that married veterans are getting better marks than those who are single; that married veterans with children are getting better marks than those without children, except that where the married veteran is separated from his family the marks fall back toward average.

Not only are the records of these older students better, but the testimony of teachers is general that they are more critical and sceptical of dogmatic utterances and authoritarian



Crisis on the Campus

attitudes on the part of the teachers. They are quicker to detect slovenly instruction and to complain about it. They demand that the intellectual work shall have — what education should, of course, possess anyway — a vivid sense of its relevance for them, of its importance for their living.

That all of this is a wholesale challenge and valuable stimulus goes without saying. Many a teacher undoubtedly felt obliged to revise lecture notes which had not been altered for years. And many a teacher, also, who has been in some form of war work away from his campus, has returned to it with his personality and his instruction vitalized in fresh ways.

The postwar picture is helped, too, by a more flexible policy of college administration, a turning away from admission based solely on the old-fashioned "unit course credits." The so-called General Educational Development tests are being increasingly relied upon to determine fitness to profit by college work. And although this latitude regarding formal prescriptions of high school courses still applies largely to veterans only, it is

fast becoming a wholesome object lesson as to the desirability of departing from rigid units of academic high school subjects as the major reliance in selecting freshmen.

On the score of curricular organization, it is fortunately true that scores of colleges had, either before or during the war, been giving intensive study to alterations in course offerings. And the resumption of regular work after the war became the logical moment for many new plans to get under way. The general tenor of these revisionary efforts has been:

A broadening attack upon subject matter to be more synoptic and less departmentalized;

an introduction of the student from the outset of college to challenging ideas and problems both in our heritage and in contemporary affairs;

a handling of all course material to show a demonstrable relation to the life of the student;

the embarking of each student upon a creative, constructive project in a defined area in order to supply discipline in synthesis and in the cogent presentation of ideas.

If these four objectives of curriculum building can truly be projected by good teachers into and through their teaching, a breath of fresh air enters the classroom. That thousands of students are now being the guinea pigs for these new curricula, is a fact of great importance in appraising the quality of today's college performance. Undoubtedly, something has been added; and there is every indication in the eagerness of both teachers and students that it is good.

There are many evidences that in the college life outside the classroom the veterans tend to leave the elaboration of what President Wilson used to call the sideshows, to the younger students who look expectantly for the extracurricular activities as important areas in which to function; though even among these younger hopefuls the more livid manifestations of "rah rah" and "collegiate" behavior seem to have markedly lessened since the war. I suspect that the more mature and earnest attitude of veterans has had a salutary effect on most campuses in playing down the country club atmosphere formerly all too prevalent. And it is to be hoped that

Former servicemen, now students at City College, New York, demand increased allowances to meet increased living costs

European



now a different tone and tradition have gained some momentum on the campus, this more mature spirit will continue even after the veterans have departed.

It is natural that a veteran student should on the whole stress the vocational aspect of his education. And it is true that the election of engineering courses has been heavy beyond any conceivable demand for practitioners in the next quarter century. Also, courses in applied business subjects have skyrocketed in enrollment. But that the liberal arts and general education courses have been neglected is certainly not a fact. Instead, there is a gratifying tendency to view the college experience as preparing for all sides of life, and not simply for personal economic advancement. What is demanded by the veterans especially, however, is assurance that the courses taken are good for *something* and that where they may have later vocational utility, this be explicitly brought out by the teacher.

AS TO TEACHERS THEMSELVES, HAS there been a deterioration in quality as the staffs have been so rapidly expanded? Certainly many have been hired who would not normally have been sought and who are not desired as permanent additions to the faculty. For really good teachers the demand is always greater than the supply; and this is truer now than ever. There chronically has been a good deal of poor teaching in colleges in the sense that many faculty members have been primarily scholars and researchers who never had been at pains to become acquainted with the rudiments of sound pedagogical method. This situation calls attention to a problem which is widely acknowledged but little worked at — namely, the inept preparation for college teachers typical of our graduate schools.

The upshot of faculty opinion, as I have gauged it, is that the veteran influence on the campus has on the whole been a tonic one. It has reached into areas where complacency or inertia had persisted in the prewar years. It has, by and large, helped to break down the town-and-gown separatism and has brought college and community closer together in new ways.

By tapping generously the lower economic levels where college education was formerly not a typical ex-



Wide World

Two GI students at George Washington University conserve their college funds by doing their own washing in the dormitory laundry

pectation, the veteran influx has unquestionably injected a certain earthiness and social realism which did not characterize our campuses in the dear, dead days. That this has been good for all concerned I am certain; and particularly will it benefit the quality and climate of college life in the years ahead. Our colleges *will* be different; they will be less sequestered and less cloistered. The needs and urgencies of the times will be more deeply felt even though the ivy vines continue their classic whisperings.

The net conclusion which a review of facts and forces yields seems to be broadly on the favorable side. A better job is being done on the overcrowded campus today than perhaps we had a right to expect. The quality of college education has probably not deteriorated notably, if at all.

That campus characteristics are different from those of prewar years

seems true. To the extent that this means that youth knows better why it is in college and proposes to get the best the college has to give, this is a boon. If, however, many of the worst pressures are not removed within a two or three-year period, we shall be depleting our educational capital in a serious way.

THE FINAL WORD THUS NEEDS TO BE one of caution and warning. Quality in education is difficult to measure. But certain minima of time and space and personal relations seem essential to forwarding this intangible process, and with these, a climate of opinion favorable to the development and maintenance of standards of excellence.

We Americans are not sufficiently aware that education does not go forward in a vacuum. We cannot look for improved quality in our educa-

Crisis on the Campus

tional process and its output unless in the world beyond the campus there are both an appreciation of knowledge and understanding, and a genuine respect for the student and the teacher.

This attitude was characteristic of the New England tradition, even in pioneer days when, as Van Wyck Brooks once wrote, "There were libraries on Beacon Hill while wolves still howled on the slopes." Only the revival of this attitude will reverse the

current against which all education, and higher education in particular, now must strive—the current which results in a belittling of the teacher and his role, and a scale of values which places a football letter above a Phi Beta Kappa key, wealth above wisdom or public service, a spot on the best seller list above integrity in thought and expression, and makes "a good address" and "a good car" symbols of "success."

SHOULD ALL PRESENT PRESSURES ON THE colleges continue for another five years, their condition would, I believe,

become grave. Present performance is achieved in spite of, not because of, all the familiar limitations. If we want, as we sorely need, higher quality in college education in the years ahead, there will have to be liberal reinforcement and additions to the resources of every alma mater—not only material resources which will permit the necessary expansion and improvement of plant and equipment, but deeper and infinitely more precious resources of vision and leadership, on the campus and in the community from which education draws its support.

3

How Shall We Foot the Bill?

FRANCIS J. BROWN and A. B. BONDS, JR.

IN THE MORE THAN THREE HUNDRED years which have passed since John Harvard established his "institution for advanced learning," our colleges and universities have never encountered problems of the magnitude or the persistence which they face today.

The dilemmas which confront almost every institution of higher education are compounded from a wide variety of circumstances. Briefly, however, they may be summarized as four simultaneous contrasts:

The institutions must maintain a high level of effectiveness in both instruction and research at a time when an unprecedented increase in enrollments has created their greatest shortage of teaching personnel and physical facilities.

The colleges and universities are expanding at a time when the increased birthrate of this decade is giving elementary school enrollment its greatest upswing in years.

The institutions of higher education must reverse the trend toward higher fees at a time when the costs for operation, instruction, and expansion of physical facilities are soaring far beyond all previous records.

Privately controlled institutions are striving for increased support in the face of lowered interest rates on their endowment funds and a major shift

in the pattern of philanthropic relationships to education.

THE ACUTE SHORTAGES OF TEACHERS, space, and equipment are due to the tremendous increase in enrollment. Between 1890 and 1940, college and university enrollment doubled each two decades, reaching a prewar peak of 1,490,000 students. Then, in spite of large scale training contracts from the armed forces, college enrollment dropped in 1944 to approximately 70 percent of its 1940 figure. Preliminary figures of enrollment for the fall term of the 1947-48 academic year show that the number of college students this fall is 250 percent above the low ebb of 1944, and 67 percent greater than the highest prewar figure.

There are many estimates indicating that the upward swirl in college population is a long time phenomenon, and that enrollment will reach at least 3,000,000 by 1950-51. If the prewar enrollment trend continues without change, this figure of 3,000,000 should remain fairly constant between 1950 and 1960. But that seems unlikely—there are pressures which promise an accelerating increase in the number of college students. Whatever the pace of expansion in the next decade, there is certain to be a great upsurge in enrollment during the first five years of the 1960's, for it is

during that period that the present bumper crop of babies will be ready for college.

Though they are bulging at the seams, the institutions of higher education can afford no compromise in the quality of instruction and research. In 1946-47, because of budget trouble and teacher shortage, the number of students per faculty member was almost double that of 1939-40. This ratio means a sharp curtailment in the opportunity for personal relationships between faculty and student; it means less adequate counseling (compensated in part by the service provided for veterans through the Veteran's Administration Guidance Centers); it means inadequate time for helping even advanced graduate students plan their courses and research.

In addition to maintaining the quality of instruction, the integrity of higher education requires the continuance of basic research and the training of prospective research specialists in all fields—the humanities, and the physical, natural, and social sciences. This year there will be vast sums of money available from the army, navy, and other sources to subsidize various research activities in the universities. It is reasonably safe to assume, however, that not more than one third of this amount is

being expended for basic research. The generous funds available have served to divert far too many university scientists from pure to applied research. The net result is a serious threat to the basic research which is a unique function and obligation of the university. The President's Scientific Research Board has recently declared that:

... Our national expenditures for research and development should increase as rapidly as possible. By 1957, we should have at least doubled our present budget for this purpose. ...

We can no longer rely as we once did upon the basic discoveries of Europe ... our stockpile of unexploited fundamental knowledge is virtually exhausted in crucial areas.

Pure research is of necessity an expensive affair. The modern instruments of inquiry, the massive machines, the system of teamwork in investigation, call for a very substantial investment of time and money. But more man hours, more complex equipment, and a much bigger budget are required for research of the range and importance necessary to our future progress, and to our security, as well.

The need for the highest quality both in campus research and campus teaching has never been so urgent as

now. Almost 1,500,000 veterans are enrolled in the colleges and universities this fall. These ex-service men and women are mature and ambitious. They are eager to move forward rapidly in the fields of knowledge which interest them. The new crop of high school graduates is likewise demanding improved instruction. They, too, realize that they must prepare for professional and personal life in a world infinitely more complex than that which we of the preceding generation faced. To all these young people the colleges must give an insight into social, economic, and political problems, national and international, if they are to serve as the leaders of a durable world society.

FROM A PURELY SELFISH VIEWPOINT, higher education cannot afford to give less than the best to these eager postwar students. By 1952, 43 percent of the population of the United States will be veterans or members of veterans' families. They will be the main dependence of both publicly and privately supported institutions. If higher education fails them now, it can hardly be expected that they will be generous in their support of the colleges and universities of tomorrow.

Simultaneously with the present increase in college enrollment there

is an equal or even greater expansion in the elementary schools.

The depression of the Thirties accelerated the drop in the national birth rate which began in the preceding decade. There was a parallel decrease in the number of elementary school children. This trend is now vigorously reversed.

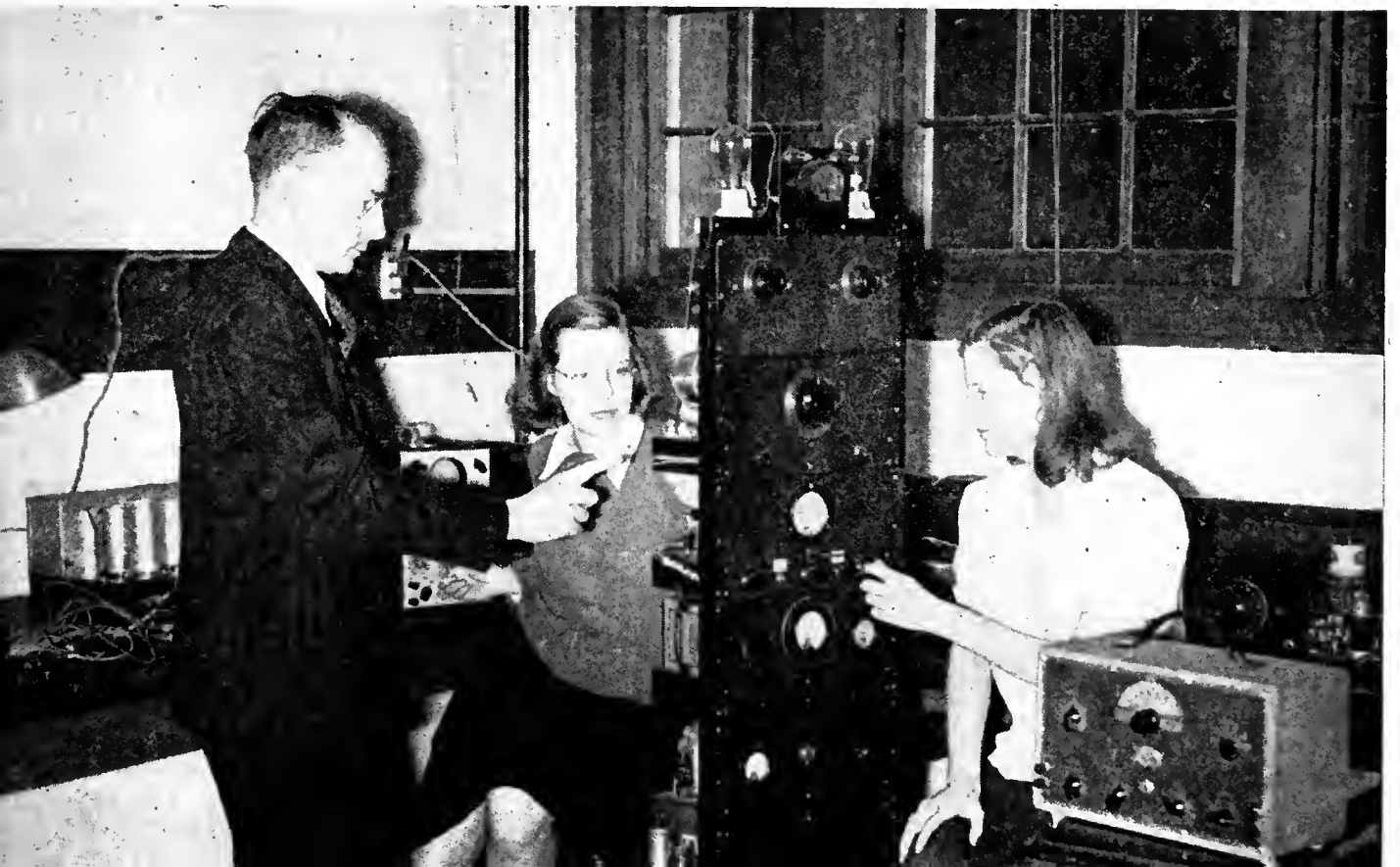
The increase in birth rates, which began in 1940, continued through 1943, but sagged somewhat during 1944 and 1945. In 1946 however, the number of births rose to an all time high. It is estimated that during the six-year period from 1941 to 1946 inclusive, approximately 3,500,000 more babies were born than would have been born if the prewar birth rate had held constant.

In 1946 the number of births was exactly 50 percent above the number in 1939, and during the first six months of 1947 all previous records were again broken. It now appears that the decline in the American birth rate has turned upward, not just as a "war baby" phenomenon, but as a longer curve.

The impact of the trend upon elementary school planning cannot be overemphasized. For almost two decades there had been a gradual decline in the enrollment of the elementary schools, accompanied by a

Modern college laboratories call for elaborate equipment, like this at Vassar, for the experimental study of radio communication

European



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shrinkage in the provisions for schooling at this level. This fall, however, the first grade enrollment will be 30 percent larger than in 1939. In successive years after 1947, the number of first graders will follow rather closely the birth rate curve of the sixth preceding year.

This means that the number of pupils entering the first grade in 1952 will be 50 percent greater than those beginning school in 1940. In the meantime this bulge in the size of elementary classes will be moving up through the grades, swelling the total enrollment of the elementary schools by more than 5,000,000 children—an increase of 40 percent. This will call for a minimum of 175,000 additional teachers, 175,000 more classrooms, and a corresponding increase all along the line—buses, lunchrooms, text books, janitor service, health and social service, playgrounds, and so on.

By the middle of the 1950's, the oncoming wave of the new generation will be felt at the high school level. Secondary school enrollment probably will be increased by nearly 2,500,000 students. Here again we shall need more teachers, more classrooms, and more services to assure American youth an adequate and effective education.

The facts speak for themselves. On the one hand, there is the need for unprecedented expansion in higher education. At the same time, there are even more imperative demands for a vast increase in facilities for elementary and secondary education. This situation calls for immediate reappraisal of the financing of our entire educational program.

THE DEMOCRATIC IDEAL OF EQUALITY of opportunity is taking a fearful drubbing so far as higher education is concerned. In the face of skyrocketing operating costs, the institutions have had little choice except reluctantly to advance their fees.

If the estimated 3,000,000 full time students are enrolled in 1950-51, colleges and universities will need to double the physical facilities available in 1939-40. In 1940, the total value of the physical plants in all institutions of higher education was \$2,753,780,163, according to U. S. Office of Education estimates. How much it would cost to double this total, at postwar prices, has been variously

estimated. Floyd Morey, comptroller of the University of Illinois, suggests an average outlay of \$5,500 per student.

Even granting that the great increase in construction costs could be offset by the maximum use of existing physical facilities, the minimum expenditure will be not less than \$2,750,000,000. Add to this the money required to replace temporary facilities, as well as outmoded and unsafe buildings still in use, and the expenditure in terms of capital outlay will be at least \$3,500,000,000.

BUT THIS IS ONLY ONE ITEM. To restore the faculty-student ratio to more desirable levels, higher education will have to increase the present number of faculty members by at least 100,000 within the next three years. Assuming a minimum average salary of \$4,000 a year, this means a total addition of \$400,000,000 to the annual operating budget.

The percentage of increase in the cost of living has been at least double the percentage of increase in college salaries since 1940; if this balance is to be restored, and presently employed faculty members are to receive as much in real compensation as they were getting in 1940, almost another \$400,000,000 must be added to current expenditures for salaries.

It is conservative to state that instructional costs alone will rise by three quarters of a billion dollars. If to this is added such costs as clerical help, maintenance services, and supplies, the total needed annually for general and educational expenditures will be more than \$2,000,000,000—nearly twice the all time high of \$1,100,000,000 spent in 1946-47.

Faced with such ballooning costs—actual and in prospect—institutions have turned to the most flexible source of income, student fees. The John Price Jones Company reported in May 1947 that 1947-48 fees in privately controlled institutions showed a 23 percent increase over those charged in 1939-40—roughly \$100 per year per student. Publicly controlled institutions over the same period have increased their fees by only 8 percent for students living in the state or city, but for non-resident students by approximately 25 percent.

Perhaps even more significant than this total increase is the fact that there was a 10 percent jump in student fees between last year and this.

This indicates that we may be only at the beginning of an upward trend in student fees—a trend wholly at variance with the basic concept of a democratic system of education. The implications are obvious—privately controlled institutions are becoming increasingly selective on an economic basis and, with relatively few significant exceptions, publicly controlled institutions are no longer free.

There is a saturation point beyond which this cannot go without serious effect upon the whole structure of higher education. Vast numbers of qualified men and women are already barred from higher education because they cannot afford it. This is a waste of human resources which our country can ill afford. The alternative is to finance higher education by some method which will not restrict its area of service to the relatively few who are able to meet the present high costs.

The financial dilemma facing higher education is not the problem of the colleges and universities alone—it is a national problem. Colleges and universities are not local institutions. Even municipal institutions are national—few, if any, draw their students wholly from the local community, and a relatively small proportion of their graduates remain there.

NATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM demand a reappraisal of the whole issue of financing higher education. There are only three potential sources of income: student fees, private benefaction, and tax funds.

We have already seen that student fees have been increased about as far as they can go without serious damage to the structure and purpose of higher education.

About half the college students in this country attend privately controlled institutions, the chief support of which comes from philanthropic gifts and endowments. These institutions have a major role to play in American educational life. Their resources range from the nearly \$150,000,000 held by Harvard to the often overdrawn balance of some of the smaller institutions which reputedly cover part of their costs with produce from the college farm.

Regardless of their present holdings, however, all these institutions face a major problem in the maintenance of adequate financial support. The

amount of interest from invested funds has declined. Modern tax laws help prevent the accumulation of great fortunes from which the major support of the private institutions used to come.

Nevertheless, contributions have held up surprisingly well. The American Association of Fund Raising Councils recently announced that between 1940 and 1946 the fifty-one leading colleges and universities had received gifts and bequests amounting to nearly \$285,000,000. In 1945-46 alone, this group received almost \$70,000,000. The total amount given to schools that year, the councils estimate at not less than \$500,000,000, the bulk of it to higher education.

APPARENTLY THERE IS A GREAT DEAL OF money available if the colleges will make their problems known. This is borne out by a Treasury Department report which shows that in 1944, of the taxpayers who itemized their deductions, donations for all causes equaled only about one fourth of the 15 percent allowable. It is true that great fortunes, in the old sense, are not being built up. It is equally true that a vastly increased amount of money circulates each year. There should be substantial reinforcement available if the institutions would present their case with clarity and skill.

The Negro colleges and universities have taken a notable step in bringing their needs to public attention. Until recently, it was the custom for each institution to send out an itinerant executive who ranged far and wide in quest of economic support. Now there is a well organized national campaign in which the institutions participate cooperatively. The experiment is new, but already it has proved its worth in terms of more stable support.

There are other equally effective techniques which might be adapted to the varying needs of the institutions. For example, increased cooperation among private and public institutions in eliminating costly and useless duplications in their offerings on a local or regional basis would free millions of dollars for more effective use.

But it seems unlikely that the private schools, however ingenious and successful their fund raising and their economies, will be able to expand their services sufficiently to meet the demands upon them. This means

that the bulk of increased enrollments must be carried by publicly controlled institutions.

CLEARLY, EACH STATE SHOULD BEGIN AT once a careful assessment of its educational load—present and impending—and of the resources available to support it. This would enable each state to make intelligent plans. But the national community also has a responsibility at this point. The fact that the states vary enormously in their resources should not be allowed to interfere with the establishment of a high minimum level of educational opportunity for all American youth.

If we accept the thesis that higher education is necessary to the national welfare, and if neither private benefaction nor local and state tax funds are adequate to meet present and future demands, then the federal government must share the costs of the colleges and universities.

Only two decades ago such a conclusion would have been "viewed with alarm." The institutions would have cried out that federal aid would mean federal control, and the general public would have raised the old cry of state's rights and local autonomy. But the experience of the depression, the war, and the postwar period, have served to quiet these fears.

From 1935, until July 1, 1943, the National Youth Administration gave work scholarships to approximately 2,500,000 college students, making it possible for them to remain in college.

Wartime contracts for such campus services as teaching, research and housing established a new relationship between the federal government and the institutions. At their peak,

the Army Specialized Training Program and the Navy V-12 program together were subsidizing the college education of approximately 375,000 members of the armed forces.

Hundreds of millions of dollars were spent in contract research carried on in our institutions of higher education.

Over a million men and women were given short term refresher courses in the Engineering, Science, and Management War Training Program conducted through the colleges and universities.

Out of these experiences the American people gained a new concept of the national character of higher education and its resources for the nation and the world.

POSTWAR DEVELOPMENTS HAVE EVEN more far-reaching import. Having learned something of the possibilities of its educational system in time of war, this country seems determined that this great resource should not be lessened in time of peace. This is in line with a long tradition. In 1862 Congress passed the Morrill Act which granted land from the public domain to assist the states in the founding and operation of colleges for "the benefit of agriculture and mechanic arts." The federal government's continuing concern for higher education has been demonstrated in a series of subsequent acts and amendments which have steadily increased the regular, annual appropriations to the "land-grant" colleges.

In 1946, from these annual, continuing appropriations the schools received a total of some \$70,000,000. Emergency allocations, exclusive of veterans' education, amounted to \$210,652,980 during the same year. In 1944, the United States Public Health Service was authorized to grant scholarships and fellowships and direct subsidies to institutions for the furthering of studies of the "physical and mental diseases and impairments of man." In 1946 this authorization was specifically expanded to include mental hygiene.

To meet the housing needs of veterans, Congress appropriated a total of more than \$400,000,000, about 40 percent of which was used to provide living accommodations for single and married veterans returning to college under the provision of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act.

(Continued on page 656)





International News Photo

Lifelong Learning

MALCOLM S. MacLEAN

TWO CENTURIES AGO SOME PEOPLE got the notion that the way to build a better nation and world was to educate leaders, training them to the top of their capacities. This idea grew. Then it was set forth that leaders must be supported by a corps of second-string subleaders who would ride herd on the mob, drive it to green pastures, keep it from stampeding.

Only the cynics, the sick, and the childish held this view long. Mature and sound minds knew then, as they know now, that in democracy there is no "mob" and can be none, that every human being has talents of service to himself and his community. The vision expanded until we saw that we must educate all the children of all the people. In recent years, many have taken another long, imaginative mental leap, and have

become convinced that the good life requires education of all the people of all the world all the time.

Only as this dream spreads, becomes the deep conviction of nations, peoples and individuals, only as adult education is lifted up alongside that of children and youth in importance and public support, will man's greater vision of world prosperity and peace begin to come true.

Unless the bright fluids of such dreams are poured quickly into the solid molds of organization and action, they fade and die. But if they are used, they generate powers of mind and feeling far greater than the powers of atomic fission since the former encompass and control the latter. Only in democracy can such powers produce even the semblance of what we call adult education, create its hundreds of agencies and institu-

tions, take on its thousand variant forms, a mere listing of which would more than fill this issue of *Survey Graphic*.

I KNOW NO BETTER ILLUSTRATION OF the operation of the democratic process and its ability to nurture little dreams into greater visions and action than that of a single phase of adult education—citizenship training.

During the years of massive immigration into the United States, a few welfare agencies and teachers became interested in the newcomers. They set up classes to prepare them to take out citizenship papers. At first this meant little more than teaching elementary English. As the experiment went on it included studies in American history and the Constitution. This grew into social, economic, and political orientation.

Out of these programs were born international institutes in many cities. These brought groups of the foreign born together in a common center under more or less trained leadership with two immediate and continuing results: first, a measure of understanding and unity and hence a new sense of security among people of varied national origins, creeds, and colors caught up in the common problem of adjustment to the USA; and second, increasing interest in, and appreciation of, the immigrants and their potential contributions to our culture on the part of "old residents" in each community. This interest generated new agencies—formed and still forming—to deal with specific phases of the integration of "alien" groups as members of our democracy.

Thus, from a simple beginning in citizenship classes, we now see hundreds of organizations at work to reduce tensions, suspicions, and misunderstandings and to replace these with unity and joint action. To illustrate, I need name only the World Conference of Christians and Jews, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the Bureau of Intercultural Education, League of Women Voters, to bring to mind a dozen others. Newest of all is UNESCO which is now projecting a conference in Nanking, China, to plan how education in basic literacy and hygiene can be initiated and activated on a world-wide front.

Many of these organizations and agencies, while they are devoted primarily to adult education, are in name and in public opinion not identified with its formal organization and process. This process centers in the universities and colleges and their extension divisions, both academic and agricultural, all closely linked to state governments and to Washington. They are further coordinated by local, state, and national agencies such as the National Education Association which has both a department and a division of services in adult education. They are tied

somewhat loosely together by the American Association for Adult Education which issues a journal, organizes conferences and meetings—regional and national—and renders consultant and other services to those who request them, including UNESCO.

Another agency that has operated since its inception as an organized institution for adult education is the public library. It has been closely geared to formal activities in the field since the middle Twenties, and has extended and expanded its activities far beyond its traditional function of circulating printed materials.

The American Library Association,

♦

Mr. Perry Schneider
Board of Education
110 Livingston St.
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Schneider,

I want to express to you my gratitude for the interest and energy you have put forth in making it possible for Americans like my dear mother to know and understand their adopted country—my mother, Mrs. Sarah Schlesinger, has written to me often of her night school activities—how proud she is of her new found talents and how happy I am that in her own handwriting I receive letters telling me of how things go at home. Certainly, those of us who love America and her way of life learn to appreciate her all the more when we get far away from home. Thanks again for the inspiration and hope you've given my mother through your leadership and high morale.

Sincerely,
H. A. Schlesinger

From All The Children

A letter, and a picture (opposite) show how adult education can open new windows

♦

through its officers, staff, and committees, works in many ways. It was one of the four sponsors of the National Conference on Adult Education this past year. It has active relationship with various professional bodies, educational directors of major broadcasting systems, labor education projects, and with UNESCO.

Developing out of these relationships are many activities. Some library staffs have carried on joint course planning and operation with nearby universities. Thus the cooperation of the College of the City of New York with the New York Public Library has in three years resulted in enrollments of around 7,000 in courses carried on in the main and twenty-three branch libraries. The University of Louisville and the city library have

made a similar arrangement. The Boston and Philadelphia public libraries have joined with the trade unions in developing workers' education. Under the Great Books program stemming from the University of Chicago and St. John's College, eighteen public libraries in cities from New York to Seattle are sponsoring, helping to organize, and furnishing books and space for seminars.

Some libraries have been built or made over to house and use loan collections of music and speech recordings, films, filmstrips and slides. Recently the Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore enlisted the aid of nearby colleges, scientists, advertisers and others in the preparation of a masterly exhibit and a series of lectures on "Atomic Fact versus Popular Illusions." This drew 3,400 the first night, continued with "standing room only," and is now on tour among the major libraries of the country, attracting capacity audiences wherever it goes.

In addition to these more or less spectacular activities, the public library system is continually expanding its traditional services to individuals and organizations, and through bookmobiles, now familiar in areas that used to see little print except the country weeklies.

While accurate statistics are hard to come by, conservative estimates indicate that more than a third of our mature population is continually instructed in one way or another by organized adult education. This estimate includes veterans and workers education—both described elsewhere in this issue—and agricultural extension, federal, state, and university. The last affects the great majority of farm families of the nation. It has extended the scope of its teaching and group work far beyond the practical matters of soil, crops, and livestock into the economic, social, political, psychological, and aesthetic life of rural families and communities.

If we view both organized and informal adult education as an endeavor to create an harmonious, peaceful world and a better life for all, the aim then becomes that of developing



Charles Phelps Cushing

Adult students in a night class in pattern making at the Brooklyn Technical High School seek to improve their vocational knowledge and skill.

Opposite, a cross section of the adults who throng Max Lerner's course, "America in a World Framework," given monthly at the New School for Social Research, one of a related series of courses on "The World of Today and Tomorrow."

common understanding, group cooperation, and united action—an attempt to make the "social lag" quit lagging.

If, however, we look at adult education from the standpoint of the consumer of its courses and activities, if we ask what leads most adults to attend lectures, participate in forums, see documentary films, read articles and books, or join action groups to improve their community in one way or another, we get quite another picture. At first glimpse the motivation appears to be largely selfish, aimed only at increasing income, prestige, or personal power. Analysis shows that, in general, adults seek continuing education for the following reasons, approximately in this order:

1. TO IMPROVE THEIR JOB STATUS BY:

Training for an initial occupation usually better than that followed by their parents. Thus, applications of veterans for engineering, medicine, law, and other prestige and "high income" occupations are far beyond the current demand, the capacity of institutions, or the abilities of many applicants.

Training for self-improvement in order to win promotion with increase in salary, prestige, or power. These range from short refresher courses along diverse lines—machine shops, upholstery shops, secretarial schools, photographers' studios—to conferences of medical spe-

cialists in surgery or radiology under such auspices as the Continuation Center at the University of Minnesota, or Michigan's Rackham Hall.

Training in a new field in order to be able to shift from the present job to one that gives promise of more income, prestige, or power.

2. TO INCREASE STATUS BY SELF-IMPROVEMENT through courses in psychology, personality development, winning friends and influencing people, persuasive speech, salesmanship, personal health, good grooming. Offerings in this area range from sleazy courses that smell of quackery to stiffish analyses of the findings and applications of modern psychiatry.

3. TRAINING IN MARRIAGE, HOME AND family life, and child rearing. Increasing numbers of adults are worried about the rising divorce rate and juvenile delinquency. They are aware of what modern transportation, radio, movies, sensational magazines are doing to disperse family interests and how, under impact of these and other forces, it is difficult to keep man and wife together and to bring up children. Their demands for help have led to the widespread development of courses and round tables in parent education, child rearing, marital relations, family budgeting, consumer economics, along with institutes, guidance bureaus, and clinics set up to deal privately with specific marital and family problems.

4. TRAINING IN LEISURE TIME AND recreation activities such as appreciation of art, literature, music, movies, theater, and dance; "creative" courses in writing, painting, sculpture, cabinet making, ceramics, and so on. While individuals often follow these lines for real enjoyment and self-improvement, many others use them as a passive means of escape from anxieties and pressures, or from the boredom of dull daily routine.

5. TRAINING IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. Sometimes this is theoretical, for example, studies of U. S. relations with Russia, or the impact of the discovery of atomic fission on the structure of society. Sometimes it is applied—for example, service courses and consultation to enable the student to work out a labor-management problem for his firm, or to help a new race relations group develop a program to solve a local Negro-white or anti-Semitic turmoil.

IN MANY CASES, SIGNING UP FOR ANY type of course is motivated by selfish interest; in others by little more than a vague, haphazard desire to "have something to talk about" or to appear to be informed on large current issues.

At its best the motivation is a growing realization which, I think, must become one of the main foci of adult education: The concept that good personalities, good jobs, good families are inevitably dependent upon healthy communities—local, national, and

world—and that such communities, small and large, are in turn dependent upon enlightened and active citizenship.

Unfortunately, however, too many still harbor the illusion that by listening to a few speeches, lectures, or forums they have acquired social understanding or, worse still, that they have discharged their civic duty by joining a group as passive members and without inquiring as to whether this is actually serving to improve community life.

Whatever the conflict between the views that adult education must meet the needs of society and that it must satisfy the selfish desires of individuals, the two do not appear irreconcilable. I

gram. As to how to devise the most effective education for the dual goal, there are three significant current developments, each with a definite bearing upon the processes of adult education.

First, research in public opinion analysis is developing techniques of polling and sampling that can and do tap swiftly the thinking and feeling of any or all sections of the small or large community on any given issue. New experiments give promise that soon we may be able to learn with

to individuals and groups in classes, committees, conferences, forums, and all other meetings to carry on the democratic process of discussion, decision, and community action.

Stemming from the late Kurt Lewin's work at the University of Iowa, expanded by Lippitt and Bradford



Kosti Buohomaa
from Black Star

would not hold with de Mandeville that private vices make public benefits. Rather, expanding wisdom shows clearly that public service and sound citizenship are the surest way to win security, peace, and progress in our personal lives. That is the essence of democracy, the means of blending public interest and private ambition. Upon this principle, adult education bases its planning and future pro-

equal speed why grown-up people think and feel as they do, whether their opinions are shaped by emotion or reason, by knowledge or ignorance, by sound teaching or prejudiced propaganda.

Second, widespread research and experiment in the whole field of mass media of communication—press, radio, movies, and all their related allies—is steadily improving available methods for changing the opinions of adults in far greater numbers and more rapidly than ever before.

Third, and probably most significant, research in group dynamics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology has gone farther than any other effort in studying what happens

in government training, and tested out in four conferences in Connecticut, New York, Maine, and California, this research bids fair to give us what we have never had—clear and simple rules for planning a meeting, when and how to call it, what persons to work through, how to hew to the line of discussion, how to bring the active talents and opinions of all members into full participation, how to arrive at and clarify decisions, how to bring group pressure to bear therapeutically on balking members, and, finally, how to carry out results in continuing community action. This is not the place to detail this work but there is already evidence that application of its findings will lead us into a whole new era of adult education, of improved conference techniques, of tangible community and individual benefits, of better

(Continued on page 657)

Steelworkers With Diplomas

KATHRYN CLOSE

BIG PETE LOOKED TIRED. ENDLESS hours of rigidly polite, but tense argument in a smoke-filled office were more wearing than all the din and heat of a day in front of the open hearth furnaces. His body sagged. Then all at once he sat up alert, seemingly refreshed by icy tones from across the table.

"Gentlemen," the boss was saying with a haughty stare at Pete and his union associates. "After all, I know what I am talking about. I graduated from Penn State College."

Pete's chuckle was hardly audible, but his words rang out clearly: "Well, now, what do y'know! Why, I have a diploma from Penn State, too!"

His pride was evident as he reached into his briefcase and pulled out a certificate impressively headed:

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE.

This certifies that Pete Blank has satisfactorily completed a one-week course of instruction in the Steelworkers' Institute held at The Pennsylvania State College including union principles and practices; industrial, community, and government policies and practices affecting labor. Awarded July 11, 1946.

And the signature was: "J. O. Keller, assistant to the president."

This bona fide incident took place early last spring in the midst of a grievance meeting between the officers of a local union of the United Steelworkers of America, CIO, and the superintendent of a steel mill in western Pennsylvania.

Big Pete is not the only steelworker who can produce evidence of having sought academic aid in practical problems of union activity. In the past two years, some 1,700 steelworkers have come away from nine university campuses in various parts of the country with certificates earned through a week of intensive study. Among them were scarfers, first helpers, cranemen, charging machine operators, maintenance men, base rate laborers, \$25-a-day rollers and a variety of other skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled workers whose energies

go into the making of steel.

Most of them were USWA officials — presidents, financial secretaries, grievance committeemen, whose locals sent them to the college and paid the expense of \$25 to \$35 a week for room, board, and tuition. Some of them were staff men, particularly USWA district representatives. A few were rank-and-file union members, most of whom attended the institutes on their own initiative and at their own expense.

In addition, at least one session included a handful of persons who were not union members at all, but representatives of management, sent to the institute with the USWA's permission, by a company which believes that executives also have much to learn if harmonious labor-management relations are to prevail.

THIS REPORTER WENT UP TO PENN STATE for part of two of the four steelworkers institutes held there in July 1947, and watched men accustomed to earn their living by strenuous physical exertion sit for at least six hours a day in class rooms, listening intently to lectures or participating in lively discussions. The enthusiasm and interest seemed boundless.

The teachers were obviously eager not only to put their ideas and information across simply and without the least condescension, but also to learn what they could from their students about the practical problems of union activity. The steelworkers, not a few of whom on their arrival were vocally suspicious of the usefulness of what "these theoretical men" could teach them, were avidly attentive in classes and bursting with prickly questions: "How can you find an arbitrator whom you can trust and the management will accept?" or "That's all right in *theory*, but what if you are up against the kind of a manager who . . . ?"

Most of the 130 steelworkers at Penn State during the first two institutes last summer came from Pennsylvania and the bordering states of

Maryland, New Jersey, and New York. Some of them lived in small industrial towns—Grove City, Farrell, Lewistown; others in large metropolitan areas—Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Baltimore, New York. Some worked in the huge basic steel plants of the great steel corporations with thousands of other men; others in the small fabricating mills of independent companies where a few hundred people are employed.

Some were young and sturdy, full of life and high spirits; others had the lined faces and tired eyes that bespoke the approach of retirement age. Some, coming from plants which had only recently been organized, were fairly new to the union movement. Others were men who had fought the bitter battles of early organizational days. Three women were there, too—young, pretty office workers representing the USWA's budding white collar locals.

In spite of the diversity of background among these student steelworkers, the problems they brought to the Penn State campus were essentially the same: how to carry out their responsibilities as union leaders fairly and effectively; how to help their union gain status in the community; how to instill in the individual workers who make up the broad body of union membership a sense of responsibility for the activities of their union, their community, their state, their nation, their world.

These problems were, of course, rarely if ever specifically defined. Rather they seemed to hang in the air, appearing suddenly in bursts of discussion over some very down-to-earth job at hand. For instance, in an animated conversation in a station wagon on the way back from a picnic, men from two locals compared the methods and results of recent plant-wide job reclassifications which as union representatives they had helped to work out with management in their respective plants. Their voices rose excitedly in the exchange of such peripheral questions as "What rating

did your cranemen get?" and "My gawd, how come you put them above a motor inspector helper?" But the center of the talk revealed a common anxiety over the "headaches" ahead in pacifying some of their fellow-workers whose ratings had not been raised and who therefore, unlike many others, would have no back pay coming.

A concern over union status slipped out in all kinds of comments in classes and in the constant between-class shop talk. Sometimes it took the form of gloomy predictions about the deteriorating effects of the Taft-Hartley Act on unions and union activities. Frequently it emerged as a resentful remark over the attitude of the press toward labor in general.

"What's all this talk about the public being against labor?" cried an emotional young man in an unexpected flash of mealtime oratory. "Jeez, three fourths of the people of this country are working class people, and half of these belong to unions!" The public? Heck, *we're* the public!"

His more cynical buddy interrupted him: "I'll tell you who the public is. It's the *press*."

Another worried steelworker, a shy, middle-aged man asked this reporter during a gay farewell party what "educated people" thought of labor. "The press hates us," he remarked dryly. And his conversation turned to the omnipresent subject: "Some of the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act aren't so bad. There *are* union abuses. But why did they have to lump everything together and wipe out the good, too?"

Other men, puzzled by the problem of deadlocked negotiations, testified to their predicament in class discussions of collective bargaining. To an instructor's suggestion that an attitude of "cooperation" might prove more effective than "horse-trading" or "militancy" they responded with some skepticism. Said one: "You may start out by being polite and cooperative, but you don't get very far without some horse-trading, and when management says, 'That, gentlemen, is our final position,' why, what else can you do but be militant?"

Great sincerity and frankness, a touch of skepticism, a hungry eagerness to be understood—these were the characteristics most evident among the steelworkers on the Penn State campus. Harrassed by a confusion of problems back home in their mills and their union locals, they made it plain that they had come to college for knowledge of a very practical nature.

What of the faculty who faced this challenge?

Of course the teachers did not have all the answers. But they had something far more useful to men whose lives, like those of most of us, consist of a series of problems constantly demanding new solutions. This was the ability to draw people out, to help



them organize their own amorphous thoughts and formulate and express their own ideas.

Particularly gifted in this art was the institute's chairman, Anthony Luchek—"Tony" in less than twenty-four hours to most of his steelworker students. Mr. Luchek came to Penn State last spring to fill the recently created position of director of labor education in the college's extension services. With a background happily combining firsthand experience in the labor movement with experience in academic instruction, he was a "natural" for the job.

The staff was composed largely of members of the faculties of the college's permanent schools—Industrial Engineering, Liberal Arts, and Engineering, in particular. It also included several visiting professors called in from other institutions be-

cause of their experience in labor education.

In addition to skill in teaching, most of these men exhibited an uncanny ability to get at the core of what was bothering steelworkers, not only as union officials but also as heads of families faced with the personal problems of family life in a complex civilization. They responded as thoughtfully to questions of how to plan a family budget or what to do when little Johnny reacts jealously to Baby Sister's arrival, as to discussions of how to whip up membership interest in attending union meetings. Their attitude of easy friendliness took one steelworker so by surprise that he could not quite believe it.

"These professors seem sympathetic," he remarked. "They seem to understand us and like us—to be on our side." And he asked, anxiously, "Is that only part of their commercial equipment? Or is it real?"

The steelworkers neither expected nor wanted—nor did they receive—uncritical approbation from their professors. Mr. Luchek and other faculty members were intellectuals, in sympathy with the labor movement and sensitive to the problems of the industrial worker, but above all, exceedingly loyal to the honest demands of the intellect. They dug for the truth even when it hurt.

Sometimes it did, as when an excitable young man who advocated "pulling out the plant" in place of arbitration as the fifth step in handling grievances, was quietly asked whether that would be practical. If the sting resulted in a grudge, it did not show.

MOST CLASSES COMBINED LECTURES with discussion, each student's schedule including these basic courses:

The Union Meeting, with a strong emphasis on public speaking and parliamentary procedure;

the Labor Movement, a history of organized labor during the past hundred years, with a critical interpretation of various federal and state laws and court decisions;

Collective Bargaining, an intensive
(Continued on page 614)



Penn State



Workers' Education



Photos by Rubenstein for ILGWU

TODAY, PROJECTS FOR THE EDUCATION OF MEMBERS OF labor unions have tremendous variety. Well attended classes in subjects ranging from the ILGWU's chorus group pictured here to the "model grievance committee meeting" which steel workers staged at Penn State last year (upper left) are under constant expansion by forward-looking unions. Even the children of mem-

bers get a break, if one of their parents is a unionist. At the left, the director of the garment workers' mandolin class gives a few pointers to a member's child before rehearsal continues. Workers' education is also aided by many such agencies as settlements, the American Labor Education Service, public libraries, and colleges.

Steelworkers with Diplomas

analysis of the methods and procedures involved in negotiating the union contract;

Job Evaluation, a study of methods of rating the value of one job against another for purposes of classification;

Job Standardization, a technical explanation of the use of time and motion studies in determining production standards for specific jobs;

the Union in the Community, a consideration of the union's responsibility in accepting an active role in community affairs;

the Union Member as a Citizen, a description of the opportunities for political action on local, state and national levels;

Personal Adjustments and Relations, a glimpse into the elements of applied psychology.

Each class lasted for an hour and twenty minutes, while each course consisted of from two to six class sessions. In addition, there were special demonstrations in conducting a union meeting, a grievance meeting, and an arbitration meeting, as well as in visual aids and other methods of carrying on an educational program in the local union.

The college also made available several hobby courses, including workshops in public speaking, arts and crafts, music appreciation, the operation of a movie projector. The steelworkers had the use of all the campus recreational facilities—swimming pool, gymnasium, tennis courts, golf course, soft ball field, horse shoe pitch. No wonder one tired craneman remarked at the end of the week that it was about time he got back to the mill for a good rest.

This man, however, seemed to be alone in his exhaustion. When Saturday came, many of his classmates wanted more: "Next year the institute ought to last two weeks—and there ought to be an advanced course for those who attended this year!"

They looked on their experience with a pragmatic eye: "We've learned a lot here that's going to be useful. Take that psychology, for instance. That'll be a big help in handling the grievances that are going to come up under these new job classifications."

"And public speaking. We've all got to do it, and for some of us it isn't so easy. That teacher gave some good hints."

Even the skeptics had considerably

mellowed: "Of course, the professors don't know many of the things *we* know about collective bargaining. The courses will be better in a few years after they have had a chance to learn some things from *us*. But still, they made you think."

WORKERS' EDUCATION IS NOT A NEW phenomenon in the United States. It is a movement which has had slow, steady growth since the years just following the first world war. Its development has been in two main directions: within specific unions, such as the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, which has long had a broad educational program reaching through the whole membership; and outside the unions in workers' schools supported mainly by individual contributions and drawing students from various parts of the labor world. Well known examples of the latter type are the Highlander Folk School and the Southern School for Workers.

But whatever the form, until recent years the impetus for development has come, by and large, from the union movement rather than the educational field—with a few notable exceptions, such as the Hudson Shore



EXPERIMENT

A toy factory in New York City is the setting for an experiment in bringing education to the worker at his place of employment—instead of expecting him to go in quest of a class at the end of the day's work.

Last month the New York University Division of General Education opened a course in "How to Read and Think" at the Louis Marx Toy Manufacturing Company, on Fifth Avenue, not far from the university's downtown center. Thirty students, all employees of the company, attended the opening session.

Prof. Ralph G. Ross, the instructor, pointed out that 41 percent of the adult population, according to the opinion polls, desire to enroll "in some form of educational program." However, a relatively small proportion of these have sufficient incentive to hunt up the courses they want and to register for them. The new experimental program, he added, may well reach beyond the walls of the toy factory and "prove the forerunner of a revolutionary educational development in the United States."

Labor School, which grew out of the annual summer institutes for workers first held on the Bryn Mawr College campus in 1921; and the Wisconsin School of Workers, which has functioned as a summer school on the University of Wisconsin campus since 1925.

In the past decade, however, and particularly within the past three or four years, universities and colleges throughout the land have suddenly become aware of an obligation to provide leadership training to workers as well as to other groups of the population. By 1946, fifty colleges and universities, including tax supported, privately endowed, and church sponsored institutions, were offering programs of some type to union members. The number has undoubtedly increased since then.

Until recently, few of the great, new industrial unions of the CIO have had the time or the inclination for the development of educational programs of any import. The notable exceptions are the Textile Workers Union of America and the United Automobile Workers, CIO. But most of them, like the United Steelworkers, had hardly emerged from the militant days of organization when they became preoccupied with wartime problems.

Among the steelworkers, however, education has been an idea, if not a continuous fact, almost from the day that the famous Taylor-Lewis agreement in 1937 brought them their first recognition from industry. A year later the union, still an "organizing committee," sponsored a series of forty-four two or three day conferences in as many steel centers throughout the country for discussion of such subjects as collective bargaining, grievance procedures, seniority provisions, incentive systems, technological unemployment and apprentice training. In the summers of 1938-1939 it ran union officers training camps at a state park site in western Pennsylvania.

In 1939 the union experimented with another type of educational program at McKees Rocks, Pa., by inviting representatives of both labor and management to sit down together weekly to talk over problems of collective bargaining. The prime instigator of these experiments was Clinton Golden, former vice-president of the USWA and assistant to the

(Continued on page 660)

AREAS OF CONTROVERSY

THERE are some aspects of American education about which discussion often seems to generate more heat than light. These are areas related to deep principles or prejudices; or problems which, like teachers' salaries, have become so acute that they have led to action as direct as the recent teachers' strikes.

These thorny questions are not limited by geography or by the type of educational institution.

Thus "academic freedom" is as much a fighting phrase in a crossroads one-room school as on a university campus.

Inequality of educational opportunity is not limited, alas, to one region or one school system. North and south, east and west, children are to be found in one community enjoying the advantages of the best of modern teaching skill and equipment; and a few miles away, the school shows little advance over the rigid book learning, the narrow outlook of a century ago. Can this injustice be redressed?

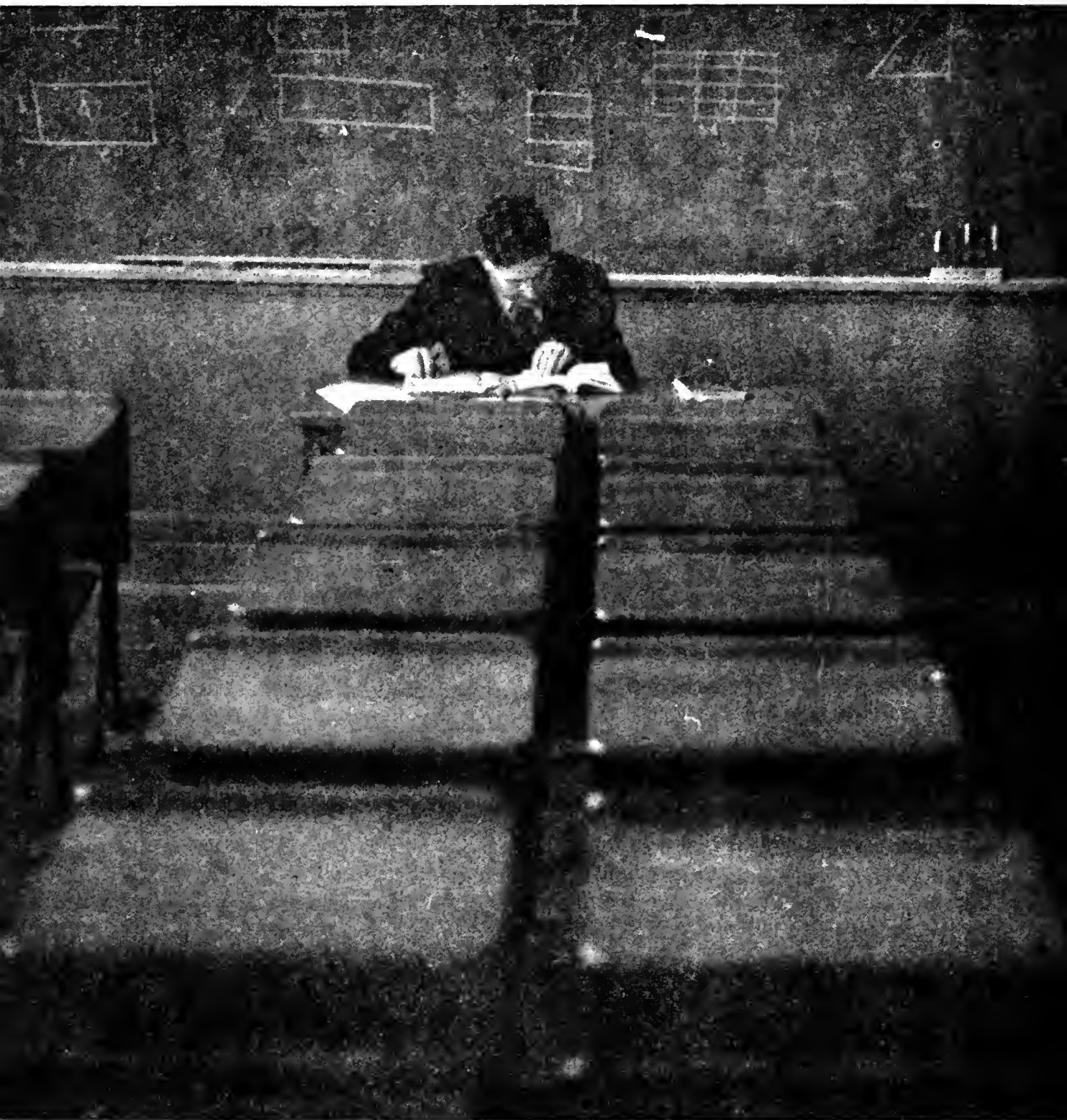
How can we get enough talented and well trained teachers? How can we protect our children against miseducation at the hands of the inept and the ill-prepared?

Is it true that able, well prepared young men and women are barred from American colleges and professional schools solely because of their religious principles, their racial strain, or national origin?

What are the mass educators doing to the minds and spirits of our children? Can we make these modern inventions serve the ends of education?

The contributors to the third section of this special number face difficult issues squarely, offer honest answers, or point to areas where only more facts and study can provide solutions.—B. A.

EDUCATIONAL STRAIT JACKETS
 ALL OUR CHILDREN
 AN EDUCATIONAL PARADOX
 TEACHERS MAKE THE SCHOOLS
 "SO YOU'RE GOING TO BE A TEACHER"
 THIS BUSINESS OF ADMISSIONS
 THE OTHER EDUCATORS



From *All The Children*

"The educator's predicament, inherent in the situation, is that, though engaged by the community to prepare its children for living in the world, he is restrained in his best efforts to fulfill the engagement. The more creative, the more restless and impatient he is, the more galling the restraints."—Farnsworth Crowder

Educational Strait Jackets

FARNSWORTH CROWDER

LAY UTTERANCES ON EDUCATION—OF which this is an example—usually can be summarized under the two themes: 1. Giving educators hell for their failings; and 2. Assigning them new responsibilities.

This dual attitude is really complimentary, for it represents exasperation with the schools because they are not delivering up to our hopes—the wonderful aspect being that the *hopes* remain. Problem-wrestlers, expounding their several views of the several desperate needs of the world today—whether for “intercultural understanding” or “the sympathetic meeting of East and West” or “the preservation of democratic institutions” or “the control of dental caries”—have always handy at least one triumphant suggestion: “In the last analysis this is a problem for education.”

And so, even as they cringe under the complaints, the schoolmen can very well regard with wry amusement the fact that theirs is not yet considered a lost cause. The cynicism with which the efforts and, in particular, the motives, of business and labor leaders, militarists, politicians, and diplomats are so commonly regarded has not yet spread over education. There is a rift in the sour murk and in it stands the schoolhouse.

But in the schoolhouse doorway stand the teachers wearing the look—eager but fearful, earnest but apologetic—of the frustrated. One of them, a high school principal, just returned from an inspirational convention of his fellows, exclaims, “I’m sick and tired of hearing our profession built up as the hope of the world, only to find that I don’t dare have *The Nation* in the library!”

No occupational group, unless it be the ministry, is more harrassed by the discrepancy between assigned expectations and permitted achievements. Teachers are victims of that perversity whereby men and societies contrive to defeat their own best intentions. We say grandly to them, “Take our children through, safe and happy, to the

next milestone,” and then shadow and torment them enroute.

Education is the total of the processes whereby a community shapes and informs its members. In our society, with the decline of the family, the neighborhood, and the church, the sum of neglected and abandoned educational jobs piles up. These are shoved over the fence into the school yard for the pedagogues to deal with. But then, so to speak, society drapes itself over the fence as an officious supervisor, complains, issues orders to go slow, tries to hide its dirty linen and bad manners from the children and hopes withal to gain results which it will not pay for, or will not, in many cases, even permit. In short, the freedom to teach and the freedom to learn are hedged in by serious limitations.

These are of two sorts, those imposed from without and those inflicted by the teaching profession upon itself.

THERE IS, FIRST OFF, THAT HAMPERING set of conditions created by the terms under which our children grow up. We think of them, freed from child labor, as having been “liberated” for education. This is true. But it is true at the same time that they have been eliminated from community activity. They dangle. They must wait. Meanwhile, one parent, and in many families both, work away from home behind closed doors marked “Private” and “Keep Out.”

Emma Beekmann, in her report on a study of education in a midwestern town made by the University of Chicago Committee on Human Development, comments at length on how that community was failing to “bring young people into any intimate association with leaders in government, business, and the professions. Because of having no civic responsibilities, the young had no reason to feel they belonged . . .”

The urban juvenile among us is not meshed into society as a functioning contributor: he doesn’t even

bring in the kindling. The school cannot guide him in useful responsible work, because he does no work. Except for casual afternoon and vacation jobs, serious work is something postponed until after graduation. He does not ordinarily want to do what his father does, but something better. He is unlikely to have any clear goal or great urgency demanding scholastic exertion. Thus, for years, he may flounder aimlessly. Much in his schooling seems unrelated to him and to his known world. He keeps asking fretfully of his subjects, “What are they good for?” He cannot see very well because he is asked to look too far ahead.

The school cannot serve him much in his family relationships, because it does not deal with him in the home. It cannot direct him toward religious experience, because public schooling is strictly secular. The educational effort, confined within the rather stark environment of the schoolhouse, must be heavily bookish and academic, offering, for the most part, secondhand and hypothetical experience. It is not strange that so often the pupil sits lumpishly, presenting to his teachers that most disheartening of visages—the insolently bored face of indifference.

FURTHER COMPLICATING THE SITUATION for the school people is the policy of free, universal, compulsory education. Pupils are enrolled earlier, they stay longer (60 percent of eligible children now go to high school), and all must attend for a fixed time, including the inert and the rebellious. Few demands are heard that it should be otherwise. On the contrary: Willard E. Givens, in his last report to the public for the National Education Association, speaks for the profession, insisting that “there must be continuous opportunity for education throughout life.”

Now this swarming of the population into the classroom requires that the school must try to be all things to all people. Inevitably there is dis-

Strait Jackets

agreement over "objectives." Energy and funds must be diffused and spread thin in the effort to give every mother's son his chance and, if possible, every grandpa a second chance.

The necessary partner of the master who would "gladly teach" is the pupil who would "gladly learn." Under a policy of universal education, "gladly" is a long way from being universally applicable. Teachers who would gladly teach, if they could, must struggle instead with the aimless and the apathetic, the dull-witted and the violent, trying to give them something or other that will keep them in school at least as long as the law requires.

Teachers must seek to egg on the learning process with the award of grades and penalties and the disgrace of flunking; they must try to make interest glow with ingenious "projects," graphic devices and dramatizations; they must run endless tests-and-measurements assays of the human raw material in an effort to find out where Johnny should be going and to check on his headway, if any. And even though no headway is discernible, Johnny must continue to be exposed to learning.

Educators have done some wistful gazing at the remarkable teaching proficiency of the armed services. They need not feel too badly. The military had two special resources—first, definite, rigid, life-and-death objectives; second, the lash of compulsion. A soldier delivered the goods as assigned, or else. A cadet measured up to standards, or was washed out.

Civilian teachers are confronted by pupils having divers goals or no goals at all. There is no life-and-death urgency about passing or not passing. A teacher cannot wave the whip of compulsion. Even if his own conscience approved, his community would not stand for it. The most he can say is, "Johnny, you ought."

THE CIVILIAN PUBLIC EDUCATOR, IN his efforts to do something for this conglomerate mass of students, is surrounded by public eyes, whose expressions of approval and displeasure are as erratic as the weather. The teacher may talk bravely of his "freedom to teach." Indeed, in conventions assembled, he will—as did the National Council for the Social Studies—draw up resolutions such as this one:

We hold that . . . learning can be free only when schools and teachers are free to teach the truth, to discuss all social and political theories and organizations, and when school programs are not burdened by the intrusion of propaganda and pressure groups. We urge . . . the protection of the right of teachers to deal with controversial issues.

This is a splendid sentiment, but it suggests that the social science teachers, steamed up to crusading pitch while away from home, were forgetting their social anthropology. The school, as an instrument of the community, dare not range too far from the credos, taboos, and timidities of that community. This condition of being subject to public accountability is the great over-all restraint on creativeness and aggressive experimentation in education.

Henry W. Simon in his "Preface to Teaching" humbles himself to confess that "the schoolmarm of either sex is something no one wants to be. His characteristics are timidity, a peculiar refinement or super-gentility and an over-conscientiousness about trivialities. . . . These characteristics are thrust upon one partly by the nature of school life but even more by public opinion."

Public school people, talking shop with their hair down, have a quartet of favorite gripes on limitations:

—over the salary schedule ("I can't keep enough in the bank to maintain a checking account");

—over petty tyrannies within the academic hierarchy ("The superintendent admonishes us to teach democracy and then runs the system like a banana-republic dictator");

—over the uncooperativeness of parents ("Not one mother has visited my room all semester");

—and, contrariwise, over public meddling ("The DAR is on a rampage against the new murals in the cafeteria").

The last of these is most pertinent here and instances could run on to the point of melancholy tedium.

When a superintendent flew from the straight-and-narrow path of discretion to help organize a consumer's cooperative, a merchant member of his school board took him to task with a lecture on the ethics of "unfair competition."

During the smallpox scare last spring, a school administrator an-

nounced that the school doctor would give free vaccinations to all children. The county medical society bristled and its secretary wrote a letter of protest containing this gem: "Next thing we know, the schools will be offering to deliver its future pupils from their mothers, free." The original offer was amended to read that vaccinations would be available to children unable to go to their own physicians.

A public debate was arranged between two high school teams on the subject of peacetime compulsory military training. A committee from a veterans' organization protested, arguing that the question was "not one for children to settle"—even though the "children" debating would be liable to conscription, if and when.

This fall, the superintendent of a small city system, a man of vision and deep convictions, was being congratulated on a speech he had made to his teachers, reaffirming his faith in education's high mission. He was rueful. "Yes, I *do* like to dream of myself as the grand marshal of fine parades, but I always wake up to find I am still only the marshal's horse." What did he mean, what had soured him? A course in social living which he had introduced and labored over enthusiastically had been thrown out by his school board for containing "too much ticklish stuff—too hot for adolescent minds."

To another town a school band, with red capes and a bass drum eight feet in diameter, was of course wonderful, but a course in music appreciation was frowned off the curriculum as a "frill."

Another schoolman advocated an enlargement of the high school library facilities and the addition of three desperately needed class rooms. The school board, backed by the local newspaper, balked. But readily enough, it approved funds for twenty-six football uniforms and extensive grandstand repairs and exerted itself in favor of bonds for an auditorium with a 120-foot carillon tower.

I CITE THREE INSTANCES WHICH GENERATED newspaper copy when educators dared to fight back in my own state, which, relatively, gives its schools a generous amount of freedom:

1. The California divorce rate is so alarming that any plans calculated to "save the home" would seem to

deserve support. But efforts by the schools to introduce instruction about matrimony and family life were regarded with such horror by State Senator Jack Tenny that he introduced and saw through the last legislature a measure to cripple any such undertaking.

2. This same legislature became embroiled in a wrangle over a series of social science books, edited by Professor Paul Hanna of Stanford University. The books had the recommendation of professional educators and the approval of Parent-Teacher spokesmen. The legislature was being solicited for a publishing appropriation—when up from the Sons of the American Revolution rang the charge, subversive! Professor Hanna was attacked as a “red” and had to take the stand to defend his personal record as a patriot. And whereas both he and his books stood up under charges, the legislators did not vote the funds for publication.

3. This summer, the State Board of Education was considering a proposed new arithmetic text, the authors of which had introduced, among problems about marbles and oranges and men on bicycles, some problems having to do with taxes, social security, and the standard of living. Objections sprang up about these “extraneous matters.” The board, “to avoid stirring up trouble” moved that the questionable references and problems be deleted, leaving the traditional marbles, oranges, and cyclists.

“TO AVOID STIRRING UP TROUBLE” IS perhaps the first law for survival and promotion in the field of public education. The teacher needs to be shrewd in his estimates of how exposed a view he dares to give his students of the social, political, and economic actualities of the community.

Emma Beekmann, in her report mentioned above, observed that freedom to teach and discuss contemporary problems was related to the distance of the problems from the school house. Timidity increased as mileage decreased—as attention moved from international, to national, to state, to local affairs. Concerning matters close to home, Miss Beekmann says, “The spirit of free inquiry was lacking. . . . If [a pupil] did bring up a controversial issue of the community, he might be silenced with the remark, ‘This is not the place for such discussion.’”

She puts her finger on one reason for such silencing: “Because the community did not grant security of position to its teachers, the young people were deprived of the opportunity to study it [the controversial issue].”

There is another, sterner reason. Adult reluctance to be open and honest with the oncoming generation contains a great deal of the psychology of the hovering mother who mourns to see her babes grow out of their trusting innocence, contains even more of the psychology of the anxious father trying to postpone the day when the little boy who worships him as a superman begins to find him out as a fumbling, all-too-human human being.

Hence, courses sharply eyeing the elders’ handiwork in the immediate Now and considering reforms for Tomorrow make parents and school boards nervous. They feel safer when their schools are run in the traditional grooves, avoiding the “progressive” and bearing down on “fundamentals.”

For example: The Town Club of Scarsdale, New York, following a two-year survey of its schools, issues a report condemning the lax training in fundamentals and asking for a return to traditional subjects. . . . A committee of Detroit business men draws up a criticism of the school system for graduating children poorly grounded in the fundamentals. . . . San Francisco dismisses its superintendent for being too far on the progressive side. . . .

The educator’s predicament, inherent in the situation, is that, though engaged by the community to prepare its children for living in the world, he is restrained in his best efforts to fulfill the engagement. The more creative, the more restless and impatient he is, the more galling the restraints. It is small wonder that so often he says to hell with it and goes to selling real estate.

BUT THE CIRCLE OF CONFINEMENT IS not yet closed. There is a set of conditions imposed on public education by our culture’s characteristic and limited comprehension of the nature of man and of his business on earth.

When a teacher of literature feels depressed that his students, in their response to the poetry he loves, register lukewarm to cold, he should comfort himself with the reflection that poetics is a very minor item in the American dream of the good life.

When ardent apologists for the scientific method, as a discipline and a philosophy, protest that young people can be interested in science only as it results in practical applications and in gadgets, they should realize that this is precisely the meaning science has for the American people.

When ministers and some educators grieve that so many children come to adulthood innocent of contact with their religious heritage or with religiously based morality and character, they should remember that the separation of church and school is a basic American political tenet.

F. S. C. NORTHROP, MAKING HIS examination of the American version of the western mind in “The Meeting of East and West,” has characterized it embarrassingly by its aesthetic, religious, and spiritual illiteracy—explaining, not only that this illiteracy exists, but that it is generally acceptable.

This makes the going extremely difficult for those educators who find such illiteracy regrettable. Despite all their valiant efforts to “enrich” the curriculum, that curriculum, from the point of view of the nature of man and the grand total of his possibilities, remains as remarkable for what it leaves out as for what it emphasizes. It must operate, above all else, to produce duplicates of a typed figure—the schooled-American-who-makes-good.

The compelling motive animating this figure is the desire to get ahead, to amount to something, to win through in competition. Hence, the one clear objective for the school system, as the public sees and pays for it, is to help boys and girls to get ahead and amount to something. Evidence that they have done so is to be read—not from their aesthetic sensitivity, or from their achieved philosophy of life, or from their religious awareness, or their emotional maturity—but from their economic and occupational status, from their ability to command worldly substance and recognition, comforts and amusements. This, by and large, is what parents want for themselves and want, even more, for their children.

For the educator, the consequence of our prizing this particular complex of values—materialistic, egoistic, secular, and dynamic—is that, to please the patron, emphasis must bear down

(Continued on page 648)

All Our Children

MAXWELL S. STEWART

STRICTLY SPEAKING, THERE IS NO SUCH thing as an American system of education. We have forty-eight systems of education, with considerable variations within each of the states, depending wholly on local factors.

Most Americans have long been convinced that this scheme of public education is the soundest and most democratic way to prepare youth for the responsibilities of adult life. We have scorned both the concept of education for the elite as exemplified in England's "public schools," and the typical European system of national education. We have taken great pride in the fact that our schools are not standardized in accordance with the ideas of some theorist in Washington but reflect, at least to a considerable extent, the desires and views of the local communities.

It is true that of late, states have extended financial aid to schools and exercised a growing influence on standards of teaching, but the principle of local autonomy has been jealously protected so far as the federal government is concerned. Although the influence of the national government has developed spectacularly in many areas of American life during the past quarter of a century, it has been felt only indirectly in the schools.

In recent years, particularly since the depression, educators have begun to wonder whether we have not somewhat overemphasized state and local autonomy. The wide differences in per capita wealth in various parts of the country, and between urban and rural areas in particular, have resulted in fantastic unevenness in the quality of education available to America's children. While some children are getting an excellent education, others less fortunate in the place where they happen to live—or in the color of their skin—are not getting even a chance to learn the 3 R's properly.

We find, for example, that the typical white Louisiana farm resident twenty-five years of age or older has completed only 6.3 years of schooling,

while the typical Utah city dweller of the same age has attended school for 11.5 years. The variation is much greater if race differences are taken into account. Negroes in rural Louisiana average only 2.8 years of schooling while in several northern states the average for Negroes is better than eight years.

THE NUMBER OF YEARS OF SCHOOLING is, of course, but a small part of the story as far as the *quality* of education is concerned. Southern schools, country schools, and segregated Negro schools make a showing which is below the national average in every aspect of education. They usually provide fewer days of instruction per year, have less adequate buildings and equipment, less satisfactorily trained teachers, and a more antiquated curriculum.

Although there are relatively more children of school age in rural areas than in cities, the average length of the country school term in 1940 was only 167.6 days as compared with 181.7 days in cities. At that time teachers' salaries in the cities averaged \$1,955 a year as against \$959 in rural areas, and only 38 percent of the rural teachers in the one or two room schoolhouses had as much as two years' college education.

If we take the amount expended on education in dollars per pupil, we may not have an exact index of the differences in the quality of the schooling, but it is about as good a yardstick as we can find. Expressed in these terms, the differences are almost incredible. New York, for example, spent \$157 per pupil in 1939-1940, while Mississippi spent less than one twentieth as much—\$7.36—for each of its Negro pupils. Discrimination against Negroes in educational opportunity accounts for some of the difference. But Arkansas spent only \$37 per pupil to educate its white children. City schools throughout the country spent an average of \$105 per pupil as against only \$70 in country districts.

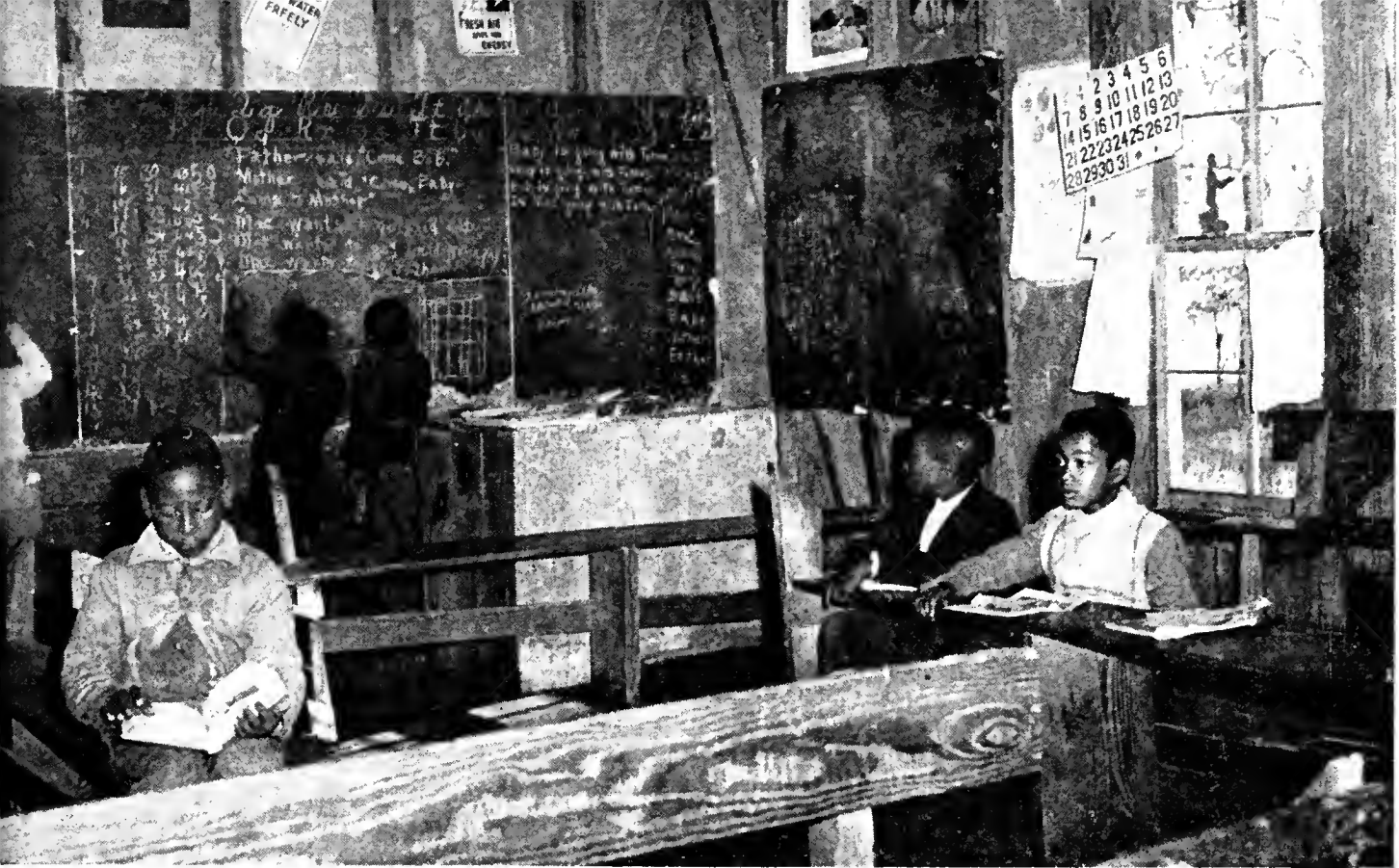
These differences in educational expenditure reflect the wide variations in economic opportunity which exist within our society. But the problem is complicated by the fact that the proportion of children in the population is greater in the southern states than in the North and is considerably greater in all rural areas than in the cities.

South Carolina, for instance, has twice as many children for each adult as has Los Angeles County. But Los Angeles County has five times as much wealth per person available for education as has South Carolina. The economic burden on the rural population is still greater where the outdated one room schools—often with only a handful of pupils—are still retained. The result is a far better quality of teaching in the city schools, as well as superior equipment and a richer, more flexible curriculum.

LET ME HASTEN TO POINT OUT THAT wide variations in educational expenditures do not reflect a different sense of the importance of education in the various parts of the country. The states which have the lowest per pupil expenditure for education tend to devote a much larger proportion of their taxes to education than do the wealthier states.

For example, Delaware, which ranks near the top in educational expenditures per pupil, several years ago devoted to its schools only 4 percent of the money utilized for governmental activities; North Dakota, with a much lower ranking, spent 80 percent; New York, 25 percent; Mississippi, 78 percent. Similarly this country as a whole, spends only 1½ percent of its national income for schools, while the proportion for Great Britain, with far fewer resources, is 3 percent, and for the Soviet Union, an even poorer country, 7½ percent. We spend far less for our schools than for liquor or tobacco, and about the same amount as for beauty and barber shop services and cosmetics.

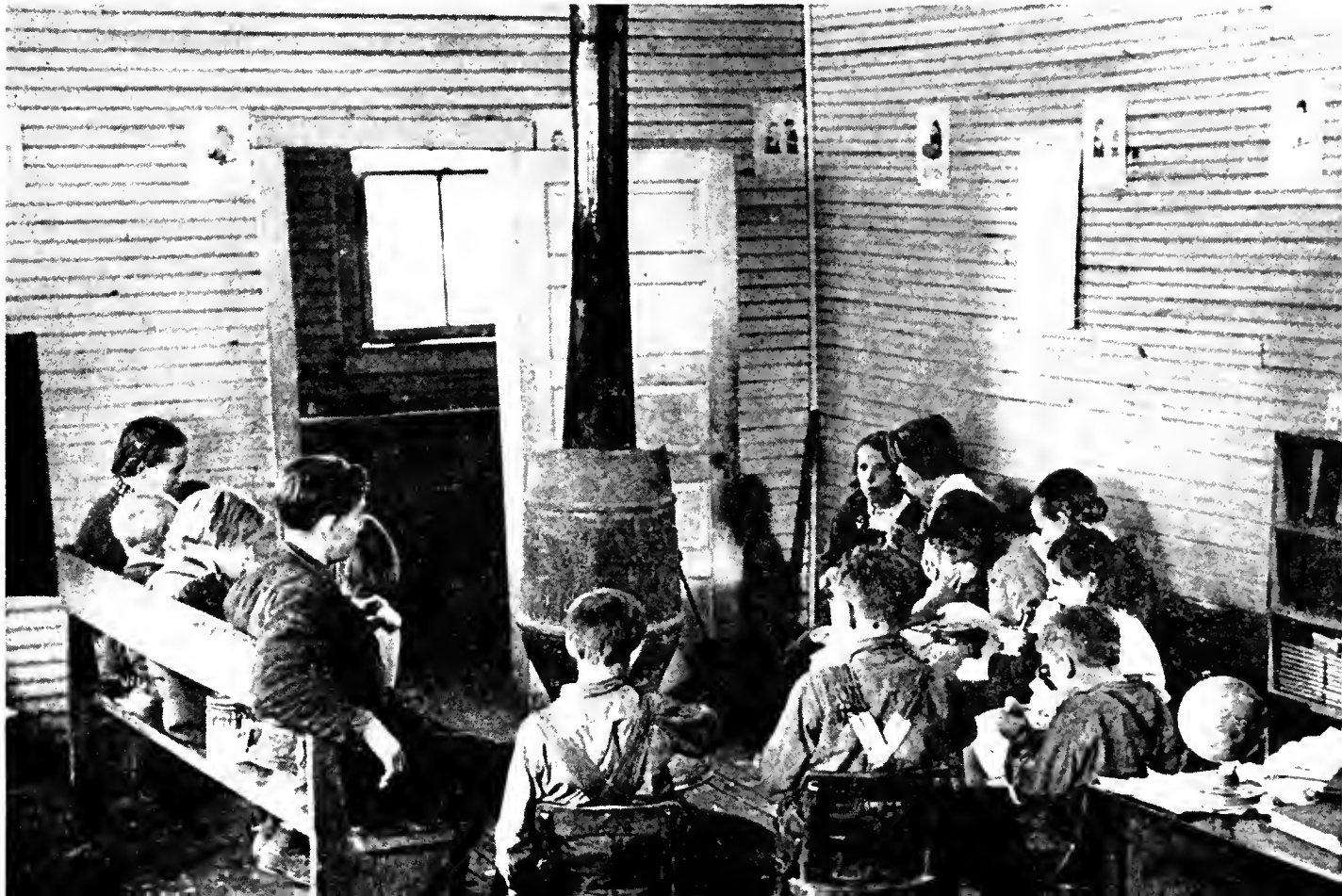
The principal reason why the



Marion Palfi

Unequal Opportunity. Here, two below-average rural schools, one (above) in the Deep South, the other in Kentucky. On page 622—

Joel for Project in Applied Economics





Jack H. Rosenthal

—a Trenton, N. J. elementary school, which affords above-average education, in program, equipment, and in democratic experience

schools have so little money is that they are dependent largely on local resources for their support. Approximately three fourths of the cost of public education is still met through property taxes, levied chiefly by local school boards and other local taxing agencies. Most of the 127,000 local school districts in the United States raise their taxes individually. In states where there are many small districts, there is often very little relationship between the wealth of the district and the number of children to be educated. In some instances, the richer districts could readily provide \$100 per child for every \$1 that can be provided by the poorer districts. Actual expenditures never reveal any such discrepancy because the poorest districts tax themselves much more heavily than do the richest ones.

THE STATES HAVE STEPPED IN TO LEVEL some of the unevenness between districts by varying degrees of state assistance. In general, states with the leanest public purses have made the greatest efforts to provide school funds. Almost without exception, they spend relatively more on education than do the well-to-do states. But their resources are so inadequate that

despite their efforts, they remain near the bottom in the quality of schooling provided.

If American children are to have reasonable equality in educational opportunity, it has long been obvious that the federal government will have to assist the poorer states in the same way that the states aid the poorer districts within their borders. The federal government has always maintained an interest in education. Most of the states were territories before entering the Union, and as territories their schools were provided for by acts of Congress. Thus the federal government may be said to have founded the public school systems of most states. In some states, public schools, as well as universities and normal schools, still receive support from federal land grants.

Further, since 1867 the federal government has maintained the Office of Education as a fact-finding and promotional agency, and nearly every department of the government has taken on functions directly or indirectly connected with the schools.

In recent years Congress has appropriated funds for agricultural and home economics extension service in

the schools and for vocational education.

During the depression, federal assistance became imperative to reopen closed schools and to prevent many additional closings. Approximately \$22,000,000 in emergency relief money was spent for this purpose. In addition, over \$500,000,000 in public works funds was spent for improving school facilities, and hundreds of millions more went into students aid. These contributions did little, however, to correct the fundamental educational inequalities which had been sharpened by the depression. In 1937 President Roosevelt appointed an Advisory Committee on Education to investigate this problem and make recommendations. A year later, after exhaustive study, the committee recommended the expenditure of \$540,000,000 in federal aid to the state school systems over a six-year period.

ALTHOUGH PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT FORWARDED this recommendation to Congress, nothing came of it. Many educators were lukewarm in their support of the proposal, fearing that federal assistance would open the door to standardization and to direct federal

control over the schools. There was some, but not extensive, resistance within school circles.

The chief opposition came from Roman Catholic groups who felt that if federal assistance were given, the parochial schools should receive an equal per capita share—a position that most non-Catholics refused to accept.

Catholic opposition to federal aid was rarely explicit, even at that period. But when the non-Catholics on the House and Senate Education Committees refused to extend aid to the parochial schools on the same basis as to the public schools, the Catholics were strong enough to see that the

federal aid bills were never reported out of committee. These obstructive tactics were made easy by the fact that a majority of the members of the House Education Committee were Catholics.

SOME OPPOSITION ALSO AROSE FROM representatives of wealthier states who disliked the idea of being taxed to aid the less fortunate communities. This second objection is rarely stated explicitly, and its fallacy is not generally understood. James B. Conant, president of Harvard University, had this argument in mind when he pointed out recently: First, that all the youth

of the country are future citizens, regardless of where they live, and the voters as a whole will decide the kind of nation we are to live in; and, second, we are a mobile people and many future residents of our cities are now attending poor rural schools.

Primarily, however, the recommendation for federal aid failed of adoption in the 1930's because of public apathy. Few were opposed to the principle, but there was not sufficient active support to force a change in the traditional policy.

The war, with its insatiable demand for manpower and the ever-rising
(Continued on page 644)

AN EDUCATIONAL PARADOX

Margaret S. Lewisohn

To those of us deeply concerned with education as parents and citizens, the discrepancy between the quality and the cost of public and private education in this country is both shocking and shortsighted.

If we believe in equal educational opportunity for all, then public education must be at least on a level with that which the fortunate few can afford to buy for themselves. If we are to live up to our beliefs in democracy, we should compensate the young people whose homes afford relatively few cultural advantages, by offering them richer and more varied educational opportunities. Yet today we are faced with a strange paradox. Instead of equalizing educational opportunity by offering more to those who need more, we offer them far less.

Let us look at the actual discrepancy. The current expense budget of the average private school ranges from \$350 to \$550 annually per pupil at the elementary school level. New York City, which stands high in public educational expenditure, is satisfied with about \$175 per pupil for the same services. In some of our educational sore spots—segregated Negro schools in the South for instance—\$50 per pupil per year is a usual average.

With all due allowance for the economies of large scale operation in the public schools, these figures are disturbing. They reveal that from two to ten times more is spent on the private school child than on the student whose need for an intensive education in many instances is so much greater. We never seem to consider whether this is just or wise, above all whether it is a sound base for a society of free men.

During the last century, when Britain was an empire builder she felt the need to train a "governing class." Feudalism, in the social sense, was not yet liquidated and universal education was still a dream. However we may disagree with it, England had a sound practical reason for the inequality between her private and public schools. Until recently, the difference between the education offered at such places as Eton, Harrow, Rugby, on the one hand, and the London Board Schools on the other, was planned and purposeful,

with a definite end in view. In America, we have no such aim to excuse the inequality of our education. It is largely due to public inertia and lack of understanding.

Generally speaking, Americans believe that we get what we pay for. In education, this clearly means that, by and large, the quality of education offered in our public schools is inferior to that in private institutions.

Modern psychology has opened new vistas for our educational thinking and made new and heavy demands on teachers. Today, the experts hold, schools must provide an environment which encourages not only mental development but also the sound physical and emotional growth of students. Teachers must understand each pupil as a person, and give him individual guidance. Obviously, this calls for small classes. Here again, the situation is paradoxical. If need were the criteria, public school students should have smaller classes, more specialized teaching, more individual attention. Today quite the reverse is true. The private elementary school rarely exceeds fifteen to eighteen pupils per teacher, while many public schools, because of financial handicaps, have to load each teacher with thirty to forty children. This makes it virtually impossible to use modern teaching methods. In the matter of school buildings and equipment, and the richness of the curriculum, the same unfair discrepancy exists.

We are becoming aware that education is not serving our society as it should. The need is for widespread recognition of its importance. One step in this direction, I submit, is to do away with the present inequality between private and public education. This can be achieved only through a generous program of federal and state aid to supplement local support for our public schools. Further, citizens and taxpayers must take an active interest in the financing and administering of their local schools. Above all, we must realize as a nation that sound education for every child is an inescapable purpose in our effort to realize more fully the American way of life.



From *All The Children*

Teachers Make the Schools

HAROLD R. BENJAMIN

NO STANDARD AMERICAN commonplace has been more devoutly honored in words or more consistently ignored in practice than the adage that the teacher makes the school. Practically any citizen of the United States, at the faintest touch of political office, school-board membership, or even parenthood, can and often will speak eloquently and forcefully of the teacher's high calling, of his crucial responsibility to society, and of his need to possess all the brightest of talents and all the noblest of virtues. There are no reasonable lengths to which the people of this country will not go, the orator properly adds, to provide such a teacher for every child and youth in the land.

Having made this speech, the chairman of the rural board of school trustees, for example, has often proceeded to employ a teacher with scarcely more education or general ability than those of the man who

milks his cows and slops his swine. Appropriately enough, moreover, he has commonly insisted that such a teacher be paid no more than the current wage of a farm hand.

It was a rural teacher, according to an old story, who ended a discussion of proper nutrition by saying earnestly to the children of the dairying community, "And now, boys and girls, will each of you please try to remember to drink at least a quart of milk every day?"

There followed a shocked silence which was finally broken by the oldest boy. "Why, teacher," he said reprovingly, "we ain't hardly got enough milk for the hogs!"

I do not mean to imply that the combination of fine words and few dollars for schools is confined to rural areas or to elementary education. The member of the city board of education who has voted to employ high school teachers at salaries lower than those

received by local waitresses, the university regent who has supported a budget providing less for an instructor than for a garage mechanic, the legislator who has shunned an increase in state aid for teachers' salaries lest the appropriation for armories be endangered, and the congressman who regards as dangerous extravagance a proposed federal grant for education amounting to less than one percent of the country's annual expenditure for alcoholic beverages—all these have been brothers to the rural trustee.

THEY HAVE ALL BELIEVED NOTHING was too good for the children, that education was the noblest of tasks, that the schools deserved the finest teachers that could be enlisted, but they have suspected also that there was hardly enough milk for the hogs.

If I speak as though such things are in the past, it is because I am

convinced that they are at least passing. In the two years since V-J Day particularly, all of us have seen dark pictures painted of the results of these attitudes toward teaching and teachers. The very low salaries, the exodus of teachers from the profession, the failure to recruit able students in even nearly adequate numbers for the teachers' colleges, and other unfavorable aspects of teaching have been fully documented and widely discussed. Certainly the press, the radio, and many other agencies for the direction of public opinion have done a remarkable job in presenting these pictures of gloom to the people of the United States.

The people of the United States have begun to respond. In state after state and city after city within the last twelve months, teachers' salary scales have been revised upward drastically, retirement provisions have been improved, competent young people in growing numbers have been guided to enter teachers' colleges, certification and selection procedures have been overhauled, and even some of the traditional restrictions on the personal freedom of teachers have at least been examined critically.

Joel for Look

In other states and local districts, these improvements have not yet been made but are under way and will be made during the coming twelve months. Even in the more backward areas of this country where reforms come most slowly, there are signs of unrest among parents and citizens in general. They, too, are going to demand and get better teachers.

THE TRUTH IS THAT THE AMERICAN people believe most emphatically what they say about the importance of education and the necessity of having the best possible teachers for their children. They are ready and willing to support and maintain a system of teacher selection, preparation, and payment more comprehensive and more daring than most of us school administrators, school trustees, and teachers' college professors imagine. It has indeed been largely our own fault that in the past the people of this country have too often believed that the community's most difficult and crucial professional jobs could be done by relatively unskilled labor.

We have neglected our duty to in-

form the public properly concerning the educational and professional qualifications needed for the best teaching. We sometimes failed to carry out this duty because we were timid. We were afraid people would not like to know the truth. At other times we neglected this duty because we did not ourselves know that teaching was more than a semiskilled craft. We were ourselves administrative, policy-making, or teacher-education mechanics; how could we suppose that a teacher would have to be more than a mechanic?

Teachers organizations have an important job to do in this connection. They are the groups which are best fitted and most highly motivated to let the public know what the qualifications of a good teacher are and how such a person should be recruited, educated, appointed, and rewarded for his professional services. They have generally failed to do this job well, and they have sometimes bungled it atrociously.

In the last two years a few groups of teachers, goaded by unfavorable treatment, have used the strike as a

Her books in her saddle bags, a Kentucky teacher leaves for school. She supervises a nutrition program sponsored by the Sloan Foundation and the state university.



Teachers Make the Schools

means of securing better salaries and other conditions of service. No teachers organization of national scope, so far as I know, supported these strikes. Most of their members, furthermore, regard the strike as being not appropriate for use by teachers. I am not sure that I agree with this general judgment.

I am not so much concerned about the appropriateness or the inappropriateness of a teachers' strike as I am about its effectiveness in advancing the cause of improved education for the American people. From that standpoint, I would prefer to see teachers refuse in an organized body at the end or the beginning of a school year to accept contracts which offer poor salaries or other conditions inimical to good teaching rather than to strike in the middle of the year—not because I hate strikes but because I want better education.

I would prefer to see them refuse the poor contracts, persuade all other certificated teachers to refuse them, and carry an educational campaign to the people which will show clearly what the issues in this refusal are and how competent members of the profession propose to resolve them. This is a clear-cut educational approach which an education-respecting people will understand and support.

THE GREATEST OBSTACLE IN THE PATH of the American people toward the goal of the vastly better educational services which they desire, therefore, probably will not be poverty or lack of willingness to support the schools. We Americans are a proud and wealthy people. We spend money and energy with a free hand for what we want. We are coming more and more to demand education in all areas, on all levels, and for all our citizens. We want this education on a scale still undreamed of by most of the other nations of the world. We want this education to have an intellectual quality, a social meaning, and a spiritual character until recently undreamed of by ourselves.

The greatest possible block to this improvement and extension of education is likely to arise in an unexpected quarter. Like professional soldiers who are sometimes accused of training for the last war instead of for a possible next one, we are prone

to select and prepare teachers for schools of yesterday rather than for schools of tomorrow.

The foremost danger confronting us in the educational world today is not that we will pay teachers too little, but that we will fail to recruit and train teachers worthy of the best professional salaries. It is not so much that we will have a shortage of persons certified to teach, as it is that we will have a shortage of properly educated teachers to certificate.

NOT LONG AGO A PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION visited a one-room rural school in which he had begun his teaching career more than thirty years earlier and which he had not seen in the intervening time. He entered the state in which the school was located, wondering what kind of new building had replaced the boxlike structure which had been old when he first saw it. When he reached the county and began to pass ancient schoolhouses, he suspected that his dream of a new building in the old district might be too sanguine.

He was right. For he saw that the same schoolhouse stood in the same spot in a wheat field by a lake. The lake reflected the sun as brightly as ever, the wheat field seemed even greener than before, but the schoolhouse had a smallness and a shabbiness beyond all his imagining.

The professor's moment of depression vanished as he drove up to the old school.

"What if it is the same building!" he consoled himself. "I was only in my eighteenth year, only a secondary school graduate, holder of only a temporary certificate when I was a teacher here. I had only four years of education above the eighth grade myself, largely four years of memorization and verbalization designed to train my mind by a mysterious process of sympathetic magic. My only notion of teaching was 'discipline' and words and figures. This building is the same, but that is nothing. The teacher will be different, and so the school will be different. The teacher makes the school."

He entered the schoolhouse, smiling.

He was wrong. The new teacher was an eighteen-year old high school graduate with a temporary certificate

whose only notion of teaching was "discipline," words, and figures.

Since the professor taught the district school, the annual income of the people of the United States has doubled and redoubled. The dirt trails over which he rode his horse have long since given way to ribbons of concrete and macadam. His country, then a second rate power in a Europe-dominated world, is now admitted even by its severest critics to be one of the two greatest nations in existence in an American-dominated world. The people of the district who then sent their sons in a wagon to the county seat with many admonitions against possible dangers now calmly watch their grandsons board airplanes for Tokyo or Manila, Melbourne or Buenos Aires, Berlin or Bagdad on business of the highest moment to all the world.

The director of the district school, however, is still only an "emergency" teacher.

In that period of more than thirty years, furthermore, rates of juvenile delinquency, crime, divorce, and mental disease have mounted. Demands on the character as well as on the intellect of the people of the United States have increased.

The teacher of the district school is still only eighteen years old.

In the period since the professor was the district teacher, moreover, students of psychology, physiology, anthropology, sociology, and various related fields have piled up a wealth of facts to illumine the behavior of human beings individually and in groups.

They have provided new information, new techniques, and insights. They have charted new fields for the study of the growth and development of children and young people. They have thrown added light on the motives of human beings. They have uncovered new foundations for a true science of education.

The expert on changing human behavior in the little schoolhouse by the lake is still only a high school graduate.

If this were merely the picture of an isolated case or even of one which could be duplicated not more than a thousand times, it would have little meaning. Unfortunately, it is a pic-

(Continued on page 650)

"So You're Going To Be a Teacher"

JAMES HENNESSY

"A SCHOOL TEACHER," PEOPLE REPEAT, looking at you narrowly with as much suspicion as if you had announced that you were beginning the study of Swahili.

"Well, it doesn't pay a lot, but—" Then the voice trails off, implying that there are other compensations too vague for exploration in ordinary conversation. They admit probable existence of such compensations but they are obviously startled, slightly amused, and perhaps a little disappointed by your goal.

"I suppose there are a lot of vacancies," they suggest lamely, "and the summer vacations are nice but—"

As a recently returned GI working toward a postgraduate university degree in preparation for the teaching profession, I have been through this exchange many times. After the first expression of amazement it is interesting to watch the variety of reactions when I say that I am going to be a teacher.

Most people are a little disappointed. They commiserate with you, saying something about good jobs being rather scarce right now and alluding obliquely to the insanity of preparing for life by the acquisition of an advanced liberal arts degree. "Not very farsighted," they are thinking. "Probably wasted his time on litera-

ture and languages when he should have been studying something practical."

Others begin with a measure of subtlety to inquire into your motives, intimating that there is something a little strange in the prospect of a man wanting to be a school teacher when he might be something as stimulating and dynamic as an insurance salesman or a bank teller. Often they give a quizzical look which implies that the acquisition of an advanced degree (and the knowledge required for it) has turned the head of the embryo teacher.

Others say something about serving humanity, pulling a long face that intimates it entails a slow, painful martyrdom.

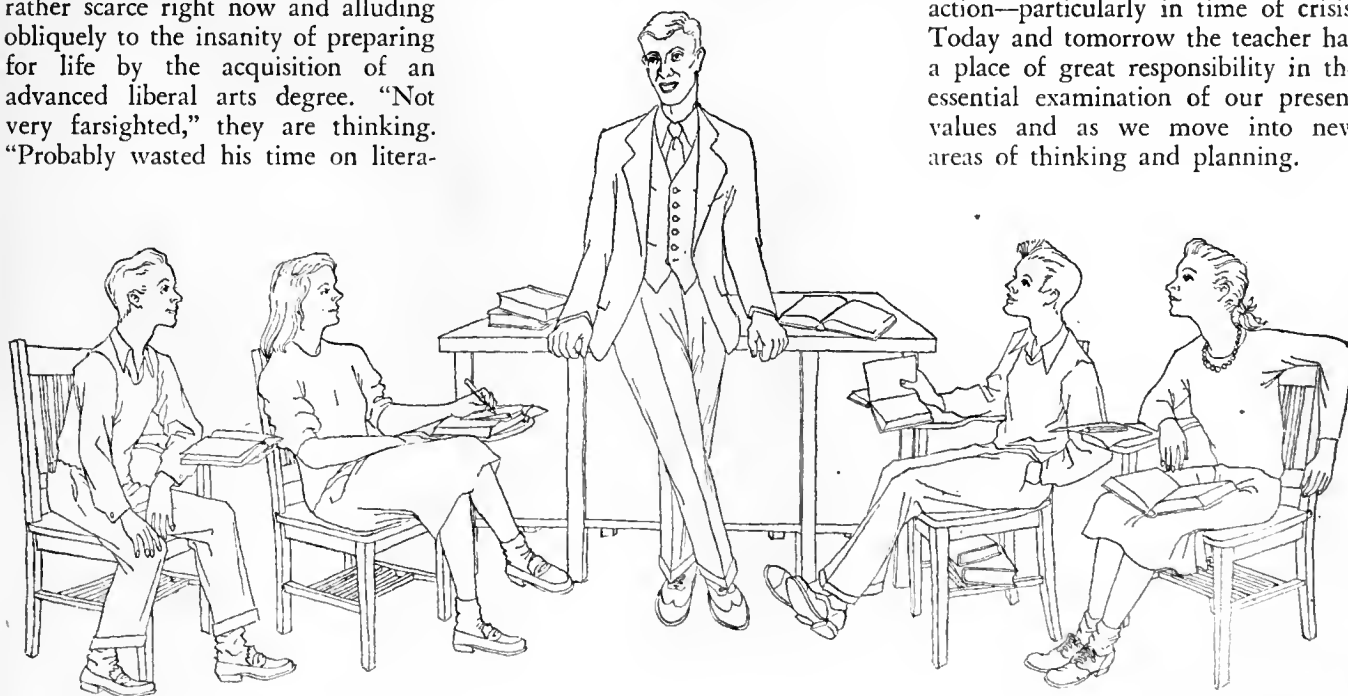
The well worn suggestion that it might be pleasant to work with people and glimpse their lives as intimately as does a teacher is regarded with little interest.

Most of us have known great teachers at one time or another and recognize the lasting influence that

they have had on our thinking. The possibility that one of the present candidates for the profession is looking forward to the exercise of such an influence on the next generation is usually brushed aside as too visionary and presumptuous to affect the choice of a profession.

Almost the only motive that is not mentioned is the dream of being part of the great creative activity of education. Certainly there is no more challenging occupation today than that of striving to guide youth in its exploration of methods of establishing a functioning world society. Many of us GI's, who were so recently involved in the result of the disastrous experiment of permitting areas of barbarism to develop, recognize the obligation to shape a world citizenship.

IF THE MEN WHO HELPED FIGHT AND win World War II can contribute anything to education today, I think it is a realization of the vital role of the teacher as one of the few valid influences on popular thinking and action—particularly in time of crisis. Today and tomorrow the teacher has a place of great responsibility in the essential examination of our present values and as we move into new areas of thinking and planning.



Luke Gwilliam

This Business of Admissions

ALVIN JOHNSON

EDUCATION IS THE DOMINANT FACTOR in the American way of life. To the early colonist it was an imperative necessity that all children be brought up equipped to read the hymn book and the Bible. With the secularization of political life, education became the key to full citizenship. And in every democratic movement since the inception of the Republic, the claims of education have been prominent.

So today we have free universal primary education, reaching into the most backward mountain recesses of the land. Also we have free high school education; free college and university education in many states; free college education in the greatest city in the world. And although, outside New York City, college education in the eastern states remains for the most part under the control of private institutions—private institutions deeply affected with a public interest—the principle of equal opportunity for all (that is, all who can pay for it) is loudly proclaimed.

It is essential to the American way of life that we the people, made up of many diverse elements, are possessed of equal rights; and the right to equal opportunity in education looms large among them. In most states this right is taken for granted. In the State of New York it is a part of the positive law.

That this principle is flouted, so far as Negro citizens are concerned, by all public institutions, and with negligible exceptions, by all private institutions throughout the South goes without saying. It is generally believed that it is also flouted by many—indeed most—of the private non-sectarian institutions of the North Atlantic states, where Jews in particular, and less generally Negroes, Italians, Slavs, and Roman Catholics, are discriminated against.

This is commonly believed, and innumerable private individuals, like the writer, know it to be true. I know it by the frank admission of presidents of colleges and members of committees on admission that dis-

crimination does exist. You who read this know it. But our knowledge is intimate and privileged. It would not stand in court against the indignant denials of impeccable academic gentlemen.

DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION IS INCOMPATIBLE with the American way of life. Yet there is one situation in which it is permitted under a higher principle than the rights of democracy: religious liberty. Religious liberty implies not only the right to worship God as one's conscience requires, but also the right to bring up one's children in the true doctrine, as one sees it. It implies the right to set up educational institutions exclusively for the youth of one's coreligionists. But note, it does not imply the right to select among one's coreligionists on grounds of race, national origin, or color. *De minimis non curat lex*. We democrats expect sectarian institutions to follow the principle of non-discrimination except where the sectarian issue is directly involved. Here we assume that no official regulations are required.

But in respect to non-sectarian in-

stitutions that purport to deal directly with the American citizen as such, we claim the right to know whether or not they follow the American principle of equal treatment of all, irrespective of race, creed, color, or national origin. These institutions are indeed privately endowed, and controlled by boards of trustees set up and perpetuated under private auspices. They enjoy exemption from taxation, however, as institutions devoted to the public service.

It follows that the democratic state may properly inquire whether these institutions uphold the democratic principle of equal opportunity for all citizens. It follows, too, that the state may properly intervene and prohibit practices that run counter to this principle.

There is indeed some objective evidence of discrimination which I shall present later. But first I want to present the reasons why it is hard to make an objective case against discrimination.

Say that you are a member of a college committee on admissions. A thousand students seek admission. You can take only four hundred.

They all come with records—high school grades, general examinations, aptitude tests. Must you take the four hundred that stand highest in the combined rating? You would exclude a young man who gave two of his years to the army. His prewar grades were poor, but now he is all eagerness to serve his fellow man as a surgeon, if he can get by your committee and ultimately by the pundits that guard the doors to medical education.

Will you admit him? You should. But then you will exclude someone who has a better record.

Or suppose that a candidate for admission appears with a stunning high school record and fine reports from the intelligence tests. But his personality is highly objectionable. He is the kind of lad who pursues his own interests ruthlessly, without regard to the interests or rights of



Frank Robinson

other people. Must he be accepted, under the principle of non-discrimination?

I present one more example. A young Negro American from the Mississippi Delta seeks admission to a medical school. He wishes to equip himself for practice among his own people in Mississippi, a group more starved for competent medical service than almost any other in the whole country. The candidate's scholastic record is mediocre. It could not be otherwise, for he never has had access to first rate schools.

May the medical college accept him? If it does, it excludes some other candidate with a better education, a more competent experience. Acceptance of the applicant from Mississippi is indeed discrimination, but it is a form of discrimination that is in line with the public interest.

SUCH ARE SOME OF THE COMPLICATIONS any admissions committee must face if it tries honestly to live up to the principle of equal opportunity. The same complications offer an arsenal of excuses for the committee that deliberately intends to discriminate in favor of certain groups.

How generally discrimination is practiced among institutions of higher education cannot be determined; still less is it possible to compile statistical calculations on the extent of the evil. University and college authorities are extremely reticent on this point. Often they deny that they practice discrimination, perhaps on the basis of an individualistic conception of discrimination. Thus, one college president asserted to the writer that his institution did not discriminate, since it was prepared to admit applicants from minority groups in proportion to the weight of the groups in the general population.

Other institutions, by giving preference to students from sections of the state, or other states, where minority groups are present in negligible numbers, may enjoy a selection that pleases them without subjecting themselves to the charge of discrimination. In many cases, selection is effected by discrimination *for* instead of discrimination *against*.

The methods of determining whether applicants fall within the groups to be discriminated against are many and often devious. Last winter (1946-47) the Commission on Law and Social Action of the American

Jewish Congress made a survey of application blanks for 182 schools enrolling 500 or more students. Thirty-five percent sought information on the applicant's religion; 35 percent

material which justifies a judgment on the point of discrimination. I present a table prepared by the American Jewish Congress on the medical colleges of New York City:

Period	Enrollment				
	Total	Jewish	Percent	Italian	Percent
1921-1925	2,439	1,095	44.9	281	11.5
1926-1930	2,637	1,042	39.5	384	14.6
1931-1935	2,595	848	32.7	267	10.3
1936-1940	2,501	603	24.1	220	8.8
1941-1945	3,351	800	23.9	231	6.9

on his race; 20 percent requested the applicant to supply a photograph; 50 percent required information on the parents' birthplace; 37 percent asked for the maiden name of wife or mother. Anyone may change his name from Yeshillian to Young; but the mother's maiden name probably carries the true racial or national stamp.

It may be argued that a college may collect all this miscellaneous information without discriminatory intent. "Who's Who in America" asks most of these questions, including the mother's maiden name. But the data for discrimination are at the disposal of the admissions committee, a body endowed with large discretion, and which prides itself on its superiority to mechanical rules. It feels free to apply criteria other than "marks" to reject an applicant of higher scholastic standing in favor of one of lower standing. If the former happens to be a Roman Catholic or a Jew, what does that prove? If he had been an Episcopalian or a Stuyvesant he still might have been forced to step aside that the scholastically inferior applicant might be accepted, for reasons which seem to the committee to be sound.

NOT TO DWELL ON THIS POINT, IT IS plain that most individual cases of discrimination have to stand as "not proved." The applicant who is excluded may seek redress in the courts, but no court can find indisputable evidence.

Only by the general pattern of admissions and rejections is it possible, in most instances, to establish the fact of discrimination. And the data on rejections are kept confidential by the institution, or destroyed, as in the case of the medical colleges located in New York City.

Those colleges do indeed furnish

The largest source of Jewish and Italian applications for admission to the medical colleges of New York are the four city institutions. In these colleges attendance has grown rapidly. The number of Jewish and Italian students graduating from colleges throughout the country has not declined. Therefore it can not have been for want of applicants that the percentage of Jewish and Italian students went down. A record of rejections would make the case absolutely clear, but these medical colleges do not keep rejections on file.

While the officials vigorously deny that they follow discriminatory practices, they are gratified with the decline, particularly in the percentage of Jewish students. They regard even the latest percentage as too high. It is a fourth too high in proportion to the city's Jewish element, they say.

But if the percentage of students of old American stock were compared in the same way with the proportion of the old American stock in the population of the city, we should undoubtedly find this stock, too, over-represented in the student body. And who talks of the desirability of restricting the number of students of old American stock?

That is why many citizens of New York, who believe in justice and fairness, are now working for the enactment of a law forbidding educational discrimination. True, discrimination is already under the ban of the law. But the clear need is for law with machinery of enforcement.

The conception of "minority groups" is alien to America. We are one people, differing, to be sure, in national origins and racial strains, but these differences mean nothing, and in a few generations are forgotten. We differ in religion, but we recognize that a man's religion is his

(Continued on page 652)

“OUR generation has seen the development of moving—then moving and talking—pictures, of wireless transmission used for telegraph, telephone, and voice broadcasting; of airplane transport; of offset and color printing. Together they have changed the character of mass communication. . . .”
(Commission on the Freedom of the Press.)

THE REVOLUTION IN MASS COMMUNICATION is all around us—in our homes, our schools, our business and professional lives. On the debit side of the revolution is the never-ending stream of vulgarity that pours out of the radio, Hollywood, and the comics. Some unhappy educators fear that the book—the printed word—is being overwhelmed by competition from these new mass media. They cite, for example, a recent survey by the Mar-

same film, pamphlet, or transcription.

A breakdown of the sales of the 1946 series of Public Affairs Pamphlets (published by the nonprofit Public Affairs Committee) shows that, of the total of over one million copies sold in that year, 200,000 were sold to schools and colleges, 129,000 to business firms, 369,000 to various adult organizations, 10,000 to labor groups, 32,000 to churches and ministers, and so on.

geared not to the individual but to the common denominator.

This is important, because many audio-visual enthusiasts suggest that the answer to poor teachers and inexperienced discussion leaders is more films, more recordings, all the audio-visual aids possible. Unfortunately, however, a poor teacher can no more translate a film showing into an educational experience than she can a

The Other

GLORIA WALDRON



Courtesy of Young America Films, Inc.

Plot and sequence hold the pupil's attention while he learns the mysteries of any subject from science to civics

ket Research Company which showed that almost all children read “comics” regularly, that 41 percent of males eighteen to thirty read them, and 16 percent of those over thirty-one.

On the positive side of the revolution is the way in which the new media are serving educational purposes, using “educational” in the broadest sense of the word. A local film society that gathers together the best of the film classics and makes them available to the public is doing something to educate public taste. The great department store that shows its personnel films teaching courtesy and efficiency is using films for an educational purpose just as surely as is the high school science instructor who uses in the classroom films showing intricate chemical reactions. The union leader and the women's club program chairman use films, filmstrips, pamphlets, radio recordings and scripts for educational purposes. And very often all of them use the

Many school or adult groups find some of the University of Chicago Roundtable transcriptions useful.

A union group, a church study group, or a high school civics class might each use the transcription of the recent ABC documentary program on housing.

Hundreds of schools now have public address systems that permit them to connect every classroom with the broadcast of the Walter Damrosch music hour, or some of the fine scientific programs, or to produce and broadcast their own shows.

The mass media have become vital tools of education. But they are only tools. These “other educators”—films, periodicals, radio, pamphlets, recordings—are effective in the educational process only to the extent that they are used by wise teachers and group leaders in a wise manner. They are not, and never can be, substitutes for good teachers and good books, primarily because they *are* mass media,

textbook. Her students will see the film, but they will not learn from it in a creative sense without her help. And this, of course, is just as true of adult groups. It takes a skilled leader to turn a film showing into a penetrating, meaningful discussion.

The most significant of the new educators, we believe, is the film. Experimental research has shown that some 80 percent of our impressions are acquired visually and that visual impressions are retained more readily than others. And of all pictures, psychologists have pointed out, moving pictures best communicate sequences of ideas upon which to base value judgments.

The film has another unique quality: The members of the audience share its sequence with one another. This element of shared experience is the yeast which transforms the impressions and ideas received from the screen into a dynamic experience, the potential social usefulness of which is

enormous. This aspect of the film has, perhaps, been fully exploited only by the Nazis, who perverted it to their own purposes.

Schools in general are aware of the value of films in the classroom. More and more school systems are installing equipment and purchasing films. The battle for recognition of the audio-visual aids is largely won. The Chicago Board of Education had

nize the enemy aircraft *Kamikaze* and what to throw against it, but democratic principles were inculcated to build up the morale required to face its vicious suicide attack. The "GI way of learning" was far more than a mere quantitative matter of "more learning in less time."

On the civilian side, too, a dual effort went on. Such agencies, as the Office of Education, OCD, and OPA, conducted their own instructional activities but their morale building film, radio, and mass information programs were the responsibility of the Office of War Information.

In the urgent need to reach vast numbers of people, we found that motion pictures are not necessarily tied to a theater. A 16mm non-inflammable sound film, thirty min-

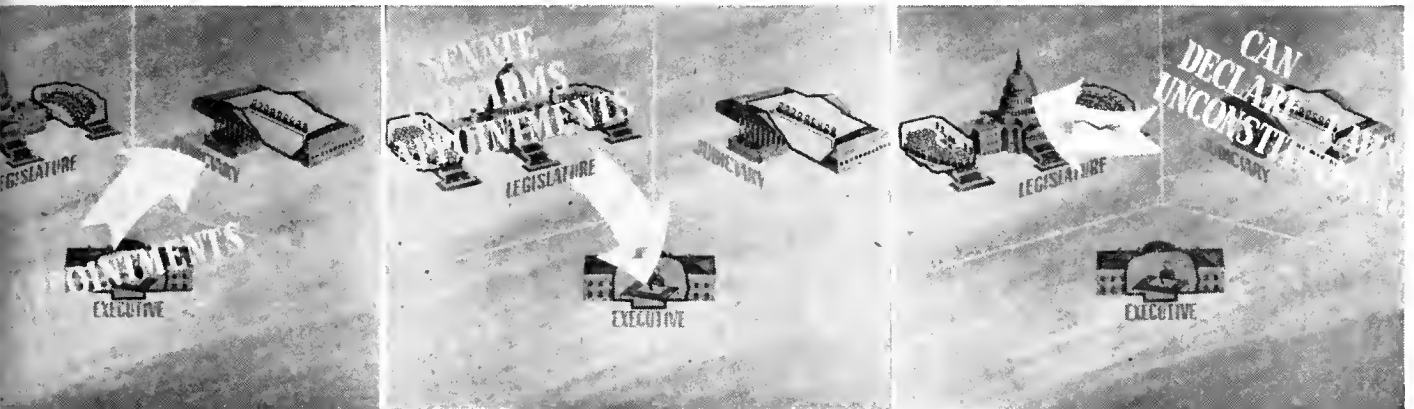
March of Time sells 16mm prints to the schools. Teaching Film Custodians, in cooperation with the Motion Picture Association, make available selections from the best of the Hollywood films. School films are becoming a big business.

But many school boards still look askance at the expense of the equipment, and many teachers hesitate to try to handle heavy, complicated machinery. All the developments in the equipment field point to lighter, cheaper projectors. The school board and the teacher will soon have an answer to most of these objections.

Unfortunately, not so much experimentation is going on among the film producers. The big money in the 16mm industry is in equipment, and it is the equipment manufacturers

Educators

and ROBERT SNYDER



Animation helps visualize for the student important abstract ideas upon which his government is based

about sixteen projectors before the war, according to William Lewin's recent article in the *Saturday Review of Literature*. Now it has 600. The very fact that the *Saturday Review* carried a full length feature on "The Screen As Teacher" is evidence of the acceptance of educational films.

The war had a good deal to do with the winning of this battle, for during the war film was an indispensable weapon of both education and propaganda. Films were used to mobilize the psychological attitudes as well as the practical, productive capacities of citizens and soldiers. Roughly speaking, the armed services directed their own film activities, which were of two sorts. One taught what we fought with and how to construct it and use it—"Crating Operations of 2½ Ton 6x6 GM Trucks," "Pneumatic Pontoon Bridge, M-3," and so on. The other sort was directed to *why* we fought. Not only was the soldier taught how to recog-

utes in length, can be packed into a can barely a foot in diameter, weighing less than two pounds. It can be projected in any room that has electric current, and a generator can bring current into any room. Dusk and a shadow screen eliminate the need even for a room.

So schools, colleges, union halls community centers, churches, factories, and business clubs became wartime "theaters." Approximately 40,000,000 people were reached this way. But today government has retired to its business of governing and Hollywood to its business of entertaining. Who will make and distribute films for the non-theatrical audience now?

Since the war, many new companies producing classroom film have come into existence. Where once there was only Encyclopedia Britannica Films (formerly ERPI Films), there are now EBF, Coronet Instructional Films, Young America Films, McGraw-Hill Textfilms and others. The

and dealers who have prestige, organization, leadership, and funds. With some new and encouraging exceptions, the producers seem to be content to follow the same pattern year in and year out.

The pattern has been a one-reel ten-minute film (regardless of the intricacies of the subject), with no music and usually rather amateurish acting, pedantic narration, and a static use of the camera. Further, the subject matter is usually confined to factual descriptions of plant life, bird migration, the operations of a harvester. Very few films deal with attitudes or social issues, in either a broad or narrow sense—and yet this is precisely the area where visual education can make its most effective contribution.

Small budgets probably do not explain the dullness of so many classroom films. Many are made by pedants, rather than by forward-looking educators with a real camera

Other Educators

sense. Some audio-visual experts have not learned that a dull film is no better than a dull textbook.

The schools are culpable, too. As John Grierson, founder of the documentary movement, has observed: "The basic problem of education lies not so much in the acquisition of literacy or of information or of skills, as in the pattern of civic appreciation, civic faith, and civic duty which goes with them."

Nevertheless, it seems that many educators are afraid of attitude films—a film on the amoeba is perfectly safe, but a film on interracial understanding is a different matter. It is only where the educator's philosophy is "education for living" that his attitude toward the use of films is likely to be enlightened.

ANOTHER FAULT OF THE EDUCATIONAL system is that its whole emphasis in preparing teachers for the use of films is purely technical. This is true, too, of the occasional college course in motion pictures. Teachers and students learn how to use a projector, how to write a film-strip, how to write, direct, shoot, and edit a movie. But the cultural aspects of the medium are entirely neglected. Lacking this approach, the schools are training people to produce educational films that fail both as films and as education.

If poor films have discouraged some schools about "visual aids," the situation is infinitely worse in adult or informal education. Almost no good informational or educational films are made for the adult market, largely because it is an unorganized, scattered market for which no distribution machinery exists. A discussion leader who wants to show two or three short films on tolerance or housing problems, let us say, will have an incredibly hard time finding them. Even if, in the process of tracking down catalogue after catalogue and going to film libraries and dealers, he does get track of such films, he will have trouble getting them together for the one night he needs them. Nor can he obtain prints for preview so that he can be sure they are the films he wants. Distribution of these films is an utterly chaotic business.

One of the most important developments in the film field, from the point of view of the film user as well as

the industry, is the recent organization of the Film Council of America. The council has approximately thirty local affiliates. These councils include teachers, film equipment dealers, librarians, and organizations ranging from the Boy Scouts to chambers of commerce. By pooling their resources, they are in a position to find out what are the good films, where to get them, and how to use them.

Nationally, the film council is made up of seven constituent organizations, all of which have a business or professional interest in films: the National Association of Visual Education Dealers, the American Library Association, the National Education Association, the Visual Equipment Manufacturers' Council, the Educational Film Library Association, the Allied Non-Theatrical Film Association, and the National University Extension Association.

Organizations of autonomous groups like this are often stalemated by divergencies of interest (and self-interest) so there is skepticism in some quarters about the ability of the council to raise an adequate budget and get a staff large enough to service all the local groups it hopes to organize. But there is at least a fair chance that it will succeed in increasing community use of film, and, perhaps, in consolidating an organized non-theatrical audience.

THE PUBLIC LIBRARIES ARE ANOTHER hope. So far, only a handful of them—Cleveland, Dallas, Milwaukee, Seattle, Akron, among others—has a film service, but the idea is spreading. When the program chairman of the Rotary Club can step around the corner to his library to get a film, and can get the appropriate books and pamphlets at the same time, more Rotary Clubs are certainly going to use films.

Earlier in this article we raised the question of who is going to produce and distribute educational films in the quantity and quality needed, now that the government and Hollywood are pretty much out of the picture. Business is producing thousands of advertising films a year. Some of these are educational films without any self-selling or axe-grinding. As a matter of fact, the first American "documentary," Flaherty's "Nanook of The North," was sponsored by a business firm. The best British documentary films were sponsored by

industry before the war. Why not here?

Some unions are producing films. One local union recently made a safety education film that was widely used. The United Automobile Workers (CIO) sponsored an animated film on tolerance, "The Brotherhood of Man," based on a Public Affairs pamphlet "The Races of Mankind." The National Committee on Atomic Information sponsored an excellent film on the atomic bomb, "One World or None." The Foreign Policy Association made a film sometime ago in the field of international relations, "The Bridge." These are straws in the wind.

There is hope that more foundations will stop looking down their noses at the mass media, as some already have, and use these resources to make available to the general public the fruits of the research they help sustain. The Twentieth Century Fund is a pioneer in this direction.

Its latest survey of America's foreign trade has been translated into a popular pamphlet and into a two-reel educational film. The findings of its survey of housing problems are brought together in two pamphlets and also in a film. Its exhaustive study, "How Collective Bargaining Works" was summarized in a short book for the layman, popularized in a Public Affairs pamphlet, and visualized in a filmstrip. Its survey of "America's Needs and Resources" will be presented soon in a popular graphics book and some of the material will be made into a film. Already it has been used as the basis for an hour's public service program on a national radio hook-up.

Last year the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the International Film Foundation, and several other groups cooperated in organizing "a film forum roadshow" in a series of selected communities. They were experimenting quite deliberately to find a twentieth century plan for a town meeting, a new kind of adult education for people who are tired of speakers and debates. They used selected films as discussion tools and showed the community leaders how to run their own forums. The response was overwhelming. Under the leadership of the Institute of Adult Education at Columbia University, the quarterly *Film Forum Review* is spreading information on how to use

(Continued on page 643)

THE LONG VIEW

“ . . . that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed:

that ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war; . . .

that the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace, are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfill in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern; . . .

and that the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind.”

From the Constitution of UNESCO

EDUCATION MUST SAVE FREEDOM
THE ENDURING GOAL



Education Must Save Freedom

ERNEST O. MELBY

WITH EVERY PASSING DAY THE worldwide crisis in human freedom becomes more acute. In this crisis America has the dominant role.

This is the only country in the world that simultaneously has a tradition of freedom and the power to make it a reality on a large scale. True, there are other countries with similar traditions, but at present, they lack the power to provide a major demonstration of the workability of free institutions.

England and France which were strong prewar democracies are only with difficulty maintaining a successful economy in their own society—they cannot exercise world influence.

The Low Countries and Scandinavia seem to have been more successful in practising democracy but they are too small to exhibit to the world the power of freedom.

Russia has the power but lacks the tradition.

Only the USA has both the experience and the economic and cultural resources to demonstrate the creative effect of a vast, complex democratic society. Therefore, it is not an exaggeration, to say that America holds the future of human freedom in her hands.

If in this crisis we can make it work, freedom will have a chance for life everywhere. If we fail, there is no possibility for freedom except perhaps as a result of revolution following a long era of oppression and tyranny.

Right here is the challenge to education, but before examining this, let us have a closer look at the crisis in freedom.

Free governments have practically disappeared in the Balkans. The Soviet "dictatorship of the proletariat" has lowered the "iron curtain" on Russia's millions and faces the rest of the world in an expansionist mood which threatens the liberty of nearby countries and perhaps the peace of the planet.

On the other hand, in Greece a corrupt and fascist-minded government

is being bolstered by the expenditure of millions of American money and a military mission.

In China we have helped to preserve a government which more often than not has been on the side of reaction.

In Italy and France the republican governments of De Gasperi and Ramadier are hanging on by the narrowest of threads with the help of American aid in Italy and a curious alignment of forces in France.

Even in Great Britain the Labor Government is facing a serious crisis at home, is about to withdraw from Palestine after tragic failure to effect a workable compromise there, and its devolution of empire in India has left a wake of bloodshed and suffering.

Here at home in the United States prices are skyrocketing, labor's production record lags, profits are swollen, and our much needed housing program is stalled.

THE PLAIN FACT IS THAT ON A WORLDWIDE basis freedom is not working.

Communism and fascism are both keeping eagle eyes on these crises and both have their fine hand in many of freedom's present difficulties. As this is written news comes of the revival of the Comintern. Communists seek to disrupt, sabotage, and control labor unions in many countries. They hope for a serious depression, for unemployment and human suffering under which they can move in and make new converts.

Fascist-minded rightists are also having their innings. They know that their chance of coming to power in the event of a serious depression in America, for example, is much greater than that of the leftists. They are not as noisy as the Communists, nor are we actively combatting them with witch hunts as is the case with Communists. Besides, the rightists are constantly raising the "red" scare to discredit the leftists and to move into power themselves if the economic crisis becomes acute.

It is thus freedom's shortcomings that give totalitarians of both the right and the left their great opportunity. It is equally clear that the only effective way to fight both kinds of totalitarianism is to make freedom work and to make it work with dispatch. In other words, freedom must be made to work or it will not live.

Such an analysis of domestic and world affairs will help us locate the causes for the present plight of free institutions. Russian relations, for example, are on everyone's mind. It is probably true that the Russians would have been difficult in any case, but they have been more difficult because of the weaknesses of American democracy.

The Russians are suspicious of us because they do not think that we practice what we preach—for example, in our attitudes and practices toward the 13,000,000 Americans of African descent; and in our curious blindness to the lack of democracy in many South American nations and even in our own country. The Russians saw us produce billions of dollars worth of war material during hostilities, but now they see us afflicted with a strange paralysis when it comes to providing housing for our returned soldiers. The announcement of the Truman doctrine created a bad atmosphere, since under it we virtually announced that there is a political price to be paid for our aid to Europe. True, we came along with the Marshall plan a little later, but the damage was done.

AND WHAT EXCUSE HAVE WE IN America for our attitude toward the displaced persons in Europe? It seems obvious that we could absorb all of them without either economic or social hazard. More than that, these displaced persons would enrich us with their talents and their productive capacities. Certainly it would not be surprising were the Russians to find that our protestations of faith in human brotherhood have an empty sound.

To Save Freedom

Our handling of the current food crisis is another case in point. One could certainly make a good case for the position that the Marshall plan will not work without rationing and price control unless we are willing to let America's low-income groups suffer severely from skyrocketing prices. Yet today few among us seem to take the matter of price control and rationing seriously. Are we not in reality temporizing with the food situation, largely because we are unwilling to subject ourselves to some self-sacrifice and discipline?

In virtually every instance of corruption, bigotry and oppression, here and overseas, it is clear that freedom does not prevail for the simple reason that those who say they believe in it really do not understand it or its imperatives. The failure is in blindness to the fact that democracy means respect for the worth and dignity of all human beings, regardless of race, color, creed, nationality, or geographic location; that no person or group or nation can continue to have freedom unless more individuals have freedom.

In the same way, many who profess belief in democracy fail to see that they cannot continue to have prosperity unless others have prosperity and well-being. Nor can free men either preserve their own freedom or extend the benefits of freedom to others without some sacrifice. In other words, believers in democracy everywhere—even here in the USA—must change their attitudes and behavior; otherwise we will not make freedom work.

NOW IT READILY WILL BE ADMITTED that education is the principal instrumentality for changing the minds, the hearts, the behavior of men. When, however, we turn to the history and the utilization of education the picture is confused. In general, we in the Western world have not tried to use education as an instrument of social policy, but rather as a means of producing the cultivated man, as preparation for the professions, as training for business, the skilled trades, and other occupations. There is little in this experience which suggests that the traditional education will serve us in saving human freedom.

In the present century education has been more widespread than ever

before, yet vastly more people have been killed in war than in any previous era. Must we conclude that the more education we have the more successful we are in killing each other? That the final end of the kind of education we have had in the past is the obliteration of civilization—even of humanity itself?

But there are examples of education utilized as an instrument of social policy. In Denmark, under the leadership of Bishop Grundtvig, the folk schools prepared the Danish people to make a success of democracy and cooperation and to establish a very rich pattern of life. In the opposite direction, the Nazis utilized education to prepare people for an utterly diabolical way of life. The lesson to be drawn from both instances is that education can become an instrument of freedom; but that it can also be used to enslave the human spirit.

It certainly is clear today that freedom will not live unless it works better than it has in the past. It is equally clear that this calls for changes in the thinking and feeling of our citizens, and in the courage and resourcefulness of their social actions. In other words, we must have an education which changes the minds and hearts of men and which makes them effective citizens of a democracy. There is space here only to indicate the general nature of such an education.

1. EDUCATION MUST MAKE CLEAR the true meaning of democracy and freedom. If we as a people really understood our way of life, few of us would accept any totalitarian leader.

At present, we think of democracy only as a political concept, and fail to realize that even political democracy cannot live unless it is based on economic and social opportunity. Many of us, for example, see no conflict between democracy and the segregation of Negroes in cities and schools. Those so blinded by ignorance and prejudice have no insight into the meaning of democracy. We must make clear to boys and girls and men and women that the democratic philosophy is soundly based on scientific knowledge — biology, anthropology, psychology. Since each human being is unique, our society must enable each individual to live fully, and to make the most of his special endowments. Only in a genuinely free society can each citizen be

himself. Totalitarian societies have social programs, but they are based on mass needs—they disregard the needs of the individual.

2. EDUCATION MUST EMPHASIZE democracy as a broad way of life. Heretofore we have taught boys and girls that a democracy is a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people." The fact is increasingly clear that democracy is much more than a form of government, and it is in the "much more" aspects that education has failed.

We have exalted freedom but failed to point out that freedom cannot endure without a sense of responsibility on the part of the individual.

We have taught brotherhood as an aspiration without showing that brotherhood means a sense of responsibility for one's fellow men.

We have extolled the opportunities of a free society without making equally plain the obligations which such a society places on individuals and groups.

Above all, we have emphasized freedom, but not the interdependence of modern men.

The new education must define and clarify the meaning of freedom and, with equal force, the meaning of responsibility.

3. MODERN MAN MUST HAVE A REALISTIC understanding of the world in which he lives. For example: All Americans, whether they be in the ranks of capital or labor, must know that we cannot continue to sell to other countries unless we buy from them; that we cannot lend or give purchasing power to other countries without affecting the prices of our products at home; that the majority cannot subordinate minorities without itself suffering a reduced standard of living; that the USA will not be an effective exponent of democracy and freedom, unless she practices these precepts both at home and abroad; that we cannot make a success of a democratic way of life unless we understand both our failures and our successes; that modesty and open-mindedness will get us further in relation to other nations than arrogance and complacency.

If we are to build these realistic understandings, it is clear that education must move into controversial
(Continued on page 653)

The Enduring Goal

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN

A DISPATCH FROM MOSCOW, SO READS the morning paper, announces the year's opening of Russian public schools. Teachers are told by responsible agents of government that during the coming year they must strive for two attainments: to imbue their pupils with a deep conviction respecting the decadence of Western civilization, and to find new ways of extolling the superiority of the Soviet system. Some American patriot will no doubt retaliate by demanding that our teachers summon renewed zeal for condemning the Soviet system and indoctrinating American children with the assurance that ours is the one perfect civilization in existence.

Infantile? Yes, of course. It is far from edifying to note such childishness in the behavior of adults and not, alas, amusing. When adults behave like children one senses a certain pathology, the presence of sickness. The *retaliation* theory of education is certainly a sign of disease.

If adults of our time can conceive of no higher goal for education than that of condemnation or eulogy for competing civilizations, then children and their schools already have been rudely betrayed by their elders. Whatever education they receive under this dispensation will make them less humane, less generous, and less tolerant—in short, more bigoted. Ultimately, it will of course lead to war. Retaliation is a warlike gesture, a prelude to combat.

I shudder when I reflect upon the crassness of persons who arrogate to themselves the right to exploit the minds of children.

How is it possible for anyone to permit his dogma to become an invitation to death? What haunting fear lies at the base of absolutism? What sinister motives frighten men away from the enjoyments of variety? What species of egotism deludes men into believing that a world consisting entirely of persons like themselves would be a pleasant place?

A story told of Ralph Waldo Emerson seems apposite here. A young man who came to teach at Concord,

so runs the story, invited Emerson to observe his classroom teaching. Emerson, being a generous man, consented and after observing an entire session was approached by the youthful teacher, who asked, "Well, how did it go?" "It was all wrong." In dismay the young man protested, "But surely, Mr. Emerson, everything I did couldn't have been wrong! If so, how do you explain it?" Emerson dryly answered: "So far as I could see, what you have been doing this morning is to strive to make all of your pupils into little you's, and one of you is enough."

I do not expect logical or psycho-analytical answers to these queries. They are inserted merely as diagnostic symbols of the sickness of our age, the sickness which prompts adults to behave like children, nations like pre-adolescent gangs.

THE NAME OF THE DISEASE I DO NOT know, but some of its symptomatic features are unmistakable. It appears to be psychosomatic in character since it begins in the mind. In its early stages its manifestations take the form of fear. At first, there arise specific fears expressed hesitantly and in hushed tones, fear of science, of Communism, Fascism, Roman Catholicism, racial equality, Semitic conspiracy, bureaucracy, monopolies, trade unions, and so on.

It will be seen from the heterogeneity of this list that the "germ" we are considering feeds on many media; in fact, it matters not at all what object of fear is selected; what is important, if the disease is to flourish, is to cultivate the habit of fear until at last the specific fears disappear and the victim succumbs to fear of fear itself. Having reached this stage, the patient will either destroy himself or confine his energies to the destruction of others. Suspicion, fear, hatred, violence: these are all symptoms belonging to the same series, one leading to the next until the sequence ends in death.

Dogmatic assertiveness is another symptom. When this phase of the

disease arrives, fear has already done its primary job, for the patient now gives evidence that what he really fears is, not science, Communists, Fascists, Catholics, Negroes, Jews, and so on, but Truth.

The hushed and hesitant manner is now displaced by arrogance and aggressiveness as the patient struts forth to proclaim that all who disagree with him are not merely in error but are evil men. He will thereupon demand that these others be denied the right to speak, not realizing, obviously, that when the right to be different is denied, no other freedom has any meaning, and that hence he, too, will ultimately lose the right to speak. He does not realize this because his fear has driven him to the belief that he and his kind alone will survive and thereafter no issue of liberty will again arise.

There exists no historical evidence to substantiate his belief but this he does not know, and so he plunges forward insisting that *his* religion, *his* political party, *his* ideology, *his* race, or *his* civilization is the one and only pathway to salvation. His thinking (sic) now flows in a one-track groove. He has become a fanatic. Soon he will begin to conspire annihilation for his enemies, human beings like himself but, unfortunately, human beings who do not share his convictions or his prejudices. Thus the great sin is committed. The wintry "winds of hate" have shorn him of his humanity. John Bunker said it for us, in an unpublished poem:

This then is the terrible wrong done
by the unjust,
The envious, the proud, the un-
compassionate—

They repudiate this bond,
They deny this kinship.

This is the great, the unforgiveable
wrong,
The fatal injury, the still too-mighty
thrust
At mankind's heart.

Treachery near the throne,
Traitors in the House of Life.

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Christianity proposed a cure for this "dementia," this ego-dogma sickness by advocating the practice of love, even toward one's enemies, by promising that the meek should inherit the earth, and by suggesting pacifism as a proper goal for human, if not international, relations. But there are three groups of Christians—Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, and Protestant, and they do not love one another. Neither are they meek or pacific. Indeed, these Christians, in contradiction of their basic creed, have aggressively exploited the earth and have been among the great war-makers of modern history.

I do not know whether or not Christianity, with its beautiful ideals, has through its institutionalism, its theological confusions, its bigotry destroyed its opportunity for humanizing and moralizing the behavior of modern man, but I agree with Whitehead when he says, "As society is now constituted a literal adherence to the moral precepts scattered throughout the Gospels would mean sudden death."

TIME WAS WHEN IT WAS QUITE GENERALLY believed that Science might become the instrument of man's deliverance from superstition, intolerance, ignorance and the culminating immorality: war. But those who rule the world have not believed the scientific "gospel" which, curiously, corresponds with a Christian tenet in asserting that Truth and Freedom are inseparable. They have not employed Science as Truth but merely as Utility, and it is serious error to call ours a scientific civilization.

We do not think scientifically, save in restricted, limited realms. How far our era is from being scientific may be readily demonstrated when one realizes that we have scarcely begun to apply scientific method to human and social problems. In fact, there are prominent scientists, also university presidents, who at the recent congressional hearings on the proposed bill to establish a national scientific foundation for research, advised Congress not to include the social sciences in its considerations. Congress, sadly enough, followed this advice. (President Truman, it will be recalled, vetoed the bill.)

Religion lost its way, and much of its influence, when it allowed itself

to be set off from the rest of life, as though its experience were of a completely different variety from all other experiences. "It is the sturdiest prejudice in the public mind," wrote Emerson, "that religion is something by itself; a department distinct from all other experiences, and to which the tests and judgments men are ready to show other things, do not apply."

But is it not strange that the very same separation has also happened to Science? Here stand modern scientists, twentieth century scientists, who commit the same error. They insist that scientific method is one thing when applied to atoms but something generically different when applied to human beings. Thus the superstitious cult is perpetuated and in the very sphere of thought dedicated to Truth.

WHERE ELSE CAN MODERN MAN TURN for therapeutic guidance if both the theologians and the scientists betray him? Is there no unifying principle capable of preventing modern man from mass insanity or suicide? Is the entire human "experiment" to be regarded as a ghastly joke culminating in self-destruction?

Our answers to these questions must be tempered, our optimism measured. It is no longer reasonable to assume that there is a destiny which guides human history. We are now in possession of instruments of destruction which bring mass annihilation within our powers. A decade ago one might have said, as indeed one American historian did say, that if three fourths of contemporary civilization were destroyed, there would still be left an adequate remnant from which a new beginning could be made. The release of atomic energy has made nonsense of such optimism. Whether we survive or not depends upon ourselves. We are our own destiny. Either the resources for our redemption are within us or we are lost. Our human hands hold the power to destroy or create, to bring life or death.

What is the name and the secret of that within us which may lead either to destruction or redemption? Where, precisely, is the fateful choice made?

The name we all know, but for some awkward reason it does not come readily to our tongues. Morality is the name and the secret. This much we know: if we—as individuals and as a society—cannot feel ourselves moving nearer truth and justice

and beauty and peace, ours is not a good life. A good life is compounded of moral choices. When a civilization confounds wealth and material improvement with true progress, it loses its moral perceptions. Airplanes, radios, and the thousand-and-one gadgets which in recent years have poured forth from our factories gave us the delusion of progress. Our "wants" grew more and more material. As we increased our preferences on the technological plane we seemed to lose the secret which Emerson pronounced so forcefully when he bade us accept the "sovereignty of ethics."

Now, the more basic choices haunt us once more. Slowly and painfully we are again being driven to acknowledge the stern truth that the enduring goal of life is moral striving. When this is again realized we shall have no difficulty in asserting that morality is also the enduring goal of education.

When I assume that the establishment of the sovereignty of ethics is the principal goal of the human enterprise, I do not mean that this goal can be reached through the adoption of a universal code of morality, applicable to all men everywhere. Nor do I imply that acceptance of the proposition that morality is the chief aim of man will bring an end to evil. On the contrary, it is my belief that a universal code of conduct would, if it were enforceable, bring stagnation rather than progress.

The principle called "emergence of originals" (from Stoddard's "Meaning of Intelligence") cannot be violated in any sphere of life without loss of initiative and vitality. New ideas and new ways of living cannot be suppressed without loss of dynamics. Originality and experimentation are nurturing elements in culture and intelligence. This principle implies that all doors must be left open, even those which lead to experimental morality. Evil itself we cannot escape. All men are not good and no man is always good. Evil and goodness are intermingled, as are life and death, health and disease, light and darkness, hope and despair.

MY MEANING WILL, PERHAPS, BECOME clearer if I say that what I am urging is that the search for a good life be made an adventure, a mass "game" in which everybody participates, a "game" in which the players agree

in advance to abide by certain rules and that, so far as possible, they will not keep their eyes fixed upon the ultimate goal, the "score," but rather upon the enjoyments and satisfactions attendant upon the exercise. Yes, that is what I mean: moral exercise, a healthy flexing of the moral "muscles."

If everybody is to be a participant, it becomes obvious that there is but one institution which can serve as training ground, namely the public school. By public education I mean all education, whether designed for children, youth, or adults, which is paid for with funds taken from citizens through taxation. If I give to this form of education the primary responsibility for awakening our moral sense, it is not because I overlook or minimize the importance of private education. But private institutions will play increasingly the role of educational laboratories. As they decrease in quantity they will either improve in quality, or they will not survive. The public school is the one institution which touches the lives of the great majority of prospective citizens. It is also, perhaps, the only institution which can be democratic throughout, with respect to ends as well as means.

HOW MAY PUBLIC SCHOOLS BECOME training grounds, laboratories for moral teaching, without imposing upon society a pattern of uniformity which might have the same effects as either a universal state or ecclesiastical authority?

My response to this question will be found embedded in the following paragraphs in which I shall endeavor to outline some of the rules which would need to apply if, in a democratic society, public schools were to assume responsibility for moral teaching.

The first and most important of these rules is acceptance of the assumption that morality and intelligence are correlates. One cannot be good without knowing the nature and content of goodness. Accidental goodness is by definition ruled out. If morality is to be taught in public schools, intelligence, reason, and logic must be its guides. If morality can exist in the modern world exclusive of intelligence, then teaching morality in public schools, or anywhere else for that matter, becomes a contradiction, not to say a waste of energy.

The second rule to which we must

agree before the "game" begins is this: reason can never become the sole and supreme guide to morality. Our feelings and emotions are involved. No human act is completely devoid of reason (straight or crooked) and no act is without emotional content. Acting, feeling, thinking: these are not separable entities; on the contrary, these are interrelated components of each unit of behavior.

Our capacity to feel antedates our ability to think. When intelligence and feelings are in harmony even the most difficult moral decisions bring an inner peace. But when intelligence does not furnish satisfactory answers and feelings do, it is the part of wisdom to trust the latter.

Educators have been concerned in recent times about the problem of training emotions and feelings. Once having admitted that feelings play an important role in all behavior, a concession forced upon them by modern psychology, they were then confronted with the task of combining training of feelings along with intelligence. But how might this be done?

Many of the attempts to deal pedagogically with feelings seem to me to have gone astray, or to have produced barren results, and primarily because educators have neglected to use the most appropriate laboratory material. They have not seen, because modern education has developed a blindspot, that feelings rise to their greatest significance in connection with moral situations and moral decisions. Mergers of intelligence and feeling become acute when the work to be done is a choice between right and wrong.

A third rule which is of peculiar importance when morality and education are joined may be stated thus: the sources of moral value are multiple, not singular, and hence morality need not be taught as a specialized subject, provided teachers know how to detect ethical content in all subject matter.

SECTARIAN MORALITY CONSTANTLY RUNS the risk of singularity. It indoctrinates the idea that genuine morality derives from only one source—religion—but when those indoctrinated discover in experience that moral values appear to come from many sources, sectarianism suffers and disillusionment increases. In a society which grants freedom of worship, public schools cannot teach sectarian morality. In one sense, public schools should prob-

ably teach moral-mindedness rather than specific moralities. What we have a right to expect of public schools is a moral product, a student who possesses a moral attitude toward life, a citizen who knows that no human problem is answered until its moral implications and meanings have been dealt with and resolved.

Moral values are derived from experiences which may be labeled religious, scientific, aesthetic, economic, social, philosophical, and so on. Importance attaches to the experience and not particularly to the qualifying label. If a pupil learns truthfulness from mathematics, he may become no less a lover of truth than if he had encountered truth in religion, philosophy, or logic. If a student learns in the laboratory that cheating doesn't work, is easily detected, and runs counter to the method and the spirit of science, he will have his lesson more fundamentally than he ever could have learned it in a formal class in ethics.

TEACHING WITH A MORAL BIAS—THIS is what I am asking for, and it is a formidable request. Morality will suffer if it is "dragged in," added to, or imposed upon the curriculum. It must permeate courses of study and breathe itself through the entire learning experience. Only teachers who are themselves a part of the moral adventure will be able to infuse pupils with a sense of its universal importance, its lasting worth.

This task calls for teachers who know something besides the subjects they teach. Indeed, it may mean that those teachers who are expert in subject matter but presume to teach whatever they teach as though it contained no moral implications will have to be eliminated from the profession. Once this moral adventure through public education has begun we may discover that those teachers who are now considered best because "they know their stuff," will be rated lowest if they cannot comprehend how their "stuff" can be related to and utilized by morality.

Teaching, as a profession, should begin with an assumption of moral responsibility. Persons who accumulate knowledge thereby incur an obligation. The person who presumes to impart knowledge to others incurs a double obligation: he assumes a degree of responsibility with respect to his use of knowledge, plus a responsi-

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bility for his pupils' understanding of the necessary interrelation between knowledge and conduct.

If public education is to become our chief source of hope for remoralization of our civilization, at what point or place should the beginning be made? This question will not be taken to mean, I trust, that no moral education is now to be found in public schools. Certainly this is not my intention, because I honestly believe that, were realistic tests available, we would discover that sounder moral teaching now takes place in public schools than in any other American institution, churches included. Unhappily, however, the practice is not widespread, and is left largely to chance.

It does seem to me that the one place where a beginning could be made most readily and where it is most sorely needed is in teachers' colleges. If I were in charge, my first action would be to eliminate from the curricula of teachers' colleges three fourths to nine tenths of all courses labeled "methods." The "how" of teaching needs to be learned but not independently of the "what" and the "why." A simplified curriculum for future teachers could be constructed on three straightforward questions:

1. What should be taught?
2. How should teaching be done?
3. In the interest of what ends or values should the pupil learn what is taught?

Answers to the first question will necessarily be derived from particular cultures.

Capacity of pupils, the nature of intelligence, and the circumstances under which teaching proceeds will determine answers for question number two.

ANSWERS TO THE FIRST QUESTION WILL be discovered only when education as a whole is conceived as a moral enterprise. Culture, psychology, and moral philosophy are then the three focal points about which teacher-training should revolve.

Earnest individuals, educators as well as alarmed citizens, who have become aware that the central problem of the modern world lies in the sphere

of moral values, plus the quality of human relations incident to values or their absence, are likely to commit two errors. Their zeal and anxiety may lead them to demand a uniform, fixed set of moral values, a permanent code, to be universally indoctrinated and authoritatively imposed. In this manner they hope to achieve unity. Such a procedure would produce, alas, not true unity but its antithesis, uniformity. And where uniformity comes, death is near at hand.

The second error to which moral reformers are subject is that of departmentalizing ethical considerations, thus subtracting morality from the rest of experience. Sins are catalogued and given names. "Thou shalt not steal," says the code. Very well, says the "good" man: I shall refrain from taking property which legally belongs to another. Does he thenceforth become a contributor to the good life? Not if he is an American and does nothing about the fact that the Negro citizen's birthright has been stolen from him. Not if he happens to be a manufacturer and becomes partner to monopolistic practices. Not if he is a father who has so dominated his children that they can never achieve independent character. Not if he is a teacher who has deprived his pupils of their sense of dignity. Not if he is a trade union leader who exploits his union for political ends.

No, the business of morality is not to separate ethics from the full flow of life, not to classify and codify. This mechanical conception of ethics produces, not genuinely good men, but good-bad men, men who are good on the outside and bad within.

If public schools in their attempts to teach morality perpetuate this same error, no gains will be made. If biology, chemistry, mathematics, rhetoric are taught in separate compartments, and ethics in still another, we shall continue to produce scientists who see no relation between their work and its moral consequences, parents who may remain conjugally faithful and socially reprehensible, teachers who know their subjects but

do not know their pupils and hence cannot serve them, citizens who vote at every election but permit their choices to be made by party bosses or partisan discipline, church members whose religion is for the Sabbath only.

WHAT I AM STRIVING TO SAY IS THIS: no true moral advance should be anticipated unless preceded by an altered attitude towards the role and function of morality. Specific crimes (sins) should be left to the state. Morality deals, not with sins, but with sinfulness. The teacher who aims to contribute to morality, to the good life, should not become a codifier of wrongs, a cataloguer of evils. Indeed, he will not perform his appropriate pedagogical role until these negative words have taken a subsidiary place in his vocabulary and thought.

What I have said about the contrast between classified sins and an awareness of sinfulness should also be stated positively. Morality made teachable represents a search for what is good in every type of experience. Teachers with a moral tendentiousness will constantly ask themselves, "What good is latent in what I teach?" They will not cease asking "What use can be made of what I teach?" but the two questions will now be joined.

Moral education applies to all people as well as all studies. What damage has already been done as a result of the false assumption that moral teaching and moral learning belong to special persons! Under this perversion, this betrayal of the organic nature of life, scientists have been excused from moral responsibilities and moral teaching has been relegated to persons who, for the most part, know nothing about science—this in spite of the fact that it is science which precipitates our most baffling moral issues and exacerbates the older evils.

The moral struggle of our time permits no excuses, allows no remissions. We are all involved. Seeking good is not merely an enduring goal, it is also universal and inclusive. On this account its ministration belongs to the public school, the enduring and inclusive institution of democratic societies.



The Great Books Today

HARRY HANSEN

ROBERT MAYNARD HUTCHINS SHOULD be immensely pleased to learn that the opening of the voluntary study courses for adults inaugurated by the Great Books Foundation was considered worth reporting in the daily newspapers. "1,000 in City Begin Study of Great Books" was the headline, in type as large as that describing the day's activities of the UN. Since this refers to the reading of such ancients as Aristotle, Plato, Locke, and Rousseau, we must revise our opinion of what is news. Perhaps this is news because, for many years, adults *en masse* did not study great books, or even read them individually, after they left college.

A week before the Great Books classes began meeting in New York under the auspices of the New York Public Library, I attended a sample demonstration before the Women's National Book Association. A group that had been meeting in Town Hall agreed to continue its discussion of "Hamlet" in public. It was explained that this was not the typical method; a group of a dozen adults, more or less, meets by itself and discusses the topic of the week freely. The presence of a hall full of people who listen intently to every word does not lead to spontaneity. This seemed to be the case that evening.

Two leaders tossed topics into the ring; others responded with their views, and Hamlet's mental state was subjected once more to scrutiny, with the added help of psychoanalysis, which was not available when I tackled this theme in college. At the end Oscar Silverman, professor of English at the University of Buffalo, gave a critique of the demonstration, and explained the aims of the foundation.

Early in October dozens of groups met throughout the metropolitan area and put in an evening discussing the Declaration of Independence, which the members had read carefully before they came to class.

And that document is so tightly packed with statements that go to the roots of democratic thought that the "students" had a full evening. Indeed, one wonders how a single session can

suffice to bring out the full meaning of "all men are created equal."

Since the Great Books Foundation of the University of Chicago has given a powerful impetus to the reading of the classics by adults, it may be worth inquiring into the results that it hopes to gain. Mr. Hutchins has related the classics to a liberal education and indicated that a familiarity with what they contain enables a man to become a better citizen, more tolerant, a defender of freedom and liberal thought.

The exaggerated notions of what can be expected of adults when they have mastered the great books rest principally on the use of the classics at St. John's College. I do not find in Mr. Hutchins' writings any assertions that these books alone will enable a man to meet all the problems of the modern world. Nor have I found Mr. Hutchins rejecting experience in favor of academic study, or retiring into monasticism. His principal object seems to be to strike a better balance between a scientific and an academic education.

THE FIRST YEAR'S READING COURSE GIVES a sample of the books to be studied by adults. It includes, in the order named: the Declaration of Independence; three chapters of the Old Testament (the story of David and Uriah, and the story of Jezebel); Plato's "Apology," "Crito," and "Republic"; Thucydides' "History of the Peloponnesian War"; three plays by Aristophanes; Aristotle's "Ethics" and "Politics," in part; five lives from Plutarch; St. Augustine's "Confessions"; two books by St. Thomas Aquinas; Machiavelli's "The Prince"; Montaigne's "Selected Essays"; Shakespeare's "Hamlet"; Locke's "Of Civil Government"; Rousseau's "Social Contract"; part of "The Federalist"; Adam Smith's "The Wealth of Nations"; and Marx's "Communist Manifesto."

In the courses outlined for succeeding years, the Bible does not reappear, although St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas do. In the total list of 432 books made public by the Great Books Foundation, which will issue them, Melville's "Moby Dick" seems to be the

only American novel considered important enough for a place.

It would be folly to argue that some benefit cannot be derived by a great many adults from these books. Everett Dean Martin once said that "quality" is the keynote of the educated mind, using quality in the sense of selectivity, an ability to recognize the true metal. These books—deeply studied and possessed—should impress that mark of maturity. And anyone who gains "quality" never can be wholly at ease with the cheap and superficial.

BUT THE GREAT EDUCATIONAL ADVANCE in our century has been in science generally, including the social sciences. I cannot conceive a general education in the classics sufficient to meet the problems of this age, no matter how finely attuned the mind to culture and civilizing influences.

On the contrary, an intensification and also a broadening of social studies seems to me the only way to meet the problems of human unrest. No measure of mystical faith, held by devout leaders in the past, taught them to understand fully the needs of great masses of mankind. No amount of culture in the European leaders of today—and in the leaders who opposed Hitler, inside and outside the Axis—sufficed to avert the greatest catastrophe the world has ever suffered. Truly, men will be helped by a knowledge of what was written by Rousseau, Locke, Mill, Thoreau, but we must not expect too much.

What the Great Books project can do is useful in itself: it can liberate individuals from herd thinking. It can help them question, discuss, analyze, and come to independent conclusions. And, Mr. Hutchins hopes, it can take their minds off money-making, if only for a brief time. Mr. Hutchins feels the pressure of material ends on American education—the tendency "to drive out of the course of study everything which is not immediately concerned with making a living." I was not aware this was a great danger, but then, I did not study applied science. The difficulty with American education always seemed to

me to be the great waste of time on non-essentials.

As the Great Books course began to take hold, the College of the City of New York announced a new course in the English department. It was designed, the college said, "for non-English majors, to impress upon them the fact that literature does not end with the reading of prescribed textbooks, but that living literature is being created

from day to day." Virgil Thomson is to address the class on his collaboration with Gertrude Stein; Paul Goodman on "the Kafka problem"; Harry Levin on James Joyce; Rex Stout on mystery novels; Sinclair Lewis, on whatever interests Sinclair Lewis, and so on. There was no mention of what these discussions might do to solve the problems of the atomic age, or even the problem of the individual's mastery of himself.

THE SCHOOL IN THE AMERICAN SOCIAL ORDER, by Newton Edwards and Herman G. Richey. Houghton Mifflin, \$5.

Roma Gans

A BOOK WITH THE TITLE "The School In The American Social Order" is a big order, especially when combined with the authors' stated purpose to direct attention "to the essential features of the social order itself, to the dominant

Some Recent Books on Education

LESTER D. CROW

A HISTORY OF THE PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION, by John S. Brubacher. McGraw-Hill.

A readable presentation of the development of education from early times onward, organized functionally rather than chronologically. The progress of each phase of education is interpreted separately—by a professor of the philosophy of education, Yale University.

DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION, by Benjamin Fine. Crowell.

A timely consideration of present practices in American colleges and universities, with searching questions concerning the functions of higher education in American life—by the education editor of *The New York Times*.

SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY, by Edward G. Olsen, and others. Prentice Hall.

A support of the thesis that all life is educative, and that the curriculum operates through all areas of living in a local, national or global community—by a director of school and community relations, Washington State Department of Education, in cooperation with others.

THE NEW AMERICAN COLLEGE, by John A. Sexson and John W. Harbeson. Harper.

Present interest among young people in education beyond the high school level raises many questions as to the character and extent of such education. This book discusses the place of the four-year junior college in American education—by two California educators, experienced in the organization and administration of this new educational unit.

GENERAL EDUCATION IN A FREE SOCIETY, Paul H. Buck, editor. Harvard University Press.

A challenging discussion of the function and value of general education as the basis for specialized training in schools and colleges—by a special committee of the faculty of Harvard University.

THE STORY OF THE SPRINGFIELD PLAN, by Clarence I. Chatto and Alice L. Halligan. Barnes & Noble.

An experience in democratic living to which the entire community contributes—by the curriculum director and the director of adult education of the public schools of Springfield, Mass.

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ideology, to the social structure, to the clash of economic interests, to the sources of political power and the form of political institutions, to the workings of the prevailing economic, political, and social arrangements"; then to follow this with "a more detailed study of the educational policies and practices of the period under examination." But two professors from the University of Chicago, Newton Edwards and Herman G. Richey, have accomplished this ambitious plan, and in superb fashion.

The aim to show the influence of forces upon education and the effect of education upon the times is a tremendous challenge. Yet Professors Edwards and Richey have met it through a fluidity in the combination of their organization and style which carries the sweep of history forward while showing the dynamic forces at work.

The rich sources drawn upon, and their use as an inherent part of the text, add to the interest of the volume and offset the overpowering effect that a scholarly tome of such dimension might have. The authors' skill in organizing this massive amount of material is clearly revealed by the fact that such threads as the struggle for tax support for schools, for freedom from religious control, for compulsory education, and for states rights can be followed easily.

The balance of content from the two fields lurches in Part III when a comprehensive treatment of the shift in our economic life is included. The authors defend this in their introduction:

This emphasis is deliberate; it is based upon the belief that all who are directly concerned with educational policy and practice in America must cultivate a comprehensive and realistic view of the society into which they are helping to induct youth.

The socio-education dynamics, however, are not as clearly delineated from this point on. Perhaps we are too close to the times to see them. The mechanization of production may not be related to the factory type school called the Platoon School which had its ascendancy in the days following World War I. The rise of labor's voice in affairs may be unrelated to the frequently articulated fear of the social studies. Questions such as these, no doubt, must wait for the seasoning of time.

This volume has a singularly important contribution to make at this time when hysteria is so common as to seem almost the normal behavior. One acquires not only a richer understanding

of the growth of education in our land, but also a feeling of confidence in the steadying effect of our entire national setup in meeting issues. Therefore, it is hoped that in addition to educators, others interested in such phases of education as federal aid to non-public schools, states rights, vocational education, and the social direction of the curriculum will read it. It would prove a blessing to our times if congressmen would study it, chapter by chapter.



Other Educators

(from page 632)

films for discussion purposes. This film forum movement is one of the most significant developments in adult education.

A number of labor and cooperative groups are now discussing the possibility of forming a national film cooperative to produce and distribute educational films—another straw in the wind.

WE HAVE SINGLED OUT THE FILM FROM the "other educators" for the major part of this discussion because it is unique as a medium of communication. The combination of sound, visual images, and motion set it apart from radio, pamphlets, slides, and graphic exhibits, all of which are less effective tools simply because they do not "live" as film does. The exception to this is television, the educational potentialities of which are almost unlimited.

They wait only upon the educator's demand that television be put at his service. The urgent question is, will he demand it?

FM broadcasting has exciting potentialities, too. Educational agencies of all sorts have a chance to get into this new field before the commercial networks claim it completely for their own. Many schools and colleges have already made application for FM broadcasting rights. One union is planning to open FM stations in six cities.

A number of colleges and universities today operate standard AM broadcasting stations, serving themselves and their communities, among them, Michigan State College, Cornell, Benson Polytechnic School, and the Universities of Wisconsin, Florida, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, North Dakota, Oklahoma, and South Dakota.

According to Llewellyn White,

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author of the radio report of the Commission on the Freedom of the Press, the University of Wisconsin station has wider geographical coverage and more regular listeners than any other station serving that state—this despite the fact that its evening hours, which it once shared with a commercial station, were taken away from it.

During 1947-48, the enrollment of this station's School of the Air is expected to top last year's figures of 361,257 pupils in 19,194 classes. These broadcasts are adapted to classes from kindergarten through eighth grade.

The mass communications revolution is by no means completed. Television, FM, and facsimile reproduction are still to be fully developed. New discoveries are as certain as dawn. Still, educators are not fully using the already established media.

A history professor at a small New England college recently told us that he wanted to open his modern history survey course with some newsreel shots from the 1930's—the Italians marching into Abyssinia, the Munich Conference, the first inauguration of Franklin D. Roosevelt. He also wanted to show Chaplin's "Modern Times" in a freshman orientation

course. No one at the college could tell him how to get these films. And when a dozen letters to different film libraries brought little or no information, he gave up.

On the brighter side of the picture, there was this fall an orientation course for 1,000 freshmen at the University of Denver where a week's program of films was an integral part of the course. The films were shown in cooperation with a local theater and they were selected to represent American culture as compared with that of other countries. One evening's assignment was a combination showing of "Lifeboat" and the Swiss film, "The Last Chance," and a comparison of the value judgments and attitudes implicit in each. Another night's program paired a Fred Astaire movie with a typical Soviet musical comedy.

More "good" and "bad" examples could be cited. We leave it to you, the reader, to add up what you know of your own school system, of your own professional association or local forum. Are they using recordings, films, and the other mass media in their programs? Or are they still limiting themselves to nineteenth century tools?

All Our Children

(from page 623)

cycle of inflation, did more than the depression to dramatize the shaky fiscal base of American education. Within a few years the draft, the lure of well paying jobs, and the rising costs of living led 350,000 American teachers to desert the classroom. In 1946-47, more than 70,000 teaching positions were unfilled because of lack of qualified applicants. Six thousand schools were closed by the teacher shortage. It is estimated that this year 5,000,000 children are receiving an inferior education because of the inadequate supply of teachers and the loss of the best trained instructors. The average teacher in 1947 was found to have one year less training than the average 1939 teacher.

The major cause of this shocking decline in both the quantitative and qualitative aspects of American education was—low salaries for teachers. And with living costs still rising more rapidly than teachers' salaries, it is likely that teachers will continue to drift away from the schools until an aid program is put into effect.

As the teachers began to leave their classrooms by the tens of thousands in the early days of the war, the demand for federal aid became strong enough to win serious political consideration. A federal aid bill was introduced by Senators Hill and Thomas in 1943 but was defeated by a coalition of "states rights" advocates headed by Senator Taft. Two years later, President Roosevelt urged federal aid to country schools in an address to the White House Conference on Rural Education. But although the 1944 Democratic Party platform had specifically called for "federal aid to education administered by the states without interference by the federal government," Congress again failed to act on the proposal.

WHEN IT BECAME APPARENT THAT THE end of the war would not bring an end to the teacher shortage, the demand for federal assistance became so strong that Congress could no longer ignore it. At least ten bills providing for federal aid were intro-

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duced in the 80th Congress. They included not only measures introduced by progressives such as Senators Murray (Montana) and Morse (Oregon), but a bill by Vermont's Senator Aiken, a middle-of-the-road Republican, and an important proposal put forward jointly by Senator Taft, a former foe of federal aid, and seven other sponsors. Although the purpose of all of the bills was the same, the amount of federal assistance proposed varied substantially.

Senators Morse and Murray favor federal grants to the states amounting to \$805,000,000 the first year, with a gradual increase to \$2,000,000,000 a year by the end of ten years.

The Aiken bill, introduced in 1947, calls for an expenditure of \$400,000,000 in the first year and an ultimate expenditure of \$1,200,000,000 in the fifth year, and thereafter. It would start by granting every state \$20 a year for each child of school age and eventually would guarantee a floor in school expenditures, from all sources, of \$100 a year per child. Under the Aiken bill, a uniform proportion of the federal funds could be used for nonprofit private schools. This won the bill widespread Catholic support.

The Taft bill, which has the approval of the National Education Association and other powerful groups, provides for aid to needy states on a much more restricted basis. It would place a floor of \$40 per child for combined federal and state spending for education and afford sufficient federal assistance to maintain this minimum. Since most states are already spending on this scale, most of the aid would go to the poorer states and the others, many of whose teachers are seriously underpaid, would get nothing. The bill calls for the use of \$150,000,000 in federal funds the first year and \$250,000,000 a year in 1950 and thereafter. Money would be available for parochial schools only in the proportion that such schools are now receiving state aid.

After prolonged hearings, the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee reported out a compromise bill. This provides federal aid to raise the minimum expenditure to \$50 per child per year and an additional subsidy of \$5 a year per child for states which are above the minimum. An appropriation of \$300,000,000 was recommended for the first year, and

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the question of aid to private schools was left to the states. A similar bill, sponsored by Representative McCowen, Republican, has been favorably reported by a subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor.

Comparatively little opposition to the principle of federal aid developed during the 1947 hearings. Roman Catholic spokesmen held that the controversy over the use of public funds to support parochial and other private schools was the only issue delaying the enactment of a federal-aid bill. The National Education Association, which had consistently opposed aid to private schools in the past, shifted its position to the extent of backing Senator Taft's proposal to use federal money in the private schools for such services as school buses and textbooks. The American Federation of Teachers and some other advocates of federal aid continued to oppose any use of federal funds for private schools.

Significantly, the Taft bill, and indeed all of the measures before Congress, specifically prohibited the use of federal funds for the exercise of any federal control or influence over school curriculum, personnel, or instruction.

In addition to the NEA, groups which appeared at the hearings in support of federal aid included the American Council on Education, the Parent-Teachers Association, the American Farm Bureau Federation, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the American Federation of Teachers, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the American Federation of Labor, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Public opinion polls cited at the hearings indicated overwhelming popular support for federal aid to public schools but opposition to extending this aid to private schools. Despite this impressive evidence of popular support for federal aid legislation, the 80th Congress took no action during its regular 1947 session.

Although favorable action by the Senate and House Committees would indicate that some legislation will be adopted in 1948, even this is not assured in view of the failure of the Republican leaders to place the federal aid bills on the "must" list.

In their desire to obtain urgently needed fiscal assistance for the schools, educators have rather unwittingly

given the impression that there is nothing wrong with our schools that a little money will not cure. Few, of course, would want to defend this position. The sectionalism and provincialism which have enfeebled the financial structure of our schools also have tended to weaken the curriculum, the teacher training, the administration, and other aspects of American education. Teachers complain that their personal as well as their professional lives are tied to the apron strings of community bigots and gossips.

Consequently, many persons interested in the development of American education have questioned whether the federal government's responsibility can or should be limited to supplying money. They point out that the schools' main task is to develop mature Americans who are capable of rising above local and sectional interests and developing a broad national and world viewpoint. They ask whether it is possible for schools that are almost completely under local influence to develop a sufficiently broad program of citizenship training. Should the federal government, through its hold on the purse strings, guide the schools in the development of national and world understanding?

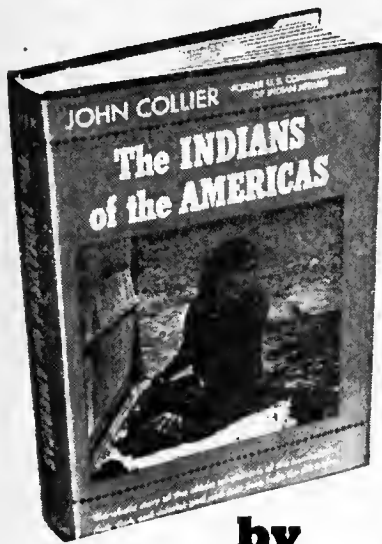
THIS IS NOT A QUESTION THAT CAN BE answered by shouting outworn shibboleths about the menace of "federal control." Our educational policy dare not be wholly out of step with the nation's interest. Yet few educators would want to see Washington use its financial resources to tell the schools in detail what they should teach.

The answer probably lies in a compromise toward which the Aiken and the Taft bills represent first steps. The minimum needs of the American schools must be met at all costs. And there should be no conditions attached to the use of federal funds designed to meet these minimum needs. But above this "floor," the federal government could offer additional funds to states and local school systems that were prepared to open up better than "average" opportunities.

For example, the federal government might grant special funds to encourage citizenship studies beyond the usual minimum, but leave the details of the studies to the states and local communities. Similar aid might be given to further teacher training. Federal leadership has raised standards

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War's Balance Sheet

(from page 576)

students. The Commission will publish the first of its several detailed reports this fall, and others will follow shortly. The whole will provide the most complete picture of our scheme of higher education that this country has ever had.

THE VALUES OF A COLLEGE EDUCATION are being impressed upon the public by the opportunities provided veterans under Public Laws 16 and 346 (the GI Bill of Rights). It has, however, been found that opportunities to go to college in normal times have been limited by parental income and that more needs to be done to equalize these opportunities through scholarships and other aids.

The difficulties of the war years actually served as a stimulus to the reconstruction of the college curriculum. The failure of the elective system to provide a broad general education was widely admitted. There was, further, the fear of undue emphasis on vocational specialization, on the one hand, and on the other, of neglect of the humanities because of the spectacular advance of the sciences.

The movement to revise curriculum had been started before the war by the American Council of Learned Societies, which was concerned about the future of the humanities. Faculty committees were appointed in colleges and universities, and regional and national conferences were held. An extensive literature on the subject was published during the war years. The general trend of the discussions and proposals was to recommend a balanced program in the humanities, the social sciences, and the natural sciences.

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will show other influences from the war years. How far the experiments with the intensive methods of teaching foreign languages can be adapted to normal high school and college procedure will depend on experiments which are still being carried out on a number of campuses.

The new international position of the United States has stimulated the introduction of general courses on world affairs in high schools and colleges, and special courses on different areas of the world—notably the Near East, the Far East, Latin America, and Soviet Russia—in colleges and universities.

One further result of this new position is the increasing number of students from abroad who have already come, or who desire to come, to study in American institutions with opportunities opened to them by their governments, by private foundations, or by the recently enacted Fulbright Act. This law provides for the use of funds from the sale of surplus army and navy commodities overseas to finance the studies of American students in foreign countries, and of students from abroad in our colleges and universities.

THE STORY OF THE BALANCE SHEET OF the war years cannot be completed without some reference, first, to the entrance of the United States government into the field of international cultural relations; and second, to the active and important part played by professional and lay organizations in securing the inclusion of a provision in the United Nations charter for the creation of an international educational agency, subsequently established as the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

With these developments, the teaching profession may now rely on leadership in promoting international understanding and cooperation, which, despite widespread interest, was lacking in the years between the wars.

The countries of the world are entering on a new era in education. The guiding principle everywhere outside the United States is to abandon "class education," to provide equality of opportunity for all, and to develop various new types of schools, without sacrificing standards of quality in scholarship or teaching.

For the United States the war has shown that more needs to be done

to implement the traditional ideal of equality of educational opportunity by pooling the resources of the whole nation; that more attention should be devoted to maintaining the quality of education; and finally, that both aims can be achieved only by improving—professionally, socially, and financially—the status of teachers at all levels of American education.

Strait Jackets

(from page 619)

heavily on factual knowledge, intellectual training, on useful mental, manual, and social skills. Other "values"—spiritual, philosophical, aesthetic, religious, contemplative, emotional—rank in an inferior position, neglected, even dismissed as "frills" and "baubles."

IT MUST SEEM INCREDIBLE THAT A profession so hemmed around would further limit its freedom by hobbling its own feet. But there is no one, I venture, who can surpass the educators—particularly at the teachers' college level—when it comes to spinning complications. They appear to do it compulsively, out of themselves, like spiders.

Jacques Barzun in "The Teacher in America" has given the definitive treatment of what I am referring to—the awful, the ponderous involvements, convolutions, and technicalities of pedagogic theory and methodology, couched, as he says, in "educator's patois, easily the worst English now written."

Anyone who does not know what this is like should not punish himself by trying to find out. It is revealing, however, to inquire how this entangling mass of professional literature and practices comes into being, for it is a continuing product. Much of it is an excretion of the process, presided over by the teachers' colleges, whereby educators themselves "make good and amount to something."

The young teacher aspirant, taking his first required degree in the school of education, meets the lingo and the literature and goes to his first job indoctrinated by the emphasis on methods and machinery. Seeking promotion, he returns to school for a second required degree, for which he does a piece of "original" research and thus adds his mite to the literature. (The hungry desire to make

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over the art of teaching into a scientific discipline stands symbolized for me by a certain room in a certain teachers' college. Although there is not one machine or chemical in sight to soil a body's clothes, the earnest young students call it the "lab" and enter it wearing chemist's gowns, to do what they call psychometric research.)

When the master of arts feels ambitious for further advancement, he returns to school for a third required degree, the doctorate (in 1940 there were 27,522 doctors of philosophy teaching in 639 educational institutions), and grinds out yet another research contribution, wherein the least he can do is coin a couple of technical terms, propose some fresh "concepts," or think up some new wrinkle in procedure. Subsequently, to keep up his professional standing, he serves as a kind of sales engineer for his alma mater, introducing its latest theories and inventions to the classrooms in the field.

AND SO IT COMES TO PASS THAT THE school of education spreads its influence out and down, entangling the entire public school personnel. Until what is happening—?

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These people, by the principal's own sad admission, are largely preoccupied with paper work, red tape, and conferences—with lists, card indexes, personnel files, graphs, statistics, rating sheets, announcements, memos, financial statements, requisitions, questionnaires and reports for all sorts of agencies, bureaus, and schools of education, and with tests, *ad infinitum*, tests diagnostic, survey, admission, I.Q., P.Q., achievement, personality, aptitude, and so on and on and on.

The hall wherein tests and measurements are regularly given is known to faculty and students alike as the "torture chamber." Even the children, seeing their teachers harassed by messengers from the office with requests

and directives, note the ridiculous side of it. Teacher efficiency is hurt. Class time is consumed. The principal groans under the burden, and wonders what can be done.

WHAT CAN BE SAID IN THE WAY OF hope for the liberation of this fenced-in, tangled profession?

The educator is grimly humble in that he has an almost neurotic bent toward self-examination. He says, in effect, what a very little way we have come—what a long way yet to go!

American Magazine recently polled nearly a hundred educational experts on how they felt the schools were performing. Ninety-five percent believed that the preparation of children for democratic citizenship was not being well done; 98 percent felt young people were being inadequately trained for making a living; 90 percent held the school to be inefficient in promoting health and physical fitness; 100 percent saw failure in educating for family responsibilities and the desirable use of leisure time.

Yet, for all his humility, the educator feels, rightly, that his role was never more important than it is today. He accepts the responsibilities gratuitously pushed on the school by the defaulting of other social institutions. The agenda of new and unfinished business drawn up by the executive secretary of the National Education Association is a staggering work sheet. It asks:

That facilities of the schools be marshaled on a nationwide basis to eliminate illiteracy;

that a program of adult education be established to make education a lifetime process;

that every child be enabled to acquire the fundamental skills for some vocation;

that adequate facilities for the protection of physical and mental health be provided;

that great emphasis be put on sympathetic understanding of races and religions;

that appreciation of spiritual and ethical values be made a part of every educational program;

that equipment, personnel and funds be widely supplied to discover and develop scientific talent.

This agenda could be quarreled with, but hardly for its modesty. Under the American educator's apologetic exterior there is a highminded aggressiveness. He will keep trying,

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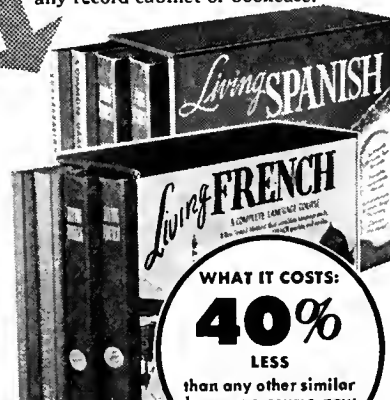
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hacking away at his limitations. Someday his educational "objectives" may actually derive, not from the narrow requirements of a particular community, but from an appreciation of the full needs in the nature of man.

MY OWN AFFECTIONATE CONCERN—Because I know so many of him—is for the individual teacher and that he should have more freedom and opportunity to throw his weight around. His immediate natural keeper is the administrator-pedagogue. His immediate natural cohort is the child. To appease the one and inspire the other is not an easy assignment for an individual of originality and passion.

In teaching at its most influential, there is an elusive X-entity which cannot be imitated by any amount of methodology and discipline. The teacher as a complex of personal traits, as an enthusiast, as an individualist, as an eccentric even, as an artist—often doing what is forbidden—needs every defense, encouragement, and inducement he can get. His reluctance to enter the teaching profession, and his frustration when he does enter, are the most unfortunate result of our educational strait-jacketing. Exceptional people are wanted to override exceptional barriers. Human beings, not machinery, must rule, or else—.

The Teachers

(from page 626)

ture which represents a norm for a tremendous number of teachers in all areas of the country and on all levels of education.

For every thousand eighteen-year-old rural-education mechanics, there are tens of thousands of city-elementary-school and secondary-education mechanics between the ages of twenty and eighty. In the colleges and universities of the country, serious attention to the techniques of teaching has not even been great enough to qualify most of the faculty on the level of mechanics.

This is not at all to overlook the large number of highly skilled elementary and secondary teachers in this country, or to ignore the many college and university professors who are brilliant practitioners of the art of teaching. It is merely to point out the tremendous lag between the needs of education and the professional

preparation of those who have to carry it on.

Forty years ago secondary education in the United States was limited to a small fraction of the young people of secondary school age. It was designed almost exclusively to prepare for college entrance. High school teachers for the most part were simply graduates of four-year colleges who thought they would "like" to teach, meaning that they did not at the moment see a chance to enter matrimony or some other interesting career. They were people who themselves had been taught by professors who regarded teaching as a process of assigning blocks of subject matter and eliminating those who learned it too slowly or to meagerly.

Today high schools of the United States are designed to educate all the youth in all the activities they need to experience, and certain areas of the country have come astonishingly close to achieving that goal. They have aimed to give all their boys and girls the richest and most varied opportunities for personal, social, and intellectual growth. They have succeeded, more by the strength of the American people's passion for extended education than by the skill of their teachers and administrators, in producing the most comprehensive, colorful, sprawling, and in many ways ineffective secondary school system in the world.

Except in a few states and cities, the teachers of these modern American high schools are still simply graduates of four-year colleges who think they would "like" to teach.

THE CHANGES IN THE PREPARATION OF elementary teachers in these same forty years have been the most encouraging elements in the teacher-education picture, yet they have also been inadequate to the need. There are far too many four-year teachers' colleges today which reflect faintly the glow of their two-year normal school selves of 1907 while they puff vigorously at the coals of their ambitions to become just four-year colleges.

They still prepare skillful primary teachers; they often did that in 1907. They are still inclined to believe that method is a kind of magic, and that the best way to meet steadily mounting educational tasks is further to refine the techniques.

The professional education of college and university teachers can

(In answering advertisements please mention **SURVEY GRAPHIC**)

hardly be said to have been contemplated in 1907. It is contemplated today in very few places. So far as I am aware, there is only one college in the United States which requires professional educational preparation of every faculty member before he gives a lecture or conducts a discussion.

Since such instruction is hard to come by, this college has set up its own instructor-training program where prospective faculty members of the highest academic and practical attainments in their fields learn how to make good lesson plans, how to organize a unit, how to conduct a discussion, how to devise and evaluate valid, reliable examinations, and above all how to appraise the entire college program critically in terms of its objectives. To those who like to repeat the stereotyped view that the United States Army is very conservative, it may be vaguely unpleasant to know that the institution with this program of professional preparation for its faculty is the Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth.

For the officers of the army ground forces, army service forces, army air forces, navy, marines, and the armed forces of various foreign countries who attend Leavenworth as students, the most skillful instruction is considered none too good. For the great multitude of young men and women of college age who entered our higher educational institutions this fall, teachers who for the most part have no more professional preparation for their jobs than did their predecessors in 1907 are considered good enough.

They are not good enough for the colleges and universities of tomorrow, and that tomorrow is crowding upon us in this autumn of 1947. We must have college and university teachers of the highest scholarship and also with a professional wisdom, insight, and skill which they now achieve slowly by apprenticeship to hard knocks, if at all. We have discovered in many professional fields that although long experience may be val-

uable, it is made more valuable by professionally directed training.

It is high time for us to make this discovery in the field of college and university teaching, and to establish ten or twenty teaching fellowships and post-doctoral internships, accompanied by seminar or workshop study of the institution, its problems, its area, and its students, in each of the larger universities of the United States and Canada. The varying methods of carrying out such a project would give us a better basis than we now have for setting up a real program in the professional education of college and university teachers.

IT MAY BE THAT THE UNITED STATES needs a new type of teacher-education institution for the American schools and colleges of tomorrow. These new institutions may not grant degrees or certificates, since the students who attend them will have the highest degrees and will hold licenses to teach. Perhaps such institutions will develop from some of our present graduate schools or teachers' colleges. Perhaps they will grow up at first outside the degree-granting institutions.

Wherever they develop, or whatever their forms and names may be, the nature of their task may be estimated with some degree of reliability in this year of 1947. In the first place, these institutes will have to discard the lines between elementary school and secondary school, between the schools and the colleges, between adult education and the education of children and youth. Their students will be specialists in the total education of cities, states, regions, nations, no matter whether their preliminary training was for the kindergarten or for the teaching of medicine. Their object will be to turn out educational statesmen and educational seers as well as educational technicians on the highest level of professional insight and skill.

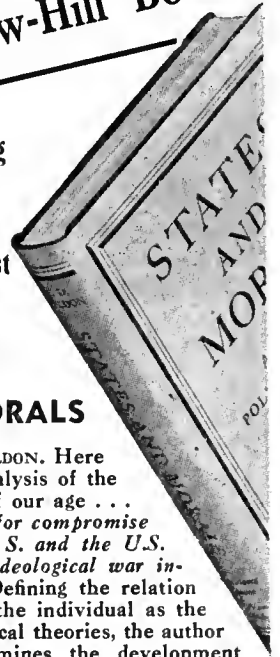
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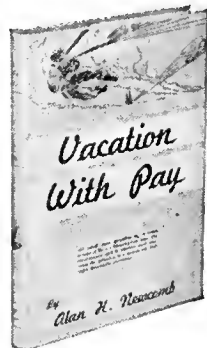
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Why cannot our present teacher-education institutions do something like this?

I think they can—if they will.

Of Admissions

(from page 629)

private business. To discriminate on racial, national, or religious grounds is to confer a new potential of evil upon these differences. It is to set American against American. It is to create permanent classes of citizenship. It is to infect one part of the community with a sense of injury borne and another part with a sense of injury inflicted.

There are many evils which the democracy has endured indifferently, as self-curing. There is no reason to expect educational discrimination to cure itself. Instead of growing weaker in the last generation, discriminatory forces have grown stronger. If they are let alone they will grow stronger still.

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tern of acceptances and rejections and with power to issue cease and desist orders when the pattern goes awry.

The institutions of higher education insist today that their function is essentially a public function; that, though many are privately operated, the justification for their existence is in services they perform for the people and the state. Then let them resolve once for all to forego the grave disservice of working toward the splitting of our common democracy into a collection of minority groups. We cannot tolerate an educational policy that tends to Balkanize our democratic nation.

To Save Freedom

(from page 636)

areas, and thus function at the growing edge of American and of world life. And not only must education deal with controversy—the areas of controversy must become the major materials of instruction. It is at the points where our society is in crisis that it is most dynamic and therefore has its most vital educational materials. In the bold exploration of these areas education will most definitely affect the thinking and feeling of its students.

4. EDUCATION MUST MAKE AMERICANS as a people face the responsibilities that have come to us as a result of our present position of world leadership. Even those who have had the benefit of training in the social sciences do not appreciate the actions and reactions between international and domestic affairs, and are unable to think creatively or effectively about them. This is due to the fact that, by and large, social science has failed to come to grips with the problems of the modern world.

Thus we teach classical economic concepts but fail to teach the workings of modern international trade, modern currency control, or the function of the new world bank. The social sciences must move into the operations of the modern world or they will lose their opportunity to be anything more than recorders of social phenomena. Similarly, education must come to grips with what is taking place in the modern world or relegate itself to the position of a purely secondary social force.

(Continued on page 655)

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5. CHILDREN, YOUTH, AND ADULTS must have practice in democratic living. No program of education that is largely verbal will suffice—the elements of our democratic conception have meaning only as they are translated into action. The idea of respect for the worth and dignity of individual human beings remains merely an idea until it is put into practice.

Children pay relatively little attention to what we teachers and other adults say. But they are close observers, and they notice what we do. They catch the expressions on an adult face, the tone of his voice and the manner of his moving about in society. They draw their own conclusions about the motives that influence him. It is our behavior as adults that teaches children what we believe and the values we uphold. Therefore no education can be effective in promoting an understanding of freedom and democracy unless this education is itself democratic. Yet we know

that much of our present education is itself undemocratic in organization and in procedure.

We know that our schools in the main are not based on democratic principles; that their life is not democratic; and that their administration is oppressive. We must come to see that one cannot teach racial equality in segregated schools. One cannot teach the meaning of freedom in an arbitrarily administered school room. One cannot expect teachers who are autocratically supervised to give democratic supervision to children, nor can we expect underpaid, overloaded, and overcriticized teachers to exercise a creative influence on the growth of young minds and spirits.

IF EDUCATION IS TO HAVE ANY CHANCE to save human freedom, it must be reconstituted on a thoroughly democratic basis. This means, in the long view, bringing educational opportunity to hundreds of thousands who do

not now have it. It means smaller classrooms, more teachers, better buildings and equipment. But here and now it means more than anything else, a broad program of adult education.

IF FREEDOM IS TO BE SAVED, IT MUST be saved in the present generation—the crisis is at hand. For it is the present generation that fails in its understanding of our society; that refuses to face the fact that unless freedom works it must die. To a large extent, it is the present adults—those who permitted World War II to happen, and those who helped win the military victory—who must somehow make freedom work. But it is becoming increasingly clear that to do this means changed minds and hearts.

The task of building the new education is stupendous, but no more vast than our resources if only we take account of them and marshal them effectively. The mass media—

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The title might be "How We Did It." An account of a worthwhile project carried out in the community where the student lives. Examples: recreation center, open forum, health clinic, labor-management committee, U. N. study project, housing project, safety program, music festival, welfare fund campaign, etc. Charts, photos, maps, clippings may be used for illustration, but are not required. Length: 1,500 words or under.

Survey Graphic will publish the first prize manuscript. First prize, \$25; second, \$15; third, \$10; and five fourth prizes of \$5 each. In addition to the cash prizes, a year's subscription to *Survey Graphic* will go to the library of the school attended by each of the winners of the three top prizes.

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newspapers, radio, and movies—reach millions every hour and reach them in many subtle ways. If today these media were employed in the interest of freedom and democracy, they alone could make the difference between success and failure. Too often these educators are not on the side of freedom.

We have a vast array of community organizations—labor unions, chambers of commerce, service clubs, churches, women's organizations, parent-teacher associations—to mention only a few. All these have educational potentialities, which must be marshaled and brought into play to protect our freedom.

American business as well as American taxpayers can afford to pour hun-

dreds of millions into the kind of education that will save freedom. How indeed can any of us afford not to have such a program? For only a more effective educational system can give real meaning and permanent life to our democracy.

If we in this country make freedom work, if we give the world a large-scale demonstration of the success of democracy and demonstrate the productive power of a free society, we shall ultimately contribute to human freedom in every part of the world. Here is America's unique responsibility. To succeed in it is our great challenge. This new education is our only means to final victory over the forces of darkness and despair.

How Shall We Foot the Bills?

(from page 605)

Through the Federal Works Agency, Congress in 1946 appropriated \$75,000,000 to provide the colleges with temporary facilities other than housing. In 1947 a supplemental appropriation of \$3,000,000 was made available to continue this program of providing the colleges with surplus government buildings which could be used for classrooms, laboratories, administrative offices, and the like. Although the institutions themselves spent over \$1,200,000,000 in expanding their temporary facilities, the share of the federal government was significant not only financially, but even more as a recognition of its stake in the education of the veteran.

At the close of the last fiscal year, June 30, 1947, the federal government had spent for the education and training of veterans under Public Laws 16 and 346 (the GI Bill of Rights) a total of almost \$2,750,000,000, of which \$2,500,000,000 was spent during that fiscal year. Almost exactly half of this great sum served as a federal subsidy to higher education, through the payment of subsistence to student veterans and direct tuition payments.

In all these federal expenditures there has not once been raised either the old bugaboo of federal control or the earlier cry of "state's rights." Instead, a definite working relationship has been established under which the federal government is today appropriating for students and institutions \$1,500,000,000 a year. This assumption of support by the federal

government has brought no decline either in appropriations from the states or from private benefactions. It is not likely that continued or expanded federal subsidies should or will lessen the financial responsibility of the institution, the community, or the state.

HOW CAN WE PAY FOR HIGHER EDUCATION? The answer is twofold. First, through private and governmental sources we are already paying for higher education on a scale unprecedented in the history of this or any other country. The tremendous increase both in our national income and our productive capacity gives ample promise of ability to support any program the welfare of American youth may require. Second, and more important, higher education in a very real sense is paying for itself—in terms of citizenship, of artistic achievement, and, finally, through the generation and expansion of our superb scientific and technical excellence.

Finally, certain clear lines of action are indicated if we are to attain our educational goals:

We must appraise the relative ability and the relative responsibility of each unit of support.

We must work for an immediate expansion in the opportunity for higher education, beginning in local communities with the extension of the public school system upward

Memorandum

TO: Educators
FROM: American Friends Service Committee
SUBJECT: Educational opportunities and materials

QUAKER WORK CAMPS in the United States, Mexico, and overseas offer young people summer experiences of work, worship, and study in interracial and international groups.

SUMMER PEACE CARAVANS give young men and women opportunities in community leadership.

SUMMER INSTITUTES of International Relations are held in many parts of the United States for young people of high-school and college age as well as for teachers and other adults.

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE SEMINARS bring youth of many countries together during the summer in a common search for the ways of peace.

YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN may interne (work and study) in industry, cooperatives, mental hospitals, or correctional institutions under A.F.S.C. direction.

ACTIVITIES ARE OPEN TO EVERYONE, regardless of race, creed, nationality, or political affiliation.

EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS FOR USE WITH YOUNG CHILDREN are available. These stress interracial and international friendship and cooperation, and provide service projects.

INFORMATIONAL LITERATURE on these opportunities and materials may be obtained by writing to the American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.



through the thirteenth and fourteenth (junior college) years.

A broader base for college education calls for the sharp reduction or the elimination of student fees.

Individual states should continue to explore further ways and means of supporting higher education.

The federal government should consider revisions of its tax structure with an eye to the welfare of education.

Most important of all, we need techniques and opportunities for continued consultation and cooperation among the various groups interested in higher education.

In considering the national function of higher education and the relative responsibility of the institution, the community, the states, and the federal government, it must always be borne in mind that this is a shared enterprise. All of us profit from the advances in knowledge made in the laboratories and classrooms of our colleges and universities. Equally, everyone has a share in the responsibility for seeing that higher education continues effectively to make its contribution to the individual, to the nation, and to the world.

Lifelong Learning

(from page 609)

teaching and first rate community leadership.

The extension and application of these three developments can carry us far and fast on the way to world democracy and peace. To do so, however, many bars and blocks must be blasted or by-passed. The most important are:

1. ATTEMPTS BY THE LUNATIC FRINGES of reaction or anarchy to hamstring our democratic freedoms, especially freedom of discussion. Every witch hunt, every attempt at "thought control," every investigating committee or commission employing star chamber methods hampers adult education. They make timorous teachers and students shy away from the open probing of controversial issues and force them, out of fear of being branded "red," to content themselves with innocuous academic pap. Others, mildly hysterical, turn meetings into combat arenas of conflicting prejudice

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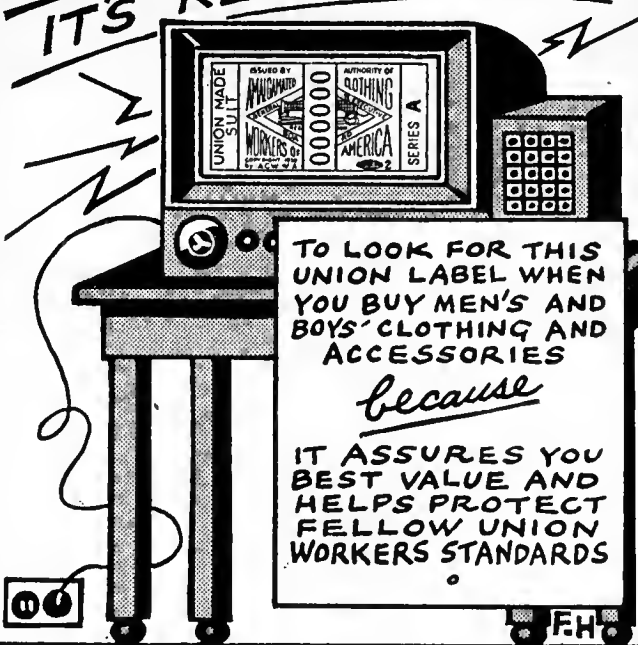
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and propanganda. To do its job, adult education must be vigilant and aggressive in safeguarding its right to deal freely and without pussy-footing with all aspects of any subject.

2. LACK OF FUNDS FOR RESEARCH, theoretical and applied, in the problems and processes of adult education. Present resources for this purpose are piddling. We spend billions on research in the physical sciences and lethal technology and a few hundred thousands on the whole field of the social sciences whereby we might learn to understand and manage ourselves and our world.

3. LACK OF COMPETENT ORGANIZERS and teachers. While adult education has had and now has a few great leaders and teachers—Cartwright, Studebaker, Alvin Johnson, Bryson, Lindeman, the Overstreets, Meikeljohn, Thomas, Denny, and others—there are not enough even moderately good ones to do the job demanded. Work in the field has not yet attained the prestige, "respectability," or security of teaching in a high school or

second-rate college. Much of it has been done by willing amateurs, do-gooders, persons with an axe to grind, or high school and university teachers who take on a class or two in extension to pay for a new baby or a car.

It is not yet clearly understood that teaching in adult education is, perhaps fortunately, quite different from teaching at other levels. Mature, voluntary students demand immediate returns in plans and action from what they study—they cannot be pacified by being told that what is taught may do them some good some day. They are not lured by artificial and irrelevant rewards of credits, grades, and honor points. They cancel courses quickly if a teacher bluffs, makes unreasonable demands, is rude or hasty, comes to class unprepared, dominates discussion, or plods dully. These attitudes put the teacher on the spot, demand the best abilities and the best training.

And yet, against this need for first quality teachers, few university departments of education offer more than a course or two in the field. Until they do, and until teachers in adult education are given salaries, promotions, security, and academic

freedom at least equal to those on the campus it will be difficult to persuade competent men and women to prepare for careers in this area.

4. LACK OF KNOWLEDGE OF THE TEACHING and learning process among adults. Most research has been devoted to grade school children. That in the adult field practically stopped, except for the group dynamics studies already mentioned, with the findings almost a generation ago that old dogs can learn new tricks until the brain arterioles harden and senility sets in.

In our upside-down way, we turn first to studies of disease and pathology of any stage of man's development before we try to learn its healthy and creative aspects. We pour enormous sums into prevention of decay, illness, and death among oldsters and little cash into learning how they may make their extended lives happy and fruitful.

A century ago our population ratio was about 800 adults to every 1,000 under 21 years of age. Today, we have more than 2,000 adults to every 1,000 minors. It seems high time to explore such relationships.

(In answering advertisements please mention SURVEY GRAPHIC)

5. LACK OF BUILDINGS AND EQUIPMENT. Only enterprises in the larger cities and universities have quarters planned and constructed for adult education, places like the Town Hall and the New School for Social Research in New York City, and the University of Minnesota's Continuation Center. For the most part, adult education is carried on in schools designed for children's use, in dingy offices, barracks, clubs, lofts, and churches where the students have to contend with bad lighting, ventilation, accoustics, and have few or no blackboards, projectors, screens, typewriters, radios, phonographs.

6. TOO MUCH OF THE WRONG KINDS OF materials. A vast and swelling flood of print is poured off presses to teach, enlighten, indoctrinate, and propagandize adults. To select and use books, magazines, digests, pamphlets, reports, bulletins which are sound in fact, clear in principle and readable in type and format, demands adult teachers of tireless eyesight, incredible reading speed, and a genius in judgment. They have to be thoroughly grounded in the subject matter, in the new science of semantics, in the psychology of reading, the diagnosis of students' reading ability, the new formulae devised by Dale, Flesch, and Lorge for determining the readability of printed matter. They must know, too, their students' aims, motives, interests, and capacities, and gear their selections to these.

If they want to use movies, film strips, slides, maps, photographs, color reproductions, and other visual aids, selection is even more difficult. Production of most of these materials today is like firing a shotgun in the dark. We know little about how older students do their selective seeing, selective listening, what they learn from either, how much they retain, or for how long. Most of all, we are only beginning to understand how they use what they learn in actions that express improved behavior as individuals and citizens.

7. LACK OF FINANCING. NONE OF these barriers to better adult education can be removed by penny-pinching. Billions are needed if we are to close up the social lag, bring progress in human relations within shooting distance of progress in physical science and technology, and develop a peaceful and united world.



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The federal government, once convinced of its importance, can appropriate more funds out of the public treasury as has long been done on a substantial scale for agricultural and vocational extension, public health, and so on. State, county, and city governments can swell their allotments to these activities through the state departments of education and the state universities. Leaders in the field can present sound special projects for research and experiment to foundations, private universities and colleges, and win increased support. Finally, the income from student tuition and fees can be much more closely related to costs as adult education does better teaching and increases the value of its offerings, and as more and more adults accept the principle of lifelong learning.

Given adequate financing, we can build the buildings and equip them. We can develop basic theoretical and

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applied research. We can recruit and train teachers in school and college and on the job. We can devise better methods and learn to select and use materials. We can labor to preserve the priceless freedom of open discussion. We can improve organization for swift and effective coordination of all branches of this vast activity.

BUT ONLY IF THIS IS DONE, DONE WELL and done soon, can this world become in fact and for all time a postwar world. While the education of children and youth is essential, it is not they but we grown-ups who breed national and global hatreds, the conflicts between cultures, races, and religions that lead to war and suicide. Ours, too, is the responsibility to broaden our understanding and our capacity for cooperative action, to direct our drives toward the difficult but infinitely rewarding business of bringing to reality a united, peaceful, and democratic world.

Steelworkers

(from page 614)

president. Their efforts produced valuable evidence of what local union leaders need and want to learn and also of the limitations inherent in an educational program depending almost entirely on the union's own staff for instruction.

None of these early projects was extensive enough to make much of a dent on a union membership running into the hundreds of thousands—CIO convention reports show 920,000—and scattered from coast to coast. Experiments in leadership training carried on by the union during the war, in connection with the Training Within Industry program, were necessarily limited because of other more urgent demands on the program.

The end of the war brought the union more time to concentrate on its own affairs. Economic adjustment received first attention, but educational needs also came into their own. Early in 1946 the USWA's publicity department, under the direction of Vincent Sweeney, was enlarged to become a department of education and publicity, including a full time educational adviser, Emory Bacon, former assistant to the USWA treasurer and one-time instructor in a boys' school.

And in consultation with Clinton Golden, since retired, the department

began to lay plans for an educational program that might some day reach not only all the union's incumbent leaders but penetrate the rank-and-file, the source of future leaders.

As the idea was not to indoctrinate but to educate, the union turned, not without some misgivings, to those whose specialty is education and who presumably are able to dispense information in a manner to stimulate creative thought and to sustain interest. Its educational staff reasoned that the land grant colleges, created for the promotion of "agricultural and mechanic arts" had as much obligation to the industrial workers of the land as to the farmers they had so greatly benefited. Armed with this argument, Mr. Sweeney and his associates approached Penn State, a land grant public university with well-developed resident programs, research facilities, and extension services. They were somewhat amazed to be welcomed with open arms.

The university's representatives, J. O. Keller, assistant to the president in charge of extension, and Hugh G. Pyle, supervisor of informal instruction, not only listened sympathetically to the union's problem but responded with a number of proposals of ways in which the university might help the union develop its education program. Choosing the campus institute as a scheme that could later be expanded in various directions, the union made plans for four one-week institutes to be held at Penn State that same summer.

A similar suggestion was next carried to Antioch College, a privately endowed institution in western Ohio, long known for its emphasis on the dignity of labor. Meeting with the same generous response, the USWA officials dropped previous doubts of their ability to get help from academic circles and began large scale plans.

While the first steelworkers' institutes were still in session at Penn State and Antioch in the summer of 1946, Mr. Sweeney's office was busy mapping a program that would make similar opportunities available to steelworkers in every section of the country. Consequently, during the past summer, steelworkers flocked to the campuses of the Universities of New Hampshire, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Kansas and California—both at Berkeley and Los Angeles—as well as back to Antioch and Penn State.

(In answering advertisements please mention SURVEY GRAPHIC)

Although the content of the institutes was designed jointly by union and university representatives, at the union's own insistence all classes were conducted by faculty members chosen independently by the universities, subject only to union approval.

UNDOUBTEDLY AN IMPORTANT FACTOR in an institute's success is the way in which it is handled by the college. From the moment the steelworkers stepped on the Penn State campus they were made to feel a part of the college life rather than something special. On the night of their arrival, Mr. Keller greeted them with the same kind of welcome extended to all new students, giving them a brief history of the land grant colleges and describing the purposes and organizational structure of Penn State. The feel of being part of the college was further enhanced by living arrangements in fraternity houses or, in the case of the women, in dormitories.

Pride in achievement showed in their bearing when the certificates were awarded. Mr. Keller gave each man his "diploma" individually, shaking him by the hand and congratulating him. The brief, simple ceremony had much of the impressiveness of an academic commencement.

Mr. Keller and other faculty members urged the "graduates" to stimulate educational programs within their local unions, explaining that the extension services of the land grant colleges were available to conduct special courses wherever the demand arose or to help groups find competent teachers locally. However, this was one suggestion which provoked little outward enthusiasm. The source of restraint seemed to be pessimism over creating rank-and-file interest. "When only a handful of our members turn up at monthly meetings," ran the argument, "how can you expect to get people excited about an educational program?"

More optimistic in this respect, the USWA's educational staff finds encouragement in the fact that as a result of interest aroused by men who had participated in the 1946 institutes, fourteen steelworkers' locals last winter sponsored educational programs using college extension services. One of the largest was the six-session evening course conducted by Penn State at Reading, where 167 steelworkers studied techniques in collective bargaining, job evaluation, and time

study. Present plans are to work through district staff men in prodding union locals to educational activity.

With more and more men aware, because of their experiences on the campus, of what kind of services the colleges have to offer through their extension departments, Mr. Sweeney predicts that demands for home-town courses will considerably increase among the steelworkers.

The patterns of the summer institutes are by no means regarded as set—either by the universities which conduct them or by the international union. Each summer's experience brings questions of modification, expansion, re-design, some suggested by the steelworkers themselves, some based on union or college staff observation. As these suggestions are examined during the following winter by union representatives and officials of the participating universities the content of the next summer's programs will evolve.

EVEN THE MOST ENTHUSIASTIC exponents of formal education on the USWA's staff concede that only a fraction of the membership will ever have the opportunity or desire to get to "college" or even to extension classes in their own home towns. But classes, they point out, are only one educational tool. An even more forceful tool is local union activity.

In the belief that experience is a good teacher but guided experience is better, Mr. Sweeney and his associates are putting great faith in a manual for use in local union meetings. Worked out in collaboration with the University of Chicago through a painstaking testing process, the manual will be used by local union officers and district staff as educational material and as a guide in carrying out various union functions.

The USWA's educational staff confidently expects that a by-product of the manual's use will be greater interest among the rank and file membership in the university institutes and extension classes—which in turn will result in greater enthusiasm for informal educational activities within the locals. Thus there will be set in motion a circular process—a sort of wheel to carry the membership forward with ever increasing momentum to a mature understanding of their union's purposes and responsibilities and of their own obligations as union members and as citizens.

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State of New York } ss.:
County of New York }

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Walter F. Grueninger, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the SURVEY GRAPHIC and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily, weekly, semiweekly or triweekly newspaper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 (section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations) printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are: Publisher, Survey Associates, Inc., 112 East 19 Street, New York, N. Y.; Editor, Paul Kellogg, 112 East 19 Street, New York, N. Y.; Managing Editor, George Britt, 112 East 19 Street, New York, N. Y.; Business Manager, Walter F. Grueninger, 112 East 19 Street, New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.) Survey Associates, Inc., 112 East 19 Street, New York, N. Y., a non-commercial corporation under the laws of the State of New York, with over 2000 members. It has no stocks or bonds. President, Richard B. Scandrett, Jr., 30 Pine Street, New York, N. Y.; Chairman of the Board, Joseph P. Chamberlain, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.; Vice-presidents, John Palmer Gavit, 112 East 19 Street, New York, N. Y.; Agnes Brown Leach, 1021 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.; secretary, Ann Reed Brenner, 112 East 19 Street, New York, N. Y.

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[Signed] WALTER F. GRUENINGER, Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 23d day of September, 1947.

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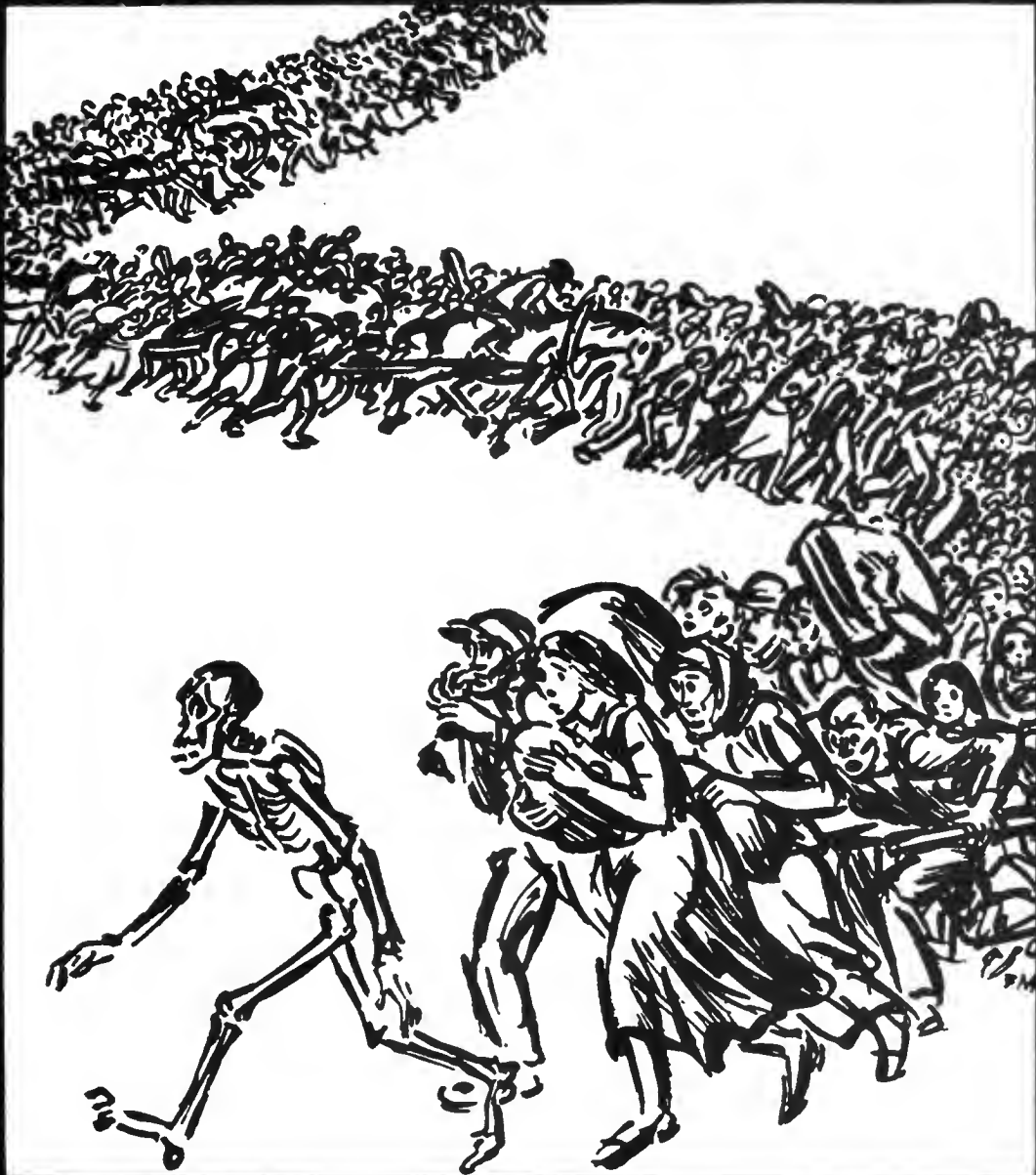
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Robert M. MacIver, Prof. of Sociology, Columbia University

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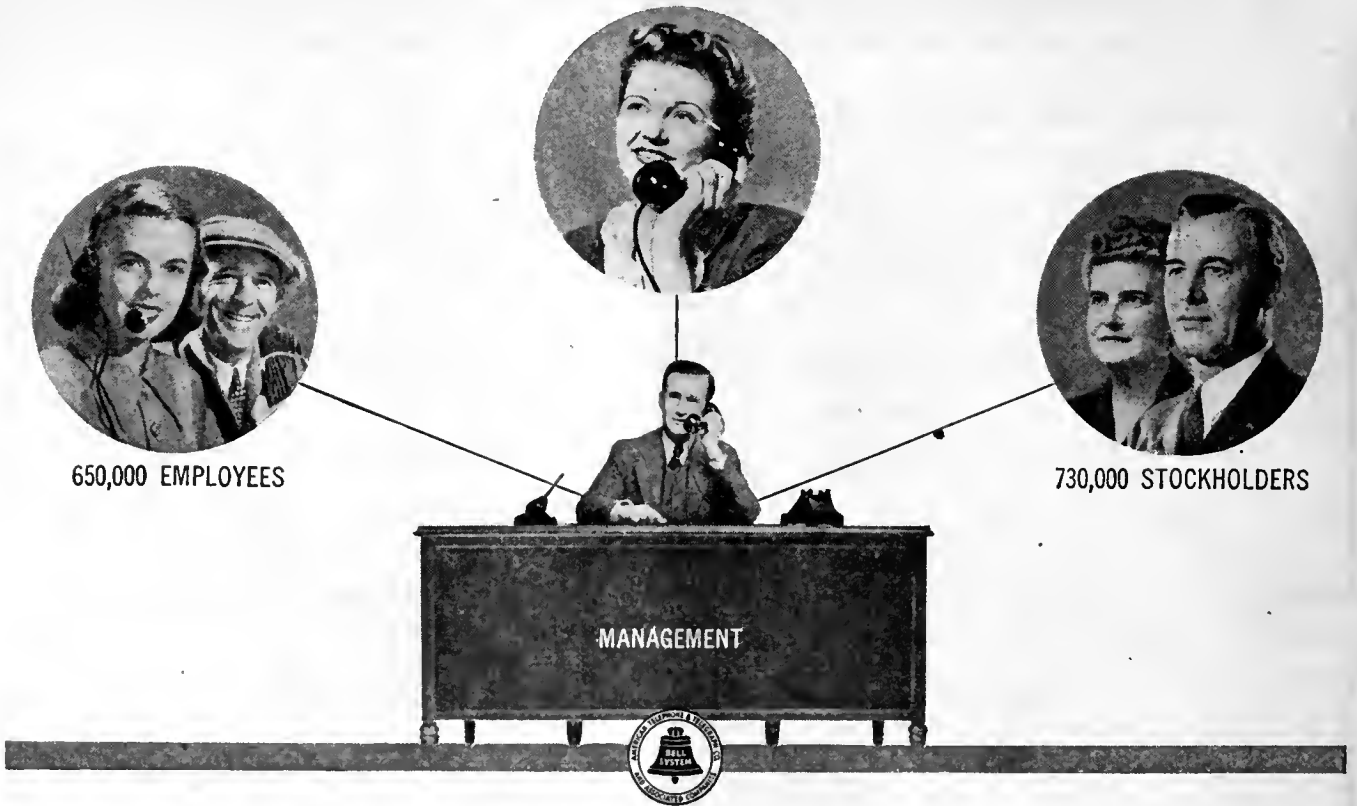
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MILLIONS OF TELEPHONE USERS



650,000 EMPLOYEES

730,000 STOCKHOLDERS

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF MANAGEMENT IN THE BELL SYSTEM

IT USED TO BE that the owners of practically every business were themselves the managers of the business. Today, as far as large businesses are concerned, a profound change has taken place. In the Bell System, for instance, employee management, up from the ranks, and not owner management, is responsible for running the business.

This management has been trained for its job in the American ideal of respect for the individual and equal opportunity for each to develop his talents to the fullest. A little thought will bring out the important significance of these facts.

Management is, of course, vitally interested in the success of the enterprise it manages, for if it doesn't succeed, it will lose its job.

So far as the Bell System is concerned, the success of the enterprise depends upon the ability of management to carry on an essential nationwide telephone service in the public interest.

This responsibility requires that management act as a trustee for the interest of all concerned: the millions of telephone users, the hundreds of

thousands of employees, and the hundreds of thousands of stockholders. Management necessarily must do the best it can to reconcile the interests of these groups.

Of course, management is not infallible; but with its intimate knowledge of all the factors, management is in a better position than anybody else to consider intelligently and act equitably for each of these groups—and in the Bell System there is every incentive for it to wish to do so.

Certainly in the Bell System there is no reason either to underpay labor or overcharge customers in order to increase the "private profits of private employers," for its profits are limited by regulation. In fact, there is no reason whatever for management to exploit or to favor any one of the three great groups as against the others and to do so would be plain stupid on the part of management.

THE BUSINESS cannot succeed in the long run without well-paid employees with good working conditions, without adequate returns to investors who have put their savings in the enterprise, and without reasonable prices to the cus-

tomers who buy its services. On the whole, these conditions have been well-met over the years in the Bell System.

Admittedly, this has not been and is not an easy problem to solve fairly for all concerned. However, collective bargaining with labor means that labor's point of view is forcibly presented. What the investor must have is determined quite definitely by what is required to attract the needed additional capital, which can only be obtained in competition with other industries.

AND in our regulated business, management has the responsibility, together with regulatory authorities, to see to it that the rates to the public are such as to assure the money, credit and plant that will give the best possible telephone service at all times.

More and better telephone service at a cost as low as fair treatment of employees and a reasonable return to stockholders will permit is the aim and responsibility of management in the Bell System.

Walter S. Gifford

WALTER S. GIFFORD, President
AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY

Survey Graphic for December 1947

Cover from Franz Masereel's "Dance Macabre" published by Pantheon Books, Inc.

IF *Survey Graphic* HAD AS MANY SUBSCRIBERS as readers for November, for its special "Calling America" issue devoted entirely to Education, its circulation department would be snowed under. From that catastrophe the circulators have been saved by the kindness of newspapers reprinting its material.

Survey Graphic has a normally high record as a source of reprinted material, but no recent issue except the Segregation special last January has approached the clipping agency bulk of November. It was a surprising demonstration of interest in America's educational problems.

One contributor, Agnes Snyder—co-author of "The Most Important Years"—wrote that the honorarium for that article was being used to help bring a foreign student to the Bank Street Schools in New York.

A clubwoman in Illinois wrote, "excellent—and will be of great use to my state chairman of education. . . . I recommend it to district and county chairman."

From a teacher at Trenton, N. J., "I sat down and read just about all of it and liked it so well that I ordered twenty copies and have recommended it to some of my teacher friends elsewhere. I hope my union sends copies to the Board of Education."

P.S. on Education, for whatever significance it may have:

Twelve-year-old son of a *Survey Graphic* staff member received a very poor report on his rope climbing from the school physical training teacher. The parent made inquiry in dutiful attention. The teacher was unperturbed and able to take all in her stride. "So what," said Teacher. "So he doesn't become a monkey."

"OURS THE FOOD: THEIRS THE HUNGER" is the joint product of Mr. and Mrs. Kellogg's impressions on a brief trip which included Geneva and four capitals in early fall that gave *Survey Graphic's* editor his first renewed touch with Europe since the war.

Helen Hall was consumer adviser on the American delegation at this year's conference in Geneva of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN.

It was at the first of these annual FAO meetings (last year at Copenhagen) that the U. S. set the pattern for including consumers no less than agriculturists and governmental representatives in the setup. Miss Hall is chairman of the National Association of Consumers. She is director of the Henry Street Settlement, New York, and a member of the Advisory Committee, Council of Economic Advisers to the President.

THE HEARTBREAKING END OF JOHN GILBERT Winant's life could not be passed in silence by these pages. The man had appeared here many times, in writings of wisdom, inspiration, and grace. Many more times by his thought and encouragement he made contributions unseen but no less important. His death was a shock and loss to *Survey Graphic* beyond repair. It is good to have had Victor

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Weybright within reach to set down a page of remembrance about the friend who has gone, Victor who was a long-time managing editor here, now editor and chairman of Penguin Books, Inc., and who was with OWI in London during the war.

AMONG OTHER CONTRIBUTORS THIS MONTH:

Philip E. Mosely is professor of International Relations at the Russian Institute, Columbia University, a first-hand student of Soviet policy in action. During four war years he served the State Department, including attendance at the Moscow and Potsdam Conferences and membership on the Yugoslav-Italian boundary commission and the Commission to Draft the Statute of the Free Territory of Trieste. . . .

Dr. Roy R. Grinker was a medical lieutenant-colonel with the Army Air Forces where he observed the neuroses of war in Tunisia and now is chief psychoneurologist at the Michael Reese Hospital, Chicago. . . . Richard L. Neuberger of Portland, Oregon, with the whole Northwest to Point Barrow for his territory, requires no introduction to *Survey Graphic* readers.

Nelson C. Jackson as a director of the Southern Field Division of the National Urban League is a nearby observer of the Candlelights which he describes in his article. . . .

Carey McWilliams has to his credit a long list of writings against pushing people around. His latest, the forthcoming book, "They Came From Mexico," continues the vein.



THOMAS JEFFERSON, author of the Declaration of Independence

Harris & Ey

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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It Happened in 1947

GEORGE BRITT

FROM THIS FINAL MONTH, THIS RECURRING season of appraisal and checkup, one event of the year stands out for history. We have seen a thing of courage, decency, and enlightenment of which the long future cannot be unmindful, a thing to which later generations must turn back, and this is the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

This projection of what it means to be an American citizen claims a place for itself without presumption in a great succession—first the events culminating in the Bill of Rights, then emancipation of the slaves, and now third, this answer to today's crisis. The crisis is real. It confronts the American people, a record built up slowly through the years, accented on a worldwide scale through the overriding of civil liberties by the men who fomented the war, continued during the war itself, and since the war showing very little decline.

The report is a noble reaffirmation of faith in individual dignity, linked with a program to insure that this faith shall not die for lack of works. Here actually is legislation of matchless authority upon the American conscience. That is to say, the very statement of these things in this way must have the substantial effect of a law, and no congress, assembly, or court hereafter can entirely nullify or repeal it. Beyond that, although there is not the faintest braggadocio about it, here is a superlative declaration of courage. Its whole spirit, as in 1776 and 1863, breathes the calmest self-confidence—and no man frightened for his power could admit a word of it, nor any frightened government.

"To Secure These Rights" is both title and theme. It begins with a reminder of America's heritage of

freedom and equality, examines what we have done in claiming that heritage—and how we have failed—then enlarges on President Truman's echo of the Declaration of Independence when he appointed the committee a year ago, "The preservation of civil liberties is a duty of every government." Finally, it specifies a course of positive performance of this duty.

OUR HERITAGE, AS THE REPORT STATES it, includes four essential rights—the right to safety and security of the person, to citizenship and its privileges (not omitting unrestricted voting), to freedom of conscience and expression, and to equality of opportunity. All these rights are dwelt upon, and the first, as follows:

Freedom can exist only where the citizen is assured that his person is secure against bondage, lawless violence, and arbitrary arrest and punishment. Freedom from slavery in all its forms is clearly necessary if all men are to have equal opportunity to use their talents and to lead worthwhile lives. . . . Where the threat of violence by private persons or mobs exists, a cruel inhibition of the sense of freedom of activity and security of the person inevitably results. Where a society permits private and arbitrary violence to be done to its members, its own integrity is inevitably corrupted. It cannot permit human beings to be imprisoned or killed in the absence of due process of law without degrading its entire fabric.

This is quite typical—a bold facing of sordid fact, and boldness in prescribing remedies. In this boldness of the official report lies its potency as emancipation from fear. The words, to be sure, are a hope to minorities who have experienced mistreatment and wouldn't be surprised by more of

it. Far beyond, however, the report takes notice of past depressions and insecurities and panics—in which civil rights have been considered a luxury—and declares that we must not be scared out of our wits any more.

AMERICA'S BEST TRADITION STANDS back of this report, the tradition of undaunted individual freedom.

Americans like to think that in our country a man has a right to be himself, and we take affectionate pride in Roger Williams refusing to be silenced by the Massachusetts theocrats, in John Peter Zenger getting out his newspaper from jail in spite of the governor. This tradition took further shape in such words as Jefferson's, "A bill of rights is what the people are entitled to against every government on earth, general or particular, and what no just government should refuse or rest on inference."

America has been a place where many men habitually were agin' the government, and Thoreau could laugh, "I saw that the State was half-witted, that it was timid as a lone woman with her silver spoons, and that it did not know its friends from its foes, and I lost all my remaining respect for it, and pitied it."

This is where Justice Holmes could win his great name as a dissenter, and declare in powerful minority "if there is any principle of the Constitution that more imperatively calls for attachment than any other, it is the principle of free thought—not free thought for those who agree with us, but freedom for the thought we hate."

Well, it is too bad, but there are skeletons also, and not all of them in the closet. America is a good deal of a split personality. So we are reminded of Boston hanging Quakers on the

Common and Salem burning its witches, and our many ruthless episodes of displaced persons—Tories run out of the country by the Revolutionary patriots, Mormons hounded all the way to Utah, and all that. And the Know-Nothing anti-foreigner, anti-Catholic campaign.

And not quite ten years ago the Jersey City Chamber of Commerce had their Mayor Frank Hague as a guest speaker, and he told them, "We hear about constitutional rights, free speech, and a free press. Every time I hear those words, I say to myself, 'That man is a Red. That man is a Communist.' You never heard a real American talk in that manner."

The Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights points to many a present and current item for this exhibit. It notes, to be sure, a certain progress toward civilization. But it sets down unflinchingly the whole picture of lynchings and police brutalities—in one particular jail "it was seldom that a Negro man or woman was incarcerated who was not given a severe beating"—of unequal justice in the courts, of denial of ordinary rights to persons of Mexican, Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and other ancestry, of poll-tax obstacles, of attacks on Jehovah's Witnesses and also of curtailments of the right to bear arms, of denial of assorted freedoms and opportunities to Jews and Negroes, of housing exclusions, of segregation in all its ugly discoloration of the national life. It even picks up violations of fair play such as when Negro boys are denied entrance to the Golden Gloves boxing contests in Washington, D. C., although they compete from other cities in the national tournament.

Where a society permits such things, the report holds, "its own integrity is inevitably corrupted." And again, "all of us must endure the cynicism about democratic values which our failures breed." In addition to these inroads on our moral fiber, it makes clear that such discriminations are a vast drain on the national wealth, a drag and a threat to our international relations.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN FOSTERED THIS Committee on Civil Rights, and the report exalts him and also the year 1947. But Mr. Truman nevertheless ordered "the President's loyalty program" last spring which loosed such a swarm of unrestricted intimidation, snooping, and tattling upon govern-

ment employes as Washington perhaps never in all its days had seen before. And 1947 has been one of our blackest years for violation of civil rights and common propriety in the name of ferreting out Communists.

Senator McKellar's senile filibuster against David Lilienthal might have seemed an all-time low had not the House Committee on Un-American Activities trumped his ace. Already, it was a sight not uncommon in the capital for some committee of House or Senate to be engaged quite ruthlessly in making a scapegoat—if not for the victim's beliefs, then for his friends or his enemies, for his prominence or for his helplessness. Some misuse of the congressional duty of investigation doubtless is unavoidable, but a layman would suppose at least that if a committee takes upon itself the functions of a grand jury, it should grant grand jury protection to the accused.

The Un-American Activities Committee worked by the most irresponsible precedents, developed the most arbitrary procedures. Here was the national split personality in maximum disturbance, conjuring up its own specters of fear and assuming blandly that the end justified the means. The roster of Un-American methods is depressing, without Hollywood touches. It should be sufficient here merely to glance at Chairman J. Parnell Thomas, "timid as a lone woman with her silver spoons," browbeating a witness, "Some day you'll wake up and the American people will wake up like Rip Van Winkle did, and realize the danger of Communism."

IN CONTRAST WE SEE THAT THE PRESIDENT'S Committee on Civil Rights does realize the danger of Communism—in seriousness and calm. The Communists in many countries, it says without qualification, "have proved, by their treatment of those with whom they disagree, that their ideology does not include a belief in universal human rights." It takes up in detail both the Communists and the native Fascists, "two groups whose refusal to accept and abide by the democratic process is all too clear . . . equally hostile to the American heritage of freedom and equality."

But our freedom of opinion and expression, says the report, is most immediately threatened by "efforts to deal with these few people in our midst who would destroy democracy."

. . . specifically, public excitement about "communists" has gone far beyond the dictates of the "good judgment" and "calmness" of which Holmes and Brandeis spoke. A state of near-hysteria now threatens to inhibit the freedom of genuine democrats. . . . If we fall back upon hysteria and repression as our weapons against totalitarians we will defeat ourselves.

The report marches on to action. It would strengthen antilynch laws and extend fair employment practices. It writes twenty pages of challenging specifications to put teeth in old laws and enact new ones, supporting civil rights.

About the current near-hysteria over abhorred opinions, it says, "We cannot let these abuses deter us from the legitimate exposing of real Communists and real Fascists." The concern of good citizens over the activities of these groups is shared by "every member of this committee." The report proclaims "the right and duty of the government to dismiss disloyal workers." It would protect the government by a clear definition of loyalty obligations and by the establishment of due process through which these should be maintained. It proposes public registration of all groups which attempt to influence public opinion, in order to compel disclosure of pertinent facts about themselves. The Civil Rights program would block Communist penetration more effectively than the whole kit and caboodle of the Un-American circus.

"TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS," SAID THE Declaration of Independence, "governments were instituted among men." The Civil Rights Committee, having reviewed the precarious state of these rights in the world climate today, inexorably places responsibility on the U. S. government to guard them.

That means a fresh insistence upon civil rights by the American people. If Chairman J. Parnell Thomas, for example, felt that his Un-American activities were a stench and a blush to the voters of his district, his instincts for reelection undoubtedly would shed on him a great light. Obviously, he remains in darkness, and the Hollywood film studios by their timidity have made themselves party to a lynching. The urgency nevertheless, is one for the people themselves, the paramount urgency of demanding of the government a renewed fidelity to our dearest heritage.

Clues to the world's stark need, from Geneva and four other capitals, as desperate Europe hangs anxiously on each move in Washington politics.

Ours the Food: Theirs the Hunger

HELEN HALL and PAUL KELLOGG

STILL IN HIS TWENTIES, ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON must have encountered young Frenchmen on quests like his own when he left the rigorous weather of his native Scotland behind him to find haven and healing in the clear air of the Forest of Fontainebleau.

Ten years later, his path crossed those of young Americans in our Adirondacks, health seekers like himself, at Saranac Lake. Later came our Sierras and last there was Vailima, his Samoan home high above the sea, where at forty he was vouchsafed a final quota of four fruitful years. These were all so many way stations in a long, long trail winding half around the earth, as he kept alight his creative spark in a frail lamp.

Such experiences surely would have afforded R.L.S. insight into what is now at stake in the special Reception Hospital for young tuberculous patients that we visited in Paris in mid-September. With his gifts for understanding and delineation, he of all men could have reached hearts the world over with their cause.

We were brought to this center by Madame Margot Noblemaire who in the durance of the Nazi occupation dared harbor maquisards in her Paris home and smuggle refugees on the road to safety. We found her aroused now to a new, more insidious invasion springing from postwar strain and implacable food shortages.

The French have always cherished the *élite* among their youth, meaning by that something other than class or family. This community leader made it clear to us how they have in mind all sorts and conditions of gifted young people who come up from the provinces to study in Paris; those from rural villages and industrial districts who make good in studio or theater, technical institute or university. These are prized, one generation after another, as bringers of innovation and fresh leadership to arts and sciences; to the economic and political, as well as the cultural, life of France. Small wonder that

sharp concern for this precious stuff of the future has spread from medical circles to the wider public as *the incidence of tuberculosis among such students has doubled this past year.*

Young patients are sent on from the reception center we visited to hospitals and sanatoria to make the long fight for recovery. As a way station, the Paris institution is charged with the grimness and hope characteristic of a field hospital behind a battlefield, where surgeons come to grips with mutilation.

A leading specialist of Paris, chief of the center, made it possible for us to talk with several of the students who, their physical examinations completed, knew what they had to face. Each had a small room, some books within reach, photos and mementos pinned on the wall beside the bed. Loosened hair of the young women, fuzzy whiskers of the young men, set off white faces against pillows.

Take a youth from the South of France whose father had been killed in the first World War. Inflation had made it impossible for his mother to continue his education. To see himself through, he had taken on part time work which ran from two to eight each morning. As in ancient days, bread is still the staff of life, at once the cheapest and the most sustaining of foods. With French bread rations cut and cut again, his meager earnings went only part way in assuring nourishment to a demanding young body. Malnutrition, the double task of work and study, night work and broken sleep, each had taken their toll. Others classed as incipient cases were more fortunate; his own diagnosis was grave. Yet his spirits rebounded.

AS ACUTE, AND FAR MORE WIDESPREAD has been the plight of French children—with scarcity not only of bread but of milk. What low income families were undergoing, with half of the wheat crop lost, was brought out graphically by French neighborhood workers in mid-September at an all

day conference in Paris of the International Association of Settlements.

Ten days before, at Scheveningen (near The Hague) we had taken part in an interim meeting of the International Conference of Social Work.* That had brought to Holland participants from Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Germany, and a dozen other countries. There, too, the discussion brought out not only that queues are hard taskmasters, breeders of fatigue and anxiety, but that one of the worst by-products of hunger in Europe is the devastating concentration of thought and purpose on food.

On the physical level, adults can miss meals, go without for a time, drag along half nourished for weeks or months—and luckily make up for it afterward. But children and youth cannot. Underfeeding at the age when food is turned into bone and muscle does permanent harm, stunting bodies, twisting minds or spirits.

Self-interest, if no higher motive, should make us hesitate to bequeath to coming generations in America a world in which they must cooperate with men and women who have been ill-fed as children—and ill-fed because we had not organized our plenty to share it with them.

PARIS WAS ONE OF FOUR CAPITALS WE visited in September; The Hague and Berlin earlier and on to London afterward. Telescoped into less than a month, even with airplanes, the trip could be no more than a zigzag piece of scouting. Yet each stop gave us not only glimpses of recovery underway in harassed urban districts, but clues, also, to stores of tenacious human purpose to put with American initiative and dollars once all western Europe sets about working its way up and out together.

Why not, when we caught how the Dutch are recapturing flooded lands along the Zuyder Zee; how the French keep their belts drawn at the same time they confront mounting

* For a report of this see *Survey Midmonthly* for November, 1947.

Theirs the Hunger

clashes, left and right; how the British have cleared rubble and kept marching ahead. Yes, and the way Social Democrats strive for footholds toward a new, anti-Nazi Germany.

We even plucked up fresh courage from Minnie, a precision mouser at Liberty's in London. No other customers were about when we came upon this mother cat atop a small table in a room given over to antique furniture. She lay there as still as a stuffed animal, or even a masterly piece of pottery. But no, the fur was real, and when stroked she answered with the purr that is international language beyond anything that mice and men have as yet contrived.

A senior clerk came in who introduced us to Minnie and told pridefully of her steadfastness during the blitz. She had delivered her customary quotas of kittens and kept the place as free of rats and mice as ever. When the rear of the famous store was bombed, he himself had just gone back for a cup of tea—after the British fashion, we surmised, of being on the spot and thus engaged when events break loose. The concussion knocked him out and when he came to, there was Minnie beside him on the floor. Her services in those dour times have been fully recognized. She has had no postwar food problem for her diet is supplemented beyond her hunting. Minnie is on Liberty's payroll at 12 shillings the week!

BUT TO GET BACK TO HUMAN AFFAIRS: In each of the four capitals that we visited we were fortunate in making contacts, as in Paris, with men and women who had not only gone through air raids or invasions but whose work today lies close-in to threatened underpinnings of life and liberty. Their own observations, the reports they shared, and the firsthand encounters they made possible, all helped bring alive the grim canvas which had been spread out before us in late August at Geneva.

This had been at the second annual conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. Last year's gathering in Copenhagen centered on the aftermath of war. At Geneva, impending famine crowded in on the agenda.

While the American delegation had offices in the familiar ILO building, the conference meetings were held up

the hill in the impressive chain of modern structures which the old League of Nations in its latter days had erected as its seat. This is the first regional center in what may become a world network of the U. N.

The flexible autonomy the United Nations accords its constituent bodies is one of its organic advantages:

While Soviet Russia, represented both in Assembly and Security Council, took part in UNRRA, Health and Food Organizations in their formative stages, it has never joined the FAO. But that does not hold for all Russian satellites. Poland and Czechoslovakia are full-fledged members; Bulgaria and Rumania sent observers to Geneva.

With election to membership there of Austria, Burma, Finland, Pakistan, and Siam, and the belated acceptance of San Salvador, the roster of national delegates rose to fifty-four. Four other non-member countries—Argentina, Iran, Sweden, and Turkey—sent observers.

So did sixteen intergovernmental bodies—such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Children's Emergency Fund, the International Emergency Food Council, the International Wheat Council, the Pan American Union, UNESCO, and the World Health Organization's Interim Commission. Also the United Nations itself, the Holy See, and the General Headquarters of the Allied Powers, Tokyo.

Altogether, delegates, alternates, advisers and observers brought the attendance to over three hundred. All turned out at plenary sessions, pivoting on Sir John Boyd Orr, redoubtable Scotch nutritionist, director general of the FAO.* A Swiss, Dr. F. T. Wahlen, was chairman.

The practical work of crystalizing and drafting recommendations was carried out through three major commissions. The first of these was under the chairmanship of Viscount Bruce, former premier of Australia and, a pioneer in 1935 in initiating food activities of the former League. It focused at once on the world crisis—that runs to next summer's harvests.

The most significant thing about the FAO is that it provides a medium through which nations on six continents can work together to *match world hunger with world food*. The over-all goal of FAO is "the expansion of production to meet human needs, and the stabilization of prices fair to producers and consumers

alike." However, consideration of this long range program by Commission I, waited while delegates from one country after another told of crop failures and hunger—and deeper hunger to come.

Day after day the facts in the case stemming from last summer's drought were put forward for the Mediterranean basin from France to the Balkans, for central, northern, western Europe. The testimony came from highlands and lowlands alike, from experts in crops and nutrition, from administrators, farm leaders, economists. It was put in terms of bushels, tons, calories—and also in terms of beset households, of weakened manpower, of the very footholds of democracy.

What hung on the short supply of bread grains from the fields of Europe was matched by witnesses as to blight in those of India, and the plight of rice paddies throughout southeast Asia and the millions dependent upon them.

A WEEK AND MORE OF SUCH TESTIMONY was inexorable in its call for concerted action. Here are excerpts from the measured words of the report of Commission I on "The State of Food and Agriculture." Also its recommendation of immediate steps to be taken by member nations:

... The critical food emergency* which the world faces . . . was already apparent in the *Periodic Reports* which the member nations of FAO submitted to the director-general early in the summer. It was further underlined at the Special Cereals Conference held in Paris in July, which reported a very serious world deficit in cereals in prospect for 1947-48. Since then there has been a further significant deterioration of crop conditions both in Europe and in North America. . . .

As a result of these developments, it appears that while thirty-eight million metric tons of bread grain imports will be needed by the deficit countries to continue even the very low cereal rations of the past crop year, only twenty-nine million tons at the most will be available for export from the surplus producing countries—unless extraordinary new efforts are made.

The people in the deficit countries, many of whom have suffered undernourishment over a period of years, thus face the threat of lower rations than at any time since the war, and in a number of countries even lower than during the war.

* See "Food For All Mankind" by Sir John Boyd Orr, *Survey Graphic*, October, 1947.

* See "Hunger" by Beulah Anidon, *Survey Graphic*, July, 1947.

The commission went on to point out how adverse crop conditions, especially in Europe, had been intensified by unprecedented drought:

There has been a sharp decline in the out-turn of cereals, and the prospective sugar beet and potato crops have been greatly reduced. . . . Nearly all countries will be affected by the greatly reduced maize (corn) crop in North and Central America. Parts of Latin America have smaller grain acreages for harvest. Promise of a good wheat crop in India was dissipated by a scourge of rust, while in southeast Asia the outlook for rice crops in the major producing areas is not satisfactory.

CONSIDERING THE FOOD SUPPLY AS A whole, the commission found that the decline in supplies of cereals is bound to more than offset any increase in other foods. What then could be looked for, humanly speaking? It said further:

The consequent shortages and famine prevailing in certain countries will cause further mortality and jeopardize the physical development of the younger generation. Indeed, such conditions may provoke or sharpen social unrest in countries where reasonable minimum living standards are not enjoyed. Further, they can easily be contributory to international disorder or even conflict.

Unless special efforts are made to mobilize more food, the calories intake in deficit countries must inevitably fall to still more unsatisfactory levels. . . .

In the face of this grave situation vigorous action by governments is required. Grain can be saved by many devices for human consumption. . . . All practicable steps should be taken in every country to reduce the amount of bread grains fed to livestock. . . . Slaughter of dairy cattle should not be undertaken if by any practicable means the animals could be transferred to another country where they could be maintained on natural pastures.

Exporting countries and the more prosperous importing countries, with abundant supplies of livestock and livestock products, can sacrifice part of their more adequate standard of food consumption for the benefit of those whose needs are greater.

Here are the immediate steps recommended to member nations:

1. Strengthen measures for the collection, distribution, and conservation of food supplies so as to ensure the maximum quantity being made available for direct human consumption;

2. Reduce to the minimum in both exporting and importing countries the

feeding to livestock of grains suitable for human use;

3. Maintain high extraction rates in deficit countries and examine possibility of raising extraction rates in surplus producing countries;

4. Ensure that the greatest possible proportion of the milk output is utilized for human consumption;

5. Increase as far as practicable the export of feeding stuffs to those importing countries which have livestock well below their prewar level.

WE SHOULD NOT FORGET THAT THE drought was in no sense just an interruption to lush times in the deficit countries. It struck once more at depressed standards of living after years of deprivation and war that had worn people down and undermined their means of existence.

The call that went out from Geneva to the surplus nations was to find ways to share their plenty tellingly in the emergency. As we have seen, they were charged to hold back on feeding bread grains to livestock. Clearly they could conserve precious stores by rationing and other tested controls. Moreover, they must employ their powers of allocation if wheat and flours were to be kept going to where human beings were so hard pressed. This is why both commission and conference made the further recommendation that "member governments maintain the legislation and administrative machinery for the control of exports and imports."

Argentina, Australia, the Dominion of Canada, and the United States of America were rated as surplus nations. Unquestionably the delegates from the deficit countries pinned their faith on the USA in meeting the bread shortage. The American delegate was direct, experienced Under-Secretary Norris E. Dodd of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. The delegation, twenty-five in all, was made up of strong quotas from both Agriculture and State, with an official each from Commerce and Labor; and also, two U. S. Senators, one member of the House. Representatives from three national farm bodies (James Patton of the Farmers Union was ill at the last moment), and one association of consumers rounded out the group.

Back in the minds of the delegation was the fact that while the United States had a thumping wheat crop, the reverse was true in a corn belt scotched by a Missouri River flood. Hence the lively prospect of mount-

ing pressures to substitute wheat for corn in fattening steers on the way from the range to stockyards—and thence to markets where the price of beef has jumped over the moon.

This was a tough knot that Americans would have to cut back home, one way or another, if the USA were to bear a decisive part abroad. On our return we were to find experts suggesting shortcuts of that knot. For one, a ranking nutritionist put his finger on the disparity in weight between the grain fed in a pig pen and the pork that reaches a dinner table. To visualize this, he held that to send all our hogs to market with even one pound less in weight, would save enough to make a big dent in what was expected of us.

For another, an expert in the economics of marketing brought out how loss in calories in feeding grain to cattle goes up by leaps and bounds in the fattening process to quality for higher grades and the accompanying higher prices. The sheer waste in food values and good grain, considerable at "good," is staggering on cuts of meat rated "choice" or "fancy."

It was his estimate that if, through simple emergency controls, American cattle were fed only up to "good"—which is what most of us get anyway—there would be enough saving in calories and bushels to all but take care of the call from overseas.

WHETHER THESE, OR MORE CONVENTIONAL domestic controls, might be worked out in due course, there was another factor to be reckoned with at Geneva: the division of powers in our system of government. Executive departments can't speak for Congress.

What no one could fail to sense at the FAO conference was the tremendous responsibility which rests on the United States in this crisis as the greatest producing and exporting nation. Repeatedly there was an instant hush when the American delegate took the floor. It mattered so much to so many, what he said. But when after much discussion of emergency moves in Commission I, he made the necessary announcement that all our federal powers for allocation would expire in March [grain and steel were "out" this fall], there was nothing less than consternation.

Came a flare back from the British delegate, Edith Summeskill, M.P., member of the Food Ministry. If the
(Continued on page 709)

US Policy and the USSR

PHILIP E. MOSELY

TWO AND ONE HALF YEARS AFTER THE guns were silenced, peace is still far from being a reality. Long before treaties of peace have been concluded with Germany and Japan, the dread of a new war has become an everyday reality. That dread takes specific form from the new and basic fact in world politics—the impasse between the two strongest powers, the United States and the Soviet Union.

The line of division between their policies runs around the globe, from the Gulf of Finland to the Straits of Korea. It runs through sensitive social and political divisions within many countries. It cuts across all efforts to make the United Nations an effective organ of action. A decision of the Politburo in Moscow to sponsor the formation of a new grouping of Communist parties, the Cominform, or the gathering determination of the American people to furnish economic aid for European reconstruction, starts off new chain-reactions which set the world's nervous system to jangling.

At the close of the war the popularity of Soviet Russia and admiration for the great qualities of the Russian people reached their peak. A policy of moderation would have given the Russians a position of great political leadership. But moderation by us, as they see it, might have gained much for us, and without renouncing our interest in "containing" Russia, so long as totalitarian views guide her conduct, we must remember that evidence quite persuasive to them is available to justify their course.

As one result of experiences since Yalta and Potsdam, both Americans and Russians have abandoned the partial identification of aims seemingly achieved during the war. Americans now tend to agree unquestioningly with the Soviet insistence on seeing the USA and the USSR as representatives of opposite and irreconcilable forces. The Soviets on their part no doubt feel in the same way that it is they who have suffered disillusion-

ment and been forced from cooperation into a defensive position.

The return to the policy of impassioned assertion of the unique salvation offered by Sovietism was dramatically proclaimed by Marshal Stalin in his speech of February 1946. In it he resolved what doubts had lingered from the frail compromises among the wartime Allies, now proclaiming "All danger from the West!" All infection, all weakness of Soviet society and the new "Soviet man" came only from that strangely attractive but "decadent" capitalist world, which was dying but did not know it, and which, he asserted, had the will but no longer the strength to destroy the Soviet state. Stalin's speech after an undercover struggle as to the course postwar Soviet policy was to take, meant that the Politburo was committed to the view that a new battle for predominance in the world had begun.

AFTER PERIODS OF INCREDULOUS WONDER and angry retort, Americans are now tending to settle down to a sullen acceptance of the Moscow-propagated assumption that world politics will henceforth be dominated by Soviet-American conflict. Feeling themselves helpless to change the Soviet attitude by argument or explanation, Americans are beginning to realize that only action and concrete achievement can hope to influence Soviet policy and perhaps Soviet attitudes. Such a program of concrete action to meet the essential needs of European reconstruction is at last being hammered out in the discussions of Congress and of the American people.

In all the clashes of charges and counter-charges which have followed the end of the war, confusion has been increased by the fact that Americans, as individuals and as a people, are particularly sensitive to attacks on their motives. When a slur is cast upon our intelligence, we are inclined to shrug it off, but when our motives are impugned, we launch into elaborate justifications which in turn

promote the purpose of the original attack by keeping attention focused on the charge.

A great deal of time and nervous energy will be saved when Americans may learn to regard vituperation as a normal method of internal Soviet administration which has now been transferred to the field of foreign relations. For the Soviet leaders even minor deviations from official policy in domestic matters are sufficient evidence of "treason" within the ranks of the 4,000,000 or so party members. Disagreement on the part of foreign leaders and peoples with Soviet policy is, to them, adequate proof of "warmongering."

One unfortunate product of anxiety is that evidences of conflict and allegations of hostile conspiracy are quoted higher in news value than approaches to agreement. When the discussions of the United Nations Assembly in October and November showed significant traces of parallel Soviet and American attitudes concerning the future status of Palestine, the commentators' search for abstruse motivations of the Soviet position obscured the simpler possibility that this might be one question in which the two governments could agree.

When the Allied Control Council in Germany worked out an agreement for deliveries of food and raw materials to be made by the Soviet authorities in return for a part of the machinery turned over by the western zones as reparation, this significant step toward implementing the Potsdam agreement was almost completely ignored in the press.

Much was written about the long Soviet delay in opening negotiations for a settlement of Lend Lease, despite the legal justifications for delay offered in the Lend Lease act itself. Once the Soviet government had indicated its desire to negotiate a settlement, the subject was hardly mentioned in the American press.

The headlining of clashes and the playing down of reports of cooperation, when cooperation does occur, complicate the effort to maintain

perspective on the matters in dispute. This is particularly true when the clashes take place over basic matters, such as the respective concepts of freedom of the press or the right of displaced persons not to be forced to return to their former homelands—matters in which neither party to the controversy can hope to persuade the other to change his view.

SOME OF THE CURRENT JITTERS OVER war-talk are based on forgetfulness of the fact that more wars have been talked about than fought out. History books are generally silent about wars which were continually predicted but never took place.

After 1815, European politics were conducted for two generations on the assumption of an early resurgence of the French revolutionary doctrine of 1789 and of the danger of domination of the continent by France.

During the Polish-Russian war of 1863, Russia, expecting war with France and England, sent two squadrons of her fleet to New York and San Francisco for protection against their sudden seizure on the high seas.

For eight decades—from 1829 to 1907—Britain and Russia were periodically on the brink of hostilities, although actual warfare broke out only once, in the Crimean War.

Each of these unfought wars showed much of the intensity of what we now call “ideological warfare.”

Constant predictions of war may actually contribute to averting or postponing hostilities. Such warnings keep to the fore an awareness of the risks and may stimulate the search for adjustment of conflicts. They may, on the other hand, induce a mood of fatalism and may discredit, as “ap-
peasement,” efforts to work out possible and fair compromises.

Compromises which derive from strength and from a farsighted vision of what constitutes a permanent national interest reinforce peace and may discredit prophecies of “irrepressible conflicts.” The fallacy of basing political action on the fixed assumption of irrespressible conflicts is illustrated in the dogmatism of Baron von Holstein, mentor of the foreign office in post-Bismarckian Germany.

Holstein based German policy on the axiom that England and Russia, and England and France, never could reconcile their differences and hence must inevitably look to Germany to tip the scale in their disputes.

Because Russia apparently believes, and bases its policy on the belief, that the great issue today is which of the two strongest countries will emerge with predominant power, the question must be asked of each proposed policy: Will it strengthen or weaken the ability of America to defend itself? But to ask only this question would condemn American policy to an attitude of defensive expectancy, leaving it poorly equipped to parry the next thrust or to contradict the next accusation.

The moral and material resources of the USA are so great, the traditions of free government and of widening social and economic opportunity have created such a reservoir of technical and social talents, that this country can ask of each proposed policy the further question: Will it contribute to widening the area of free political choice and to strengthening the ability of the peoples of the world to develop to the full the human and natural resources?

THE UNITED STATES HAS NO SYSTEM of single-party rule available for export, no secret police specialists ready to train local fanatics or careerists in setting up a police state, no economic program which monopolizes access to food, employment, and promotion for the benefit of its adherents, no cultural strait jacket to offer. The American appeal stresses methods of political freedom and individual choice. To millions of people it means that the men who govern do so in the knowledge that the merits and defects of their governance will be submitted to the freely expressed verdict of their fellow citizens.

Identifying the American goal with “anti-Communism” is a dangerous limitation upon that goal. In some countries the picture of America is gravely distorted by the activities of “anti-Communists” who claim to be the only “friends” of America.

As an extreme illustration there are, in France for example, some businessmen who gamble with food and other basic necessities and who devote their waking hours to evading levels of taxation and limitations on managerial freedom which have become commonplace in England and America. In parts of eastern Europe there are dispossessed landowners and industrialists whose first thought is to ask when the USA is going to drop an atomic bomb and give them back

their lands and factories. The United States may disclaim such “friends,” but their self-assumed role is confirmed in the eyes of their own neighbors whenever a prominent American proclaims “stop-Communism” as the sole motive of our policy.

Nailing the anti-Communist flag to the mast leaves the initiative to the Soviet government. It means that we adopt as our own, and even exaggerate, the doctrinaire rigidity of the Soviet way of thought. Misled by what seems at first glance to be an endless repetition of the same Communist formulas, many Americans have underestimated the high degree of skill which the supporters of Soviet policy have in fact shown in adapting the appeal of Communist ideology to the dominant fears and hopes of various countries.

In France, the Communists manage to appear as the heirs of the Clemenceau tradition by accusing the United States of aiming to strengthen Germany at the expense of French security. Across the Rhine they accuse the United States of preventing the economic recovery of Germany in order to destroy an industrial competitor. They present themselves as the party of national unity, but say little about the large bill for Soviet reparation offered as the price of Russian protection.

Because American policy has so often been a retort to Soviet demands or pressures, and because the barometer of public interest has fluctuated wildly in accordance with evidence of agreement or, more often, of disagreement with the Soviet government, American policy has been notably jerky in its swings between complacency and acute anxiety. This has been due in part to the normal American desire to find immediate solutions to problems which may have been centuries in the making.

AMERICAN THINKING ABOUT FOREIGN policy is maturing under the impact of the problems of reconstructing world patterns of political freedom and social opportunity. We are beginning to realize that there are many difficult decisions which we would have to make with or without a competing center of power. Even if there were no Soviet Union, armed with a ring of satellite regimes and with the allegiance of satellite parties, the United States would have to have a foreign policy. That policy would



Wartime cooperation. An American lieutenant shows USSR officers the location of American troops in the Torgau area

have to be based foursquare on the underlying American confidence in the ability of most peoples, at most times in their development, to make their own fundamental decisions, whether or not those decisions diverge from our own ways of doing things.

ACCCEPTING THE DIVERSITY OF economic and social goals as inevitable and desirable in the family of nations will make it easier for us to recognize and encourage the urge for change which is bound to reshape the greater part of the world, especially the less industrialized countries, during the coming century. Recognition of varying requirements of countries at different stages of economic development has been embodied in the World Trade Charter, drafted at the Geneva meetings of the World Trade Organization.

Countries such as China, India, and Indonesia have set their course for the development of a more diversified and well-rounded economy and are determined to foster the manufacture of their own raw materials. If they can achieve this goal and at the same time develop habits of political and social democracy, the ideas of individual liberty and self-government will be strengthened throughout the world.

It must not be overlooked that in countries on the verge of a great industrial development the Soviet formula for turning an excess of man-

power and a scarcity of capital and technique into forced-draft industrialization is a very tempting one for a dominant minority in a hurry. When that minority is a small group separated from the uneducated mass by an entirely different intellectual training, the temptation to turn its program of progress into a dictatorial manipulation of the mass may become almost irresistible.

If the leaders of these countries meet with understanding and with technical and educational cooperation from industrialized and democratic countries, the minorities may lead rather than drive their peoples into modernity. Numerous and successful examples of this type of cooperation are already on the record, and the idea of a TVA for the Rhone, the Danube, the Euphrates, the Irrawaddy, and the Yellow River has taken hold of the imagination of many peoples. They look with hope to American technical and social engineering to assist their goals.

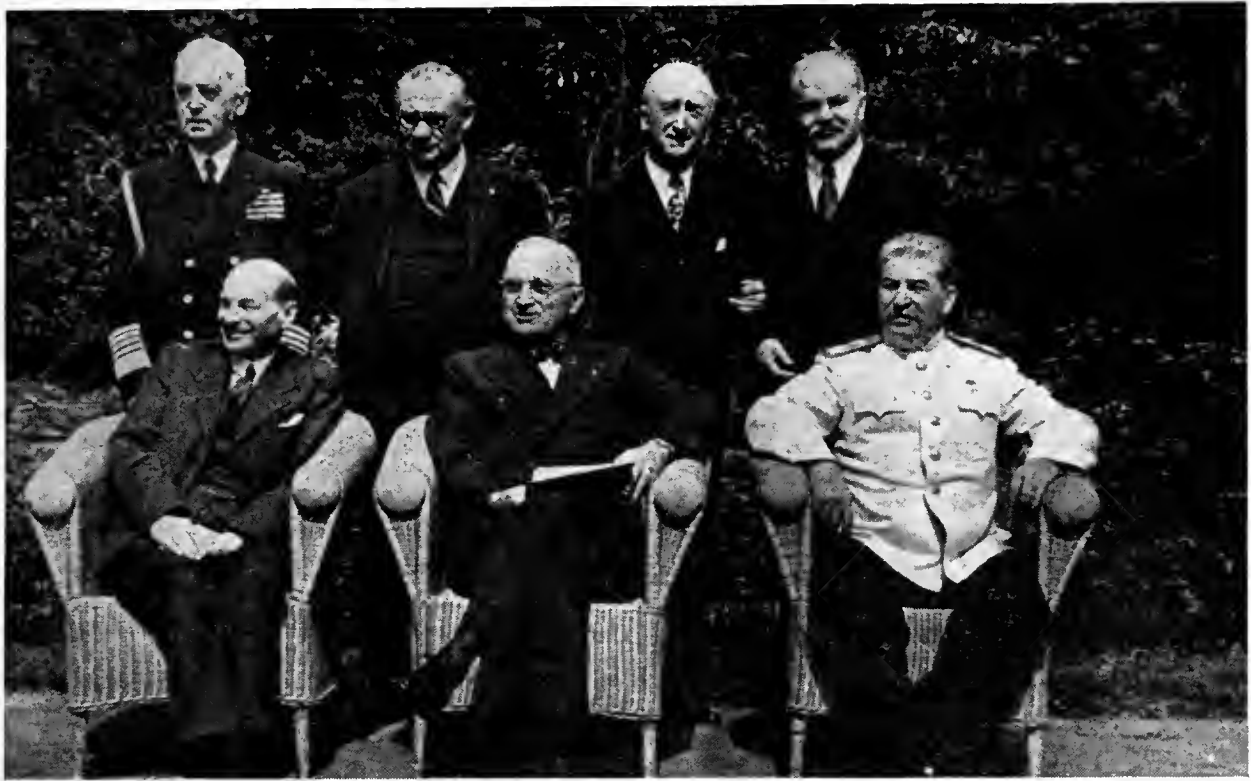
American efforts to preserve and, wherever possible, to broaden the area of political liberty will receive their greatest impetus from the prompt and effective execution of Secretary Marshall's European Reconstruction Program. The assurance that American resources and ingenuity will be used

to promote an orderly revival and strengthening of the European economy will unleash a whole range of energies which have been cramped by the uncertainties of postwar Europe.

The beneficial efforts of the Marshall program would be greatly diminished if American economic assistance should be tied up with economic or political requirements which contradict the freely adopted decisions of the recipient countries. When France, for example, has set certain productive goals as part of its contribution to European recovery, that goal must be fulfilled as a segment of an overall program. But it would be a contradiction of our own definition of political democracy to attempt to impose upon France, as a condition of participation in American aid, any requirements concerning the structure of private or public ownership in the French economy. Those are matters the French themselves must decide.

Our American debates are long and loud, even on matters of foreign policy, but the dominant note, which should carry through to other peoples, must be the support of free government, not an insistence on this or that economic or property system.

Consistent support of political freedom of all peoples, including their freedom to order their own affairs



Photos from Sovfoto

The Tripartite Conference of Berlin. The representatives of the USA, USSR, and Britain who worked out the Potsdam Agreement

according to their own lights and to follow lines of evolution which diverge from our own, is the natural policy for America to back. It is the policy which derives from our own traditions. It is also the policy which, in case the present clash of ideas should turn into a conflict of arms, would bring free peoples everywhere to our side.

But beyond the primary aim of self-preservation which motivates every state, America has a margin of security, of productive capacity, of human talent and social experience, which equip it to take the lead in trying to solve the quarrels which now torment mankind with the fear of a new war. We must continue to advance constructive solutions which will show the world ways of escape from its impasse.

When western Germany has been rebuilt sufficiently to carry the load of economic self-support, the United States must still be willing to assist in working out a program by which Germany will help to rebuild the countries which its armies devastated, including the Soviet Union. We stress the fact that the Soviet government has been chiefly responsible for the failure to treat Germany as an economic unit, as had been agreed at Potsdam. But we must not overlook

the fact that, until substantial industrial revival has been achieved in western Germany, a merger of the zones means that the Soviet government would be giving up the direct advantages (estimated at over a billion dollars) derived so far from operating its zone as an appendage to the Soviet economy—in return for undefined advantages to be received at a later time, after Germany as a whole has achieved a surplus of exports over and above those required to maintain a minimum level of imports.

The time to strike for a final settlement of Allied disputes over Germany will not come until far more has been achieved in the reconstruction of the western zones. American policy must know when to strike for that agreement and when to wait.

IF THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE are able, individually and at a later time, to join in the general program of European reconstruction, for example by promoting the exchange of Hungarian wheat, Polish coal, Rumanian oil, and Yugoslav ores for the industrial products of western Europe, they should be assisted to do so. We should also make it clear to the Soviet Union that an American policy of containment is not a menace to the continued existence and strength of

the Soviet system, and that the coexistence of divergent systems in the world is not only a fact, as Marshal Stalin again stated in his recent interview with Zilliacus, but an enduring and desirable fact.

Our attitude, one of "live-and-let-live," must be made clear to the Soviet government, not through words, but through effective and consistent action. No spectacular "final" results can be expected. The tendency to move from emergency to emergency and to act only when the menace is close at hand will not disappear overnight in American policy.

BUT A BASIC POLICY LIES CLEARLY BEFORE us, one of patient reconstruction, of helping free peoples to buttress their liberty and to promote their prosperity through assisting their own efforts, while consistently keeping open the way for adjustment of conflicts with the Soviet sphere and always being willing to state reasonable terms of adjustment. Such a policy will strengthen the conviction throughout the world that American strength and intelligence will be used to support the principles of free political decision and of free choice of paths of social and economic advancement.

This is the greatest single factor of strength and leadership in the American struggle to reinforce the principles of peace and prosperity in the perplexed world of today.

So Now You're Middle-Aged

ROY R. GRINKER, M.D.

MIDDLE AGE IS USUALLY CONSIDERED as a chronological position in life, acquired with moderate longevity—a reluctantly accepted signal of impending decay.

Common sense tells us, however, that although some individuals become old very quickly, others remain indefinitely in the prime of mental and physical efficiency. Middle age, therefore, cannot be considered as temporal and fixed, but is dynamic, variable, and fluctuating, a phase in the development of each individual depending upon his flexibility, his plasticity, and above all, his emotional maturity.

Man's capacities and productivity come to full bloom in the middle years of life. Any deficit in their quality and quantity influences the welfare of the immediate family and extending social groups, and indirectly affects the mental health of many others. Deficiencies and disabilities during this time are disastrous to both the individual and society. This is of particular concern today when there is so great a demand for a stable and mature class of the population to solve the ever increasing problems of personal and interpersonal disturbances. While maturity has grievously declined during the war years because many individuals were held back from normal development, the problems have increased and accelerated. With more and greater problems, and fewer people available to solve them, the topic of the psychology of middle age assumes great importance.

Middle age can be understood best by knowing its dynamic relationship with what precedes and follows. In the developmental period the individual grows physically by incorporating relatively large quantities of food to build up his body structure and accumulate a reserve storage for future activity. Likewise, psychological growth occurs as the individual takes into himself love, affection, and knowledge from the human environment about him. A reservoir of se-

curity and confidence grows from receiving love, the basic stuff of inner stability. The child slowly builds up a store of knowledge and at best acquires the ability to think and gain knowledge for himself. The period of youthfulness is, therefore, largely devoted to the intaking of physical materials, mental pabulum, and emotional gratification which in later life give the strength, knowledge, and security necessary to function as an adult.

In the latter part of this developmental period a tremendous accumulation of physical and psychological energy almost overwhelms the adolescent, pushing him into eager activity. In fact, he tests himself physically by racing activities of many kinds and strives to do far more than his experience or his knowledge permit. Psychologically, the adolescent similarly tests himself in aggressive and independent behavior, although cautiously maintaining his dependent relationship with parents, teachers, or counselors.

THERE COMES A TIME WHEN THE PHASE of intake and receiving from others must cease. There comes a time likewise when the testing process without any particular goal has to be given up for the serious problems and responsibilities of adult living.

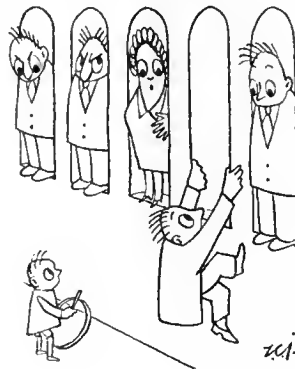
Middle age may be defined again as that era in life when these intaking and testing processes have run their course, and the individual gives out what he has learned and finds his

special niche for which his assets are best suited and from which he can gain for himself a satisfying internal happiness. When he reaches this period the individual is in his constructive and productive era and his particular contributions to family, community, nation, and the world are made with maximum efficiency.

People enter this phase, however, carrying residual personality defects which are liabilities and which modify or interfere with their assets developed in the age of learning and testing, through which they have so laboriously progressed. Unsolved problems, conflicts, and semantic errors handicap the mature and middle-aged from living harmoniously with themselves and others. Therefore, before considering the tasks and responsibilities of middle age or its psychological difficulties, some of the handicaps that many people bring into this phase of life should be sketched.

Many children receive an excess of love, affection, and dependent gratification without much frustration. Not required to compromise between their own desires and the frustrations of life, they become what the lay person terms "spoiled." The ability to tolerate delay in obtaining pleasure, the capacity for compromise, and the technic of substituting other goals because of obstacles or danger of hurting someone else—these are difficult for the individual who has never experienced early frustrations.

When such a person reaches adulthood, he demands the same gratifications as were granted in his developmental period. Little of constructive activity or achievement is forthcoming because his whole psychology is that of intaking and demanding. Instead, he becomes aggressively demanding, or neurotic because things are not done for him. On reaching middle age, this type requires of the world that he be taken care of in some way, while giving the minimum amount of effort and exertion for the maximum amount of return. Some of these "golden boys," through a charm-



ing although quite infantile and dependent personality, seduce others into complying with their wishes.

There are all degrees of this dependent state, even in so-called normal adults, since no individual is completely secure and independent, none without need for gratification from others. Many are able to carry the usual burdens so long as difficulties are not too great, but break down when the stresses of civilian life, and more often of army life, pile up to reach their threshold of tolerance. When no more can be endured, regression to a much more dependent state results. This is an illness. Such men in the army became like little, crying children who could drink only milk and needed or demanded motherly attention on a considerable scale.

SOMETIMES EXCESSIVELY DEPENDENT people have sufficiently self-respecting and masculine egos, have sufficient pride, to overcompensate for and deny these needs. Their needs are not exposed in action, in thoughts, or in any way of living. These individuals often maintain themselves successfully for long periods. Then in middle age, after many years of overcompensation and denial of their fundamental dependence, the need demands an indirect somatic expression within the upper gastro-intestinal tract—first, symptoms of dyspepsia, ultimately peptic ulcer, which has the significance of hunger for love. This is the disease of common knowledge that has been called the Wall Street or LaSalle Street disease, characteristic of the financial tycoon who has been so successful, yet is only outwardly aggressive and dynamic.

It is not surprising to find that the emotional attitudes of the excessively dependent and demanding person should extend beyond his immediate interpersonal relationships with family and friends, or in home and business. These attitudes influence his social and political thinking and color his views on government and world affairs. Since inner insecurity is the central core of this personality, a democratic way of life offers him too little and demands too much. An authoritarian government, however, promises security from the dictatorial father and demands no mature participation in state affairs.

Here is a typical example of the person who would thrive in a fascist regime: An army private developed

severe stomach symptoms simultaneous with his first promotion. He recovered after demotion to the lowest grade where he was told exactly what to do and knew exactly what he would receive without the need for independent thought or action.

Other adult problems have their origin in too much frustration of the child's early need for love, affection, and attention. Such children develop an untrusting attitude, feeling that they will be constantly and inevitably subjected to disappointment and frustration at everyone's hands. They are cynical in their attitudes, hostile in their actions. Such attitudes are not only expressed in intimate interpersonal relations but extend toward all forms of authority in a demand for an excess of so-called liberty and independence. Often these people become psychopathic-like, violating the constricting social order and civil laws, and resisting discipline. Politically they have a tendency to become isolationist, individualist, and strongly against authoritative or disciplinary regulation from local, national, or international governments.

Some adolescents develop a satisfaction in personal achievements to such an extent that racing and testing become fixed; they constantly



search for means of winning. Once a goal has been reached to the individual's own personal satisfaction, a new race has to be started regardless of the effect on others. Such people are fixed to the fight for power, prestige, and achievement as a satisfaction in itself rather than for what the goal may mean to themselves or others. They maintain their feeling of security by constantly beating someone else and are most happy in a competitive situation. It is to be expected therefore that competition rather than cooperation in any rela-

tionship, becomes their characteristic pattern of satisfaction.

An important part of the personality concerned with standards, ideals, the ethical and moral precepts and goals of living, is termed the conscience and is acquired through identification with some of the attitudes of the early human environment. The parental and pedagogical precepts, permissive and punitive attitudes are incorporated within the individual and function automatically and unconsciously as well as consciously.

Conscience may be strict, or overly strict; it may be weak or corrupt.

The individual with a weak conscience is one who has little in the way of internal controls over his behavior and is only restrained from asocial acts by fear of external punishment.

The average conscience acts automatically and checks the individual even before the stage of conscious thought and causes within him tension, anxiety, or a sense of guilt that may even prevent the tempting idea from becoming conscious.

An overly strict conscience causes a rigid, restricted, puritanical and severe attitude toward moral, religious, and other interpersonal problems. It gives the individual little peace of mind, because it constantly urges him on to do better, or more, and interprets even his slightest trends toward freedom or personal happiness as deserving punishment.

With a corrupt conscience, on the other hand, although a person feels a sense of guilt, he is able to bribe the conscience and thus may repeat the transgression.

BEHAVIOR DEVIATIONS IN CHILDHOOD, even directly destructive and aggressive, are usually overlooked. Adult behavior which is directly antisocial is severely criticized or punished. In middle age, therefore, a person must have come to grips with his relationship to other people.

A young man with high standards of achievement can keep up his hopes that in the future his goal may be reached. But as he is confronted with middle age and recognizes that his constructive, productive age has been unfruitful—or in the case of a woman, her child-bearing and child-nurturing age—he may experience a sense of failure and develop severe anxiety from a sense of guilt or depression.

Middle Age

When we now turn to the stresses of middle age we find that over and above the usual problems that confront every living person and the accidental catastrophic emergencies, there are both specific difficulties for that age and others which are more serious when they occur at that time. In the first group are the wounds to self-esteem concurrent with loss of beauty, bodily attractiveness, and capacity for child-bearing in the female, and decrease or loss of virility in the male; likewise, the blows to self-respect resulting from failure to attain chosen goals such as money, prestige, or power, and failure in attaining or maintaining marriage. In the second group are irreplaceable family losses, illness in the wage earner, insecurity from economic fluctuations and approaching loss of working capacity or opportunity.

With both added and ordinary stresses more meaningfully dangerous, middle age brings added responsibilities apart from the need of preparing for a workless old age. It is a period when the preparing, testing, racing, and changing must come to a halt and when lessening, or even cessation, of psychological intake is expected. Instead, real men and women are expected to educate their young and transmit the experience, knowledge and skills they have acquired. Interest and activity are then normally directed not alone for the sake of self but for the surrounding human world as far afield as possible.

This is not necessarily a burden, since real emotional enjoyment accompanies the spilling over to others of previously intaken gratification and the stuff basic to constructive ideas. It constitutes the highest peak of enjoyment but demands the psychological attitude that work, position, prestige, and money are not complete goals but only the means of self-security preparatory to constructive activity. Productivity can be increased by internal security acquired through a successful developmental period, and by external economic and social stability.

The actual psychological problems of middle age consist of frustrations within personalities who have reached maturity with various character deficiencies.

The individual who strives to maintain his dependency will, except for

fortunate circumstances, be destined to frustration. The person who enters middle age suspicious and distrustful will be unhappy when eventually he recognizes that his inability to develop good personal relationships is not because there are no decent people, but because of some deficit within himself. The person who has become imbued with the spirit of racing and competition finds that there is no surcease from the race and he becomes tired, exhausted, and physically worn out without a sense of achievement even after successfully competing and amassing power and prestige.

MIDDLE AGE IS LARGELY A PERIOD OF adjustment of goals. After testing themselves as adolescents, people enter the competitive capitalistic struggle and find that sometimes they succeed, sometimes they fail, but probably in every case they miss their original purposes. It is a sound axiom that the one who finds his true niche in which he can obtain gratification from what he receives and what he can give, is the happiest person in our society.

Middle age, therefore, demands a readjustment or compromise between goals and capacities of achievement. This is extremely difficult and there is a common trend or wish, particularly among middle-aged men, to return to the romantic excitement of the aggressive competitive chase after success, prestige, and women. During the last war many middle-aged men returned to the armed services with the hope that they could recapture the youthful spirits they had in the other war. Unfortunately World War II demanded youthful energy, vigor, and specialized technical knowledge so that they were of little value—to their great disappointment and frequent pathological depression.

Some men attempt to recapture youthfulness through a final sexual drive, and that is a symptom of inability to adjust to declining assets. Men who have attained goals which are the limits of their capacity try renewed efforts in the hope of acquiring more success. Women often become depressed at the menopause, not because it causes any drastic psychological change in itself, but because they interpret it erroneously as not only the end of their child-bearing but the end of their sexual attractiveness and satisfaction.

In the earlier part of this century

a man who worked hard and was thrifty could look forward to a secure old age, taken care of by his savings, and feel even that he might leave his children a sum which would guarantee to them a better start in life than he had. Unfortunately, money can no longer be accumulated easily and return on capital is so small that most men can look forward to very little security on retiring. Laborers, working men, and professional people today view retirement at old age as something to fear. It is increasingly apparent that income in the future will depend exclusively upon work done and that when one no longer works there will be no return. People need continuing active work until they are incapacitated.

Unfortunately, our social system has not kept up with the fact that work is a necessity for subsistence even in advanced years and that because of the increased longevity and declining birth rate this country will be increasingly composed of older individuals. Some change must be developed in our attitudes toward men after they have reached what used to be a retirement age. When society recognizes that although a man's physical capacities gradually decline, his mental and intellectual abilities often persist in their efficiency and that older men are still employable, there should be less difficulty in facing the advancing years.

WE HAVE DISCUSSED THE ATTEMPT OF the middle-aged individual to retreat back to childhood and youth whenever stresses become too great. One tries to recapture the days of more successful adaptation even if those days were not too happy. But there is another type of escape. The middle-aged person may retreat from his problems and stresses by a flight into old age.

There is no question that real old age is a biological phenomena. All living processes are slowed down and characteristic organic changes of senility take place in the liver, kidneys, heart, brain. These are slowly, inevitably progressive but permit partial functioning for long periods because of a large biological factor of safety. Arteriosclerosis, a very frequent accompaniment of middle age, of course affects all the organs which require an adequate blood supply. The brain, especially, requires a large amount of oxygen brought to it by

efficient and elastic blood vessels. Psychoses increase, as is evidenced by the overflowing state hospital populations in the old age group.

The common expression has it that old age is a frame of mind. It is very much a frame of mind of the weary and unsuccessful, and a person who wishes to decrease his activities because of his sense of failure, his frustrations, and inadequacies and because he does not have the stamina for sustained constructive and productive work often retreats into attitudes of old age. He makes the excuse that he cannot work because he is tired and has done as much as he could.

THE TOPIC OF MIDDLE-AGING IS OF paramount importance in all times, but especially now when mankind through its own manipulation of the physical world, has lost its never adequate control of its own aggressive trends. Middle age is a period of great responsibility which inexperienced and immature youth or the physically decrepit cannot assume. It rests on the shoulders of the mature, emotionally healthy middle-aged segments of the public of all nations. But where are they? Who hears their voices raised in sound discussion or observes their leadership or actions? As Dr. Brock Chisholm says, there are not enough mature people in the right places at the right time.

It is the psychiatrists' task to lessen this deficit. The only way is by being more and more articulate. Particularly are we interested in making information available to all those concerned with education and prevention in a broad sense. These means are really synonymous because an adequate education is mental hygiene *against* breakdown and *for* a good life in middle age.

Unfortunately, there are not enough mature people to whom we can entrust our children for adequate emotional education. No matter how much knowledge a person has, he needs an emotional maturity which permits him to use his intelligence, his knowledge, and his special assets to advance the capacity of the people of the world to live together harmoniously. If, within himself, the individual is a mass of conflict, he certainly cannot have peace of mind nor can he contribute to the peace of the world.

But peace of mind with a capacity for creation on entering middle age

cannot be legislated. I cannot tell you to be creative, constructive, productive, or to have peace of mind. That has to come from a successful developmental period. The psychology of middle-aging is therefore based upon a mental hygiene in youth concerning which we are woefully lacking in techniques. Psychiatrists have stressed valid generalities which everyone accepted, but when it came to specific details in the past we had little concrete advice to offer. As a result, we were rightfully discredited as mental hygienists. Fortunately in the last few decades, accelerated greatly by our war experiences, we know much more about life difficulties and how they have been produced and can make some positive statements in mental hygiene work.

Although the war taught us a great deal about the emotional development and psychopathology of our population, it also was a devastating influence on many otherwise healthy persons. In addition to the war neuroses, there were impedances of personal development, and a multiplicity of frustration, futility, and despair which disturbed many.

For those who have missed a great deal and are unable to continue their previously projected course of development, lesser goals will have to satisfy. Active therapy by understanding psychiatrists can do a great deal, but nothing can make up for the lost years. For the future, we must determine to prevent war and its devastating effects on human personality. But to prevent it we must have more people of greater maturity to handle state and world affairs.

I HAVE DISCUSSED SOME OF THE CHARACTER and personality distortions due to early influences on the child. The permutations of personality are legion, since each individual's heredity, constitution, physiology, and environment differs from any other and each contributes to the total personality. Too little, too much, too permissive, too punitive are not established quantities suitable for all. Each child is a special problem for the parent or educator, since each living organism needs and demands a somewhat different kind of gratification.

From the standpoint of community life, modern education which seeks to inculcate civilized ideals for a peaceful and democratic life often fails because the ideals become dated and

static. Time was when the world and its social and political conditions were sufficiently stable so that an individual inculcated with contemporary ideals would have no reason to change his behavior because of radical social, political, and economic changes around him. Such external changes did not happen in one or two generations.

But we feel lost today in the world of new things. Social and political states that used to be fairly stable now fluctuate widely and progression or regression is thus extremely rapid. The individual with a set ideal of living in the environment of his early life seeks constantly for a "return to normalcy" and longs for the "good old days" when one knew the certain value of a good existence. Such a man has great inertia and within him lies an anachronistic ideal.



If we could instill into our children, as part of their personalities, a concept of good citizenship in a world order without emphasizing special ways to achieve it, they could better adapt to social, economic, and political progress.

We are blocked somewhat by the lack of enough people of maturity to teach, and we are handicapped by some of our own serious-minded, community-spirited psychiatrists.

I think, however, of one valuable form of group therapy and that is public discussion or forum activity, which will at least give some intellectual meaning to many individuals of middle age who have neglected their full share of responsibilities. John Dewey stated the problem well when he indicated that the search for the great community will depend upon the development of a public to whom can be communicated technical and scientific knowledge in understandable terms. On this mature and, by definition, emotionally middle-aged public we now depend for salvation from our own destructiveness.



J. Malcolm Greany

More than 10,000 chest X-rays have been taken in the past year by this cruising unit of the Alaskan Department of Health

Scourge of the North

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

AMERICAN TAXPAYERS WILL SPEND \$75,000,000 this year to fortify Alaska. They will spend a fraction of this—less than \$500,000—to end in Alaska a disease which afflicts a substantial portion of the people and threatens the rest, which kills five Alaskans each week out of a tiny population of 91,000, and undermines the morale of everyone in the Territory all the way from Point Barrow to the spruce fiords of the southeastern “panhandle.”

This disease is tuberculosis.

Although regarded by medical science as a disease commonly associated with malnutrition, poverty, and ignorance, tuberculosis inflicts its greatest proportionate toll not in hungry Greece or bloody India, but under the proud sovereignty of the United States.

Ironically, these fatalities occur in a land which our military leaders have pronounced to be strategic, above all others, to the defense of North America. The late General Billy Mitchell, prophet of American air power, declared that “he who holds Alaska will hold the world.”

Yet the United States government, spending virtually unlimited millions to buttress Alaska with airfields, underground hangars, and coast artillery, measures with a medicine dropper the funds appropriated to assault Alaska’s greatest single problem. Men have died defending Alaska against a foreign foe; others have perished flying into the remote solitudes of the North or braving the white silences by dog-sled or snowshoe. But the numbers of these valiant men are small compared to the Alaskans who have

coughed out their lives with tuberculosis.

An almost conspiratorial silence has cloaked the effects of the fearful scourge in Alaska. Government reports describe the Territory’s vast resources, but they do not list the victims of the disease which imposes a higher death rate in Alaska than anywhere else in the world. We deplore the ravages of tuberculosis in Bengal and in China. But could tuberculosis similarly imperil the brave new frontier in the Arctic of which Americans are so proud? Few citizens of the United States have thought such a calamity even remotely possible; only a handful of informed experts have faced the grim reality.

The yearly death rate in continental USA from tuberculosis is 40 per 100,000 population. Arizona, where many

sufferers seek treatment, has the highest death rate among the states—123. But in Alaska the annual rate of casualties is 362. "The death rate from tuberculosis in Alaska," says George Sundborg, manager of the Alaska Development Board, "exceeds that of China or India."

THES ARE THE STERN FACTS OF WHAT tuberculosis means to our military bastion athwart the Great Circle Route to Siberia, Japan, and the distant East.

Tuberculosis causes approximately 70 percent of all the deaths in Alaska from communicable diseases. It kills more than five Alaskans every week; it exacts one out of five deaths from all causes. Most shocking of all, more than half the cases of tuberculosis coming to the notice of the Territorial Department of Health are first reported by death certificates. This means that these victims die without treatment.

"Each fatal case of tuberculosis, not recognized or treated before death, will spread the disease to nine other persons," warns Dr. Thomas Parran, Surgeon General of the United States.

Only recently, despite the presence of active tuberculosis in every town and village in Alaska, did the Territory get a full time commissioner of health. Many experts were employed to assay Alaska's gold-bearing gravel, none to check the erosion of human lungs. Dr. C. Earl Albrecht, trained as a missionary before he studied medicine, faces a task which will tax the best in both careers.

Dr. Albrecht estimates that at least 4,500 Alaskans have tuberculosis, probably more. This means that a minimum of 4.9 percent of the entire population is afflicted. To care for these 4,500 victims the Territory has fewer than 280 hospital beds.

The Alaska Territorial Government, a weak entity always hesitant to collect taxes from the powerful absentee owners of the canneries and mines, has finally appropriated \$250,000 to begin an assault on the ugly stronghold of tuberculosis. Utterly inadequate though this sum may be, it constitutes one tenth of the Territory's annual appropriation for all government purposes.

Under Dr. Albrecht the first concerted attack against tuberculosis has been launched. A surplus navy boat was purchased and christened the "Hygiene." It cruises along the fiords

and inlets of the lonely seacoast, for only a handful of Alaska's cities are tied together by land communication. Technicians on board the "Hygiene" have taken more than 10,000 chest X-rays during the past year. Last summer (1947), an army truck was converted into a mobile health unit to take another 900 X-rays at settlements and cabins on the Richardson and Alcan Highways. A third portable X-ray unit is transported by bush pilots in ski-planes to isolated places accessible only from the air.

These searches for tuberculosis, carried on with a thoroughness new to the North, have produced tragic evidence. On the tundra coast of the Bering Sea, nearly half the Eskimos who were X-rayed had some lesions, calcification, or pulmonary scars. This is the strategically important seacoast opposite Siberia. At Point Barrow, the most northerly settlement on the continent, the school teacher stated that of thirty children between the ages of five and six who had started school, only six lived to graduate. Tuberculosis claimed the rest.

"Must we all die of the TB?" an Indian father along the Alcan Highway asked a nurse with the mobile X-ray truck. Five of this man's children had died of tuberculosis. In a tent full of dirty furs and blankets, the nurse found a presumably well child sleeping within three feet of an emaciated boy who coughed constantly and spit up blood.

ALASKA'S TRAGEDY IS NOT THAT THE Territorial government, with its meager resources, has done so little to combat tuberculosis, but that the great government of the United States has done virtually nothing at all. Despite its immense wealth, this country is spending less in Alaska this year to wage war against tuberculosis than is the nearly bankrupt government of the Territory. Indeed, the last session of Congress so decimated funds for the Alaska Native Service that the Department of the Interior has been unable to reimburse the Territory for the care of Indian and Eskimo patients in the tiny eighty-bed sanatorium at Seward. In Alaska, where living costs are approximately 58 percent higher than in the United States, it also costs more to die a lingering death. The sum required to take care of one patient in a hospital is \$2,200 annually.

Because the government of the

United States cannot pay the Territorial government for the care of the native patients at Seward, this sanatorium may have to be closed. Then 280 beds available for the 4,500 victims of tuberculosis would be reduced to 200.

Secretary of the Interior Julius A. Krug, who has shown more concern over Alaska's shocking health conditions than did any of his predecessors, recently asked a committee of five medical specialists from Cook County Hospital in Chicago to tour the Territory. These doctors reported:

While we were in Alaska, the Alaska Native Service, a federal agency, was forced to withdraw its financial support from the Seward sanatorium due to the fact that a deficiency appropriation did not pass in Congress. This last fact struck the committee as a thunderbolt, as it now appears that the Seward sanatorium has been virtually scuttled. The existing sanatorium facilities in Alaska are hopelessly inadequate to stem the tide of tuberculosis.

Dr. Arthur Bernstein, chairman of the special medical committee which visited Alaska, believes the world's worst tuberculosis problem "can be licked in perhaps five to eight years" given facilities for both isolation and treatment.

"The case-finding program of the Territorial government is commendable," says Dr. Bernstein, "but the cases of tuberculosis thus uncovered are not segregated or treated because of the lack of sanatoriums. I cannot express myself too strongly about the inadequacy that has existed in the handling of tuberculosis in Alaska. The federal government is continuing to neglect the problem."

As he left the Far North, Dr. Bernstein said, "The defense of Alaska can best be accomplished with a healthy populace. Tubercle bacilli kill as dead as do bullets, although the former are more insidious and widespread in Alaska."

WH Y HAS TUBERCULOSIS SECURED SUCH a foothold in Alaska? Why did three fourths of a century of American rule elapse before the employment of a full time commissioner of health?

The sad answer is that Alaskans were indifferent to tuberculosis for generations because it was mainly confined to the native population. So long as only Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts were the victims it seemed no



M. Brown

"The bravest people in the history of Alaska," one doctor said of the nurses who care for the victims of tuberculosis . . . "they deserve the Congressional Medal of Honor."

These two nurses from a sanatorium in southeastern Alaska take advantage of the rare hours of sunshine—of which some localities have only forty days a year.

critical problem to the dominant whites. It was Kipling's lack of concern for "lesser breeds without the law" transplanted to the Arctic.

Suddenly the whites awoke to the fact that the disease they had brought to the natives, who have virtually no hereditary resistance, now was being returned. The natives in Alaska might have a death rate from tuberculosis seven times higher than that of the whites—but the whites in the Territory have twice the death rate of white people in the United States.

Nor is this necessarily the complete story. As a rule, a white man in Alaska, with even the faintest suspicion that he has contracted tuberculosis, hurries to the better medical care available off to the south. He wisely seeks escape from Ketchikan's 300 overcast days a year, from the harsh 60° below zero of winters in Fairbanks. All trace of him is lost. For this reason, doctors suspect that the incidence of tuberculosis among white people in Alaska may be considerably higher than statistics reveal.

BEFORE THE FRIGATES OF THE WHITE man landed on the shores of Cook Inlet and Kodiak Island, *Alakh-Skhak* (The Great Land) was free of tuberculosis. The white man brought the germ; the natives could not combat it. The white man also brought whisky, soda pop, candy, and carbohydrates, to trade for furs, ivory, and native girls. Fire water, sugar, and

starch weakened what little resistance the natives had to tuberculosis. The disease spread like a scourge.

The moral responsibility of the white man for the suffering of the Alaskan natives is hard to deny.

Vilhjalmur Stefansson has pointed out how the Danes in Greenland allowed only licensed traders to deal with the natives. Often these traders were half-breeds or full-blooded Eskimos who had been educated. Every effort was undertaken to shield the natives from the contaminating touch of the whites. The Danes knew what tuberculosis rampant in an Eskimo population could mean. Roald Amundsen approved of this. He believed it was "the bounden duty" of white men to protect the Eskimo from their deteriorating influence.

In Alaska, the Danish government trading monopoly never was emulated. On the contrary, the Eskimos and Indians were exploited by every commercial agent who could get a cargo of trade goods through the Inside Passage. These agents not only brought tuberculosis to the tribes and venereal disease to the native women; they also persuaded the natives to part with furs, ivory, and fish on which they depended for livelihood in return for the most worthless junk—colored cushions, phonographs, dime-store jewelry. The native needed ivory for weapons. He relinquished it for whisky which made him sick and brutal.

The trader in Alaska did more than bring the germs of the white scourge. He also made the natives more vulnerable to its crippling onslaught. This is at the root of the fact that the Indians of Alaska have over three times the death rate from tuberculosis of Indians in the States.

Today, no American can be smug and know of the ravages of tuberculosis in the tribal villages where live the descendants of Alaska's original inhabitants. Of the 164 Aleuts evacuated from the Aleutions after the Japanese invasion, twenty died from tuberculosis within a few months. A fourth of the natives rejected for military service during the war had tuberculosis. One native church has a "Spitters' Row." Worshipers with active tuberculosis sit in a particular pew, which is separated from the rest of the congregation by a glass partition.

Yet even "Spitters' Row" represents an important advance. At one time, tuberculosis victims could sit anywhere in the church, scattering germs over their fellow parishioners. Though only isolation of those infected can conquer Alaska's sinister problem, Dr. Albrecht has seen eighteen natives sleeping in a one-room cabin. He called the cabin a "tuberculosis swamp."

MANY FACTORS ENTER INTO ALASKA'S alarming health crisis. Numerous Alaskans, native and white alike, lack a balanced diet. Fresh fruits and

vegetables are prohibitively expensive in the North. The world's highest freight rates multiply the cost of every item which must be imported by sea. Despite the long hours of summer daylight, sunshine is rare in many parts of the Territory. Some communities of timbered southeastern Alaska enjoy fewer than forty clear days annually. This is why nurses in Alaska's few sanatoriums occasionally come down with tuberculosis themselves and must be sent to Arizona. A faulty diet and lack of sunshine have impaired their resistance, and inadequate hospital equipment has made it impossible for them to take the necessary safety precautions in treating their patients.

When I was in Alaska with the U.S. Army Engineers, a doctor said to me:

Your airmen are brave, and Alaska is forever in the debt of the infantry regiments who drove the Jap from Kiska and Attu. Yet the bravest people in the history of Alaska are the nurses who care for our tuberculosis victims. They get no decorations, but let me tell you that they deserve the Congressional Medal of Honor.

For a singular reason the Territorial Department of Health has a difficult time keeping nurses at their jobs. The reason is in no way associated with the peril of contagion. Far from it, indeed, for most Alaskan nurses feel keenly the urgency of their task.

But Alaska has two white men to each white woman, and the nurses are in perennial demand as mates. In settlements through the Territory, the wayfarer meets wives and mothers who came to the Far North originally to care for the victims of tuberculosis.

The nurses marry, but the tuberculosis remains. It is spread unchecked to succeeding generations of Alaskans. Eskimo babies are born chubby and healthy, yet within a few years they "have the TB." Teachers in the Indian schools spoke sadly of teaching children marked for death to read and write and use the multiplication table. In Ketchikan, a young doctor told me that the white children in the local schools were manifesting the disease in increasing numbers. Several of these white youngsters had come down with the

"galloping" type of tuberculosis and died within a few months.

ALL DOCTORS IN ALASKA AGREE THERE can be only one solution—isolation. Until active cases of tuberculosis can be isolated in hospitals and sanatoriums, the plague will be the inheritance of Alaskans.

This year the Territory opened a 150-bed sanatorium on Alice Island near Sitka. The Seward sanatorium has 80 beds. There are approximately 50 additional beds scattered across Alaska, most of them at Skagway. Funds have been appropriated for a 200-bed hospital on Japonski Island of Sitka, to be operated by the Alaska Native Service.

This is a maximum of 480 beds, and even this total is far in the future and under the most propitious conditions, for the continuance of the sanatorium at Seward is by no means assured. Now contrast this outlook with Alaska's 4,500 victims of tuberculosis and the careful estimates of Dr. Albrecht that he needs at least 1,000 beds to bring the disease under any degree of control.

A Juneau doctor explains chest pictures to two Indian women. Health officials believe everyone in Alaska must be X-rayed

J. Malcolm Greany



Scourge of the North

Nor are beds the final answer. Alaska is an immense land. Place Juneau, the capital, on a map of the United States at Knoxville, Tennessee, and Dutch Harbor would rest on Carlsbad, New Mexico. Many of the natives are almost childlike in their attachment to home and loved ones and they will not stay in a sanatorium so far from their tribal village that they never see a familiar face. Some doctors believe many smaller hospitals strategically located throughout Alaska would prove more useful than one or two big ones. This is a debatable question, however, for the large sanatoriums have the advantage of better equipment and more versatile staffs.

Yet the whole issue of what kind of hospital remains strictly academic so long as 200 beds must suffice for 4,500 victims of tuberculosis.

NO LAND CAN LIVE UNDER THIS DARK shadow and not have morale sapped and drained. The medical committee from Cook County Hospital was struck by the prodigious consumption of alcohol in Alaska. So was the Reverend Mark A. Dawber of the Home Missions Council of North America. "Alaska," he claimed, "has the highest *per capita* expenditure for liquor of any place in the world." He said that one city of southeastern Alaska spent "nearly \$5,000,000 a year for whisky and only about \$130,000 for the education of its children and youth."

Quoting Joe E. Brown, the comedian, Mr. Dawber described

Anchorage, Alaska's largest community, as "the biggest saloon I have ever seen."

Certainly the description does not seem exaggerated when one watches boats being unloaded at Ketchikan, Seward, and Skagway. Interminable cases of liquor and beer are transferred in slingloads from the holds. Out of twenty-seven stores along the principal business street of a leading Alaskan city, my wife and I counted no less than nine retail liquor establishments and four bars.

Lest our perfunctory curbstone survey seem inconclusive, a study conducted by the Territorial government in 1946 showed Fairbanks to have eight grocery stores, three drug stores, thirteen liquor stores, and ten bars. Juneau has seventeen grocery stores, four drug stores, twelve liquor stores, and ten bars. Cordova's population of 1,500 supports two groceries, one drug store, nine liquor stores, and six bars.

Nowhere else under the American flag does the ratio of liquor establishments to other mercantile outlets even approach this. Alaska is in an unenviable class by itself, so far as the prevalence of both tuberculosis and drinking are concerned.

Nor are the two unrelated. Most Alaskans realize that sanitary precautions in the Territory are, at best, none too scrupulous. They know, too, that tuberculosis is a communicable disease. This knowledge produces a curious sort of fatalism which often expresses itself in reckless indulgence in alcohol. The presence also of a

large number of people suffering from an obvious and frequently fatal disease—a disease subject to treatment but for which Alaska does not have adequate treatment facilities—has a depressing effect on the human spirit. Man possesses a conscience, and if his conscience is to be numbed, whisky is the handiest agent.

TUBERCULOSIS PROBABLY CAN BE CONQUERED. If it cannot be conquered, it certainly can be alleviated. This has been demonstrated in our own country. In 1900 the death rate from tuberculosis per 100,000 population in the United States was 194. Now it is forty.

That this has happened during less than two generations is no accident. It is the result of the concentration of skill and resources on the problem. In Alaska the whole question—a far grimmer tuberculosis problem than ever faced the United States—was ignored for many decades. Today it has grown to such proportions that the puny Territorial government, with a total budget of about \$3,000,000, cannot possibly solve it.

If Alaska is to be freed from the world's highest death rate from tuberculosis, and from the threat which this constitutes, the federal government must make available to Alaska the medical skills and equipment which this country has above all other nations. Adequate appropriations for Alaskan sanatoriums and doctors are essential—now. Otherwise the people of Alaska—natives and pioneers, soldiers and civilians—are wholly at the mercy of a cruel and relentless foe.



John Gilbert Winant

1889-1947

JOHN GILBERT WINANT RESTS IN CONCORD, NEW HAMPSHIRE. His weariness is ended. The malaise of his spirit is spent. Throughout the world, no less than in Concord, he will be remembered as a casualty of World War II. The tragedy of his death by his own hand is mitigated by memory of a great career entirely devoted to the public weal. As he rests forever, the living generation must cope with the agonizing, worldwide human problems which haunted his heart and his mind.

A staunch American who resembled Lincoln, Gil Winant carried into modern times the idealism which distinguished the Founding Fathers. He assumed responsibility in public affairs as naturally as the best of the British aristocracy. Born to wealth and a secure social position, he was educated at St. Paul's School and Princeton. At the same time his almost Franciscan sense of dedication led him to voluntary assignments in unselfishness—first of all, as a teacher at his beloved St. Paul's.

He was no soft "do-gooder." In 1912 he campaigned for Theodore Roosevelt. In World War I he saw action in the Air Corps and suffered a scalp wound which was concealed by his Lincolnian shock of hair. In the Twenties he defeated rugged Frank Knox, in the New Hampshire Republican gubernatorial primaries and became the youngest state executive in the country. As governor, he demonstrated the kind of practical liberalism which had made him a notable figure in the New Hampshire legislature.

HE ASSUMED THE BURDENS OF HUMANITY AS IF THE WHOLE outcome of mankind's destiny depended on his faith and zeal. It was inevitable that, although a Republican, he should have a strong personal and political affinity for Franklin Delano Roosevelt. President Roosevelt named him as the first chairman of the Social Security Board and it was characteristic of Winant to resign as a minority member of that board so there would be no partisan political confusion when he, a Republican, campaigned for Roosevelt's reelection.

Reappointed to the Social Security Board after the election, he completed his work as the prime architect of the Social Security system of the United States, and then—in preference to a Cabinet position, again to avoid political confusion—joined the International Labor Organization and eventually became its director. When he saw the war coming, he kept the ILO in democratic hands and did his utmost to prevent the Axis powers from gaining access to the invaluable statistical information pooled in the organization. In February 1941 he was named Ambassador to Britain.

The first part of that assignment to England is the subject of Gil Winant's simple, sincere, and very important memoir ("Letter from Grosvenor Square." Houghton Mifflin. \$3.) published on November 18, 1947. A copy was on the way to him by mail on the day of his death.

To sketch the highlights of his public career is to fall far short of revealing his profound and pervasive influence upon our times. In his Ambassadorship, which he describes with engaging detail albeit with too much modesty, he could not convey the thousands of intangible strands which bound our

destiny with that of Britain in the critical period. It was my good fortune, not long after Pearl Harbor, to be attached to the Ambassador's staff at the Embassy in London. I saw much of the incredibly efficient apparatus which he developed for quick and close liaison with the British and with all of the allied representatives based in Britain.

In "Letter from Grosvenor Square," with typical lack of vanity, he does not even hint that it was his own goodness of heart and greatness of character, strength of intellect and capacity for sympathy, which won him the affections of Britishers of all classes.

His range of interests was enormous. He knew educators and students, writers and publishers, and made himself available to them in the crowded minutes between the appointments with the great war leaders of England and the high command of the American forces. He came to know personally thousands of GIs.

For many years Winant's interests were so kindred to those of Survey Associates that he was considered an unofficial member of our councils. His first interpretive article on the commencement of Social Security was written for *Survey Graphic*. His notable article on the ILO, written during the pressure of his journey to South America in 1940, was published in the special CALLING AMERICA number—"The Americas—North and South."

Four years later, he wrote the foreword to another special number—"The British and Ourselves" and assisted the editors throughout the preparation. Only a year ago he wrote the leading article in the December 1946 special number—"The Right of All People to Know," and on the eve of its publication addressed the dinner at which a thousand people gathered to celebrate the Third of a Century of Survey Associates.

In a small sense, Gil Winant was too good a man for his own good. He was sometimes too generous of time and of money, and occasionally too tolerant of people who abused his gift of friendship. He was human in his small faults. He was a man, not a myth, and did not conform to all the legends which grew up about him.

Never angry, seldom even irritable, he was often merry when in small groups and with friends. As a public speaker he was hesitant, sometimes groped painfully for the right phrase, but his striking and majestic quality as a man, his warmhearted sincerity captured the admiration of audiences.

ALL WHO KNEW HIM PERSONALLY WILL REMEMBER HIS patience, his honesty, his faith in human nature. If for reasons which no one should now speculate upon, that faith had begun to falter, if a feeling of weary ineptitude had triumphed over the will, if the disillusionment referred to in "Letter from Grosvenor Square" had grown too great to bear—who is there in the world to begrudge him his decision? We can only be grateful that, in addition to the living monument of his good works, he leaves behind him his written "account of a stewardship—a study of an enduring friendship of men and of nations."

—VICTOR WEYBRIGHT.



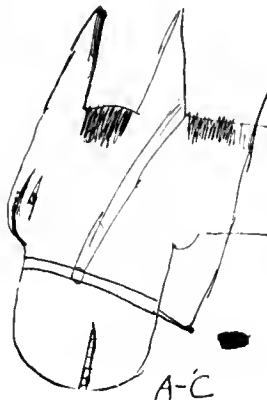
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Young and Old Cre



Art and a Neighborhood

Six settlement houses in Brooklyn, New York, have united for the first time in a common project. This month the results of that effort will be displayed in an exhibit at the Brooklyn Museum called "Art and a Neighborhood." *SG* presents a preview of the exhibit, including the sketches (below) of children like Arsenio Cruz, 9, who with his sidekick Cejo Chevalier, 10, artist of horse at right, turn out free sketches by the yard. Cejo must be patronically inspired.



Not only the art of a neighborhood - the neighborhood itself will come Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn, by the

the Eternally New



will be brought to the exhibit, but gallery shots like this one of French documentarist Cartier-Bresson.



Photos by Hella Heyman

The artist at work presents a serious mien though he be the youthful Robert Joseph, who sculpts at left, Mrs. Francis Muller who paints designs, or bobby-soxer Joan Robertson of the high school group.



SURVEY GRAPHIC'S SERIES on Recent Developments in Social Thinking arrives at our relations with the defined minority groups of our population now almost simultaneously with the landmark report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. In that is the great theoretical spell-out, subject of the first article in this month's issue. Here are two examinations of the question on practical levels—further steps to take and also progress achieved.

Equality — a Political Problem

CAREY McWILLIAMS

NEARLY EVERY DIMENSION IN THE structure of race relations has undergone material alteration since the war. In this field, there can be no thought of returning to prewar status; either we now go on to establish a new pattern of relationships or we will be cursed with endless difficulties and confusions.

Not only is "the race problem" defined in a new way, but unsuspected correlations have been revealed, new factors injected, old relationships changed, and novel ramifications noted. In depth, scope, and detail our understanding of the issue has been greatly clarified. While little basic improvement has occurred, we certainly have a much better understanding of the factors involved and a far more realistic grasp of what needs to be done and by what means.

Race problem, in our loose and general speech, usually means Negro. The facts of the postwar world, however, do not permit limited consideration of single phases of discrimination, no matter how large and discreditable. It is a problem extending beyond any one race, color, religion, or blood strain. The threat and the enemy is discrimination itself, no matter which minority is the immediate sufferer. Perhaps the war has made that realization a little more widespread. The "old Americans" will do well to realize it.

One of these changed dimensions since the war has to do with the way people regard "the race question." Here it is apparent that liberal thinking has changed in a number of significant respects.

In the past, liberals were inclined to take a *laissez faire* attitude toward the civil rights of racial minorities; that is, they were more concerned with direct, overt violations of these rights than with the silent, massive, everyday denials. A Scottsboro or Herndon case would draw protest; but the task of uprooting institutions

that resulted in wholesale denials of civil rights failed to enlist many recruits.

Today we are more concerned with the pattern of discrimination, in all its ramifications, than with the spectacular incident. We are more concerned with safeguarding the exercise of rights by positive means than with winning a rhetorical reaffirmation of these rights in the courts. It is the rule, the pattern, the system, of discrimination that now engages our attention rather than the overt incident.

IN THE PAST, ALSO, LIBERALS WERE inclined to share popular assumptions as to the insolubility of "the race problem." Even the "caste-and-class" theorists of the Thirties, despite the new insights they developed, held out little hope of basic change in any foreseeable future. In this one field, liberals seemed reluctant to specify what they would regard as a solution, much less to outline the means by which this end might be realized. Liberal thinking, like non-liberal thinking, was paralyzed by the dimensions of a problem which, unscientifically defined, was pronounced essentially insoluble by Lord Bryce and by a long list of less distinguished observers extending into recent times.

In the late Twenties, the race problem was regarded by many, if not most, social scientists as essentially insoluble, and the sociological theory, developed between 1900 and 1940, represented in the main merely a rationalization of the attitudes of the dominant majority. Liberals, as did everyone else, grossly overestimated the unchanging and unchangeable character of the *mores* and shared the popular fallacy that political action in the field of race relations was "likely to do more harm than good."

With the race riots of June 1943, the fatal clashes between white men and Negroes in Detroit, the mass beating of young Americans of Mexi-

can descent in Los Angeles, it was no longer a question of what theoretically should or might be done; obviously something *had* to be done.

There followed a period of intense activity primarily aimed at the achievement of short range objectives: the prevention of further violence, and the development of an organized wartime opinion in favor of "tolerance" and "understanding." While most of this activity fell under the heading of "crisis patriotism," it nevertheless set in motion important action programs and succeeded in arousing an entirely new interest in the misnamed "race problem." I venture the opinion that more has been said and written about this question in the four years 1943 to 1947 than in the more than four decades from 1900 to 1947. Formerly a peripheral interest of American liberals, it has now become a central concern.

Perhaps encouraged and certainly stimulated by this new interest, the social scientists have brought sociological theory abreast of the times and have thereby reduced the dimensions of the problem to a size that people now feel they can manage. As long as the matter was regarded as biological, with even the social scientists talking about prejudice as an "instinctive aversion," it appeared that little could be done except to pray, deplore, and view-with-alarm.

AS MORE PEOPLE HAVE PONDERED THE recent findings of the social sciences on the origin and nature of prejudice, they have been able to see that their thinking has been intimidated by a set of dogmas, myths, fallacies, and rationalizations. Action programs have accordingly been stimulated by a growing confidence that the contours of the problem must yield to an application of scientific insights.

I do not exaggerate when I say that prior to 1940 an organized public opinion simply did not exist. On the

contrary, such organization as existed was largely in the direction of fostering ill will and bigotry—witness the 121 agencies that Dr. Donald S. Strong found were carrying on anti-Semitic activities in the period from 1930 to 1940. (From his study, "Organized Anti-Semitism in the United States.")

Most cities having considerable Negro, Asiatic, Jewish, or Mexican populations were honeycombed with "property protective associations" of one kind or another, busily engaged in blanketing residential areas with restrictive covenants; but there were few communities in which any effective counter-organization existed. With an amazing naïveté, most American liberals assumed that the uglier manifestations of prejudice were unrelated to organized efforts and reflected merely another phase of man's sinful nature.

As a matter of fact, prejudice was discussed, and to some extent is still discussed, in much the manner that a group of fundamentalists might discuss original sin. Fortunately, people are becoming more sophisticated, less gullible, better able to detect rationalizations. They are also beginning to see that prejudice, instead of being "instinctive," is a product of social conditioning; that it serves a function in the general scheme of reaction; and that it is closely related to larger socio-economic issues.

Today one can measure some aspects of this process of change, this new orientation. Between April 1943 and July 1944, some two hundred and twenty interracial committees and commissions were formed in American communities. Established on an emergency wartime basis, it is interesting to note that most of these bodies continue in existence. In fact some of them, as in Minneapolis, have been set up as permanent agencies of government, supported by public funds and sanctioned by ordinance.

While too many of these commissions represent what some one has called "centers of organized local futility," a majority are doing a reasonably good job and more important, are beginning to define their functions in more realistic terms. What they generally have succeeded in doing, in most communities, is to organize a public opinion *against* certain practices and *for* certain principles. Public officials have been forced to take cognizance of this newly

aroused opinion and to pay lip service, at least, to the principles voiced.

Thus, Governor Earl Warren of California, who was a strenuous advocate of the mass evacuation of all persons of Japanese descent in 1942 and a bitter opponent of the return of the evacuees as late as midsummer 1943, is today a proponent of tolerance and fair play. His personal attitude may, of course, remain what it was in 1943; but the point is that as a public official he has been compelled to heed a newly organized—that is, an articulate—public opinion.

President Roosevelt signed the wartime Executive Order creating the Fair Employment Practice Commission as a result of pressure, and to appease an aroused Negro opinion.



Press Association

Racial prejudice is not "an instinctive aversion," Mr. McWilliams states, and the Rev. Jesse Weyman Route, pastor of Holy Trinity Lutheran Church, Jamaica, N. Y., recently proved it.

In 1943, Mr. Route visited Mobile, Ala., as a musician and lecturer and was "insulted and pushed around." Before he returned to Mobile, last month, he rented a turban from a theatrical costumer, and when he stepped aboard a segregated southbound train in Washington, D. C., he began speaking with "a slightly Swedish accent."

In his week in the Deep South, the Negro clergyman from New York, with his turban and his accent, was treated by white civic, social, and political leaders as "a visiting dignitary." He stayed at "white" hotels, ate in "white" restaurants, traveled in "white" cars, and instead of "instinctive aversion," he encountered only kindness, courtesy, and respect.

Since then, the idea of fair employment practices has made remarkable progress. Eight or ten states now have laws and commissions to enforce them; half a million people voted for such a commission in California in 1946; and the strength that the proposal for a federal FEPC has consistently shown in Congress is impressive when one realizes that the idea dates only from 1941.

A STILL MORE IMPORTANT MEASURE OF change is the growing resistance to discrimination. Formerly, individuals of good will were inclined to acquiesce in practices which they had not established and for which, therefore, they felt no responsibility. Today, they are more and more inclined to defy these practices. Every successful defiance of a racial taboo undermines, to that extent, the whole facade of discrimination.

Merely by way of illustration, I would point to Archbishop Joseph E. Ritter's insistence that Negroes shall attend parochial high schools in St. Louis (in this diocese, the parochial elementary schools have been receiving Negro pupils since 1937); to the Brooklyn Dodgers' defiance of a long-standing taboo in signing Jackie Robinson; and to the boycott which Actors' Equity has placed against the Jim Crow theaters in Washington, D. C. What these rapidly multiplying resistances demonstrate is that more people are coming to appreciate the truism that principles do not defend themselves; they have to be defended by people, in practice, by action.

While much progress has been made in organizing public opinion, an inventory of the existing organizations still reveals a number of striking weaknesses. Most of the agencies lack, first, a mass base; second, neighborhood affiliates; and third, statewide and nationwide integration.

So far as I know, only two states, California and Colorado, have achieved statewide organization of all the various interracial committees and commissions. Every state in the Union ought to be organized on this basis, and beyond that, all the state organizations should be brought together in a single national organization, along with the seven hundred-odd other organizations which have an interest in various phases of the problem. In other words, an army has enlisted or is willing to enlist in the fight against discrimination; but

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we still lack a general staff and a well defined strategy.

Another major weakness of the existing organization is that it is not harnessed to a dynamic concept. A glance at the by-laws or "statement of purpose" of most civic unity councils will reveal that two aims are generally stressed: to prevent violence, and to promote understanding.

No one could quarrel with these objectives, but they are essentially limited and they certainly lack dynamic purpose and dramatic appeal. We ought to be able to pose more worth-while objectives than these. I find something rather anti-climactic and even ludicrous in the suggestion that millions of Americans citizens should enlist in a campaign in their own country to promote understanding, to prevent violence. On the contrary, I believe that Dr. Clyde Kluckhohn of the Harvard Department of Anthropology is right in saying "men do very difficult things, if they are thoroughly realized as being profoundly necessary, more adequately than they do easy things."

WHAT IS NEEDED CURRENTLY, THEREFORE, is a vital program to draw together all the democratic forces of the nation in one great camp. Such a program, it seems to me, might well be based on a concept of functional equality, that is, an essential equality of opportunity for all citizens of the U. S. This concept would embrace:

- equal educational opportunities;
- equal economic and job opportunities,
- equal access to decent housing;
- equal access to all health facilities;
- equal access to publicly supported recreational and cultural facilities;
- equal access to common civic conveniences and places of public accommodation;
- equal enforcement of the law;
- equal (and affirmative) protection of civil rights;
- equality in personal relations, specifically, the elimination of miscegenation statutes.

Such a concept would be based on the proposition that these equalities are essential if human resources are to be fully utilized and if democratic government is to function effectively. It would be aimed at the achievement of what Justice Harlan once referred

to as "a state of universal civic freedom"—not freedom from prejudice but freedom from discrimination based solely on race, color, creed, or ancestry.

This is a dynamic concept, capable of arousing enthusiasm and enlisting wide popular support. If the existing organizations could agree on the feasibility of such a program (I would like to believe that its desirability could be assumed), then much of the money, energy, and enthusiasm now dissipated on meritorious but sociologically trifling projects might be conserved and used for a much larger objective.

For each item embraced within this concept, the means of specific implementation are now available. Consider, for example, the quota system in higher education. This pernicious system can be eliminated: by pressure of organized public opinion; through the denial of tax-exemption to institutions that persist in maintaining the practice; and, where necessary, by direct legislation, as in the proposed Austin-Mahoney bill in New York.

Such an attack is not only practicable but it is obviously essential, for the available evidence indicates that the quota system is becoming constantly more rigorous. Faced with this evidence, we have the alternative of knuckling under to a completely undemocratic practice or of uniting in a militant campaign to eradicate it.

To take a more basic issue, it is absurd to contend that the government of the United States cannot safeguard the right of its citizens—all of them—to vote in federal elections. While the U. S. Supreme Court has consistently upheld this right, we have as yet taken no steps to safeguard the right by affirmative means. For the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to be advocating a federal election code is merely additional evidence that we have come to recognize that declaring certain rights is not enough to insure their free exercise.

SUPPORT FOR ACTION PROGRAMS OF THE type here suggested has been inhibited in the past by a groundless fear that such action might "do more harm than good." But we live today in a dynamic world in which democratic rights atrophy if they are not exercised; contract if they are not constantly expanded. The philosophy of gradualism is based on the fallacy that

legislation cannot influence the *mores*.

Professor Robert Redfield of the University of Chicago writes:

Legislation and administration express the *mores*, but it is also true that they make the *mores*. A courageous act by a legislature or by an administrator, whether in a public or a private institution, that is consistent with the national principle of equality as among men, changes the *mores* to make them by some degree more nearly consistent with the principle. *The mores are not extra-human pressures*, like the weight of the atmosphere or the pull of gravity. They are not something external to the wishes and the sentiments of men. They are the wishes and sentiments of men (so far as imbued by a sense of rightness), and *men change their wishes and their sentiments in response to what other men do and in response to what they themselves do.* (Italics, the author's.)

Every institution that abandons a discriminatory practice makes the retention of a similar practice that much more untenable for every other institution.

The clear, uncompromising recommendations of the President's Committee on Civil Rights and the impressive evidence on which they rest, provide the basis for the kind of nationwide organization that is needed. For the first time in the history of the nation the federal government seriously undertook an inventory of civil rights. The resulting report clearly indicates the areas of weakness and points out the implementation, by affirmative action, that is needed.

It now becomes a problem of organizing public opinion to demand the enactment of the recommended measures. There seems to me no doubt that the political potential exists, if it can be organized and if the right strategy and leadership can be developed.

This potential is to be found in organized religion—Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish; in the labor unions; in the minority groups; and among independent voters. These forces, it should be emphasized, never have been organized on a national scale because, incredible as it may sound, the idea that government could be used affirmatively to end discrimination is of comparatively recent origin.

Those who still advocate a policy of gradualism should take special note of the fact that racial minorities have a new fulcrum for action in United Nations and that they

determined to use it. The petition recently filed by the NAACP with the United Nations makes an unanswerable case and one that will command action, sooner or later, unless citizens of the United States can be aroused to the necessity for immediate elimination of all forms of discrimination. The report of the NAACP points out that there are today nearly as many Negroes in the United States as there are inhabitants in Argentina or Czechoslovakia or the whole of Scandinavia.

A brief, reciting similar minority injustices, could be filed with the UN by some 2,500,000 Mexicans in the U. S. and by resident Filipinos, Chinese, Japanese, and East Indians.

If we want to escape the embarrassment of seeing the whole ugly pattern of discrimination aired before the UN, then we had better demonstrate an immediate willingness and determination to eliminate it. We had better do so, in fact, if we wish to preserve democracy in the U. S.

Let those who question this statement read Elmo Roper's alarming public opinion poll which appeared in *Fortune* for October 1947. By the use of a secret ballot question, Mr. Roper found that 36 percent of the American people now take the view that the Jews have more economic power than is good for the country; 21 percent hold that Jews are getting undue political power. There is good reason to believe that a poll of German public opinion prior to 1933

would not have surpassed this anti-Semitic score.

To summarize: events have now forced the minority question into the foreground of American thinking and have invested the problem with an entirely new urgency both in domestic and international terms. At the same time, the dimensions of the problem have been reduced by scientific research so that only the intellectually irresponsible will now contend that it is insoluble or that it will not yield to the prescriptions of science.

WE NOW HAVE THE ADMINISTRATIVE skills and techniques by which we can, if we wish, affirmatively safeguard the exercise of rights long recognized. A beginning also has been made in the organization of a public opinion that will not only resist further encroachment on the rights of minorities but will insist on the elimination of all discriminatory practices.

In short, the stage is now set for an organized, nationwide assault on a set of anachronistic practices whose only sanction rests on greed, ignorance, and cruelty. Stripped of folklore and of mythical trimmings, the issue of discrimination becomes crystal clear.

Our difficulty, at the moment, lies in the fact that we are not treating this issue as a political problem but rather as a "moral" or "social" problem, amenable, if at all, only to prayer, persuasion, and "further study."

What I would like to see happen is this: some organization which en-

joys general confidence and respect—the American Friends Service Committee, for example, or the National Conference of Christians and Jews, to call a conference in Washington, to which delegates would be invited from every civic unity council in the country and from every organization that has expressed an interest, however marginal, in this problem. To such a gathering, there should be submitted for consideration a detailed program aimed at the elimination of all forms of racial and religious discrimination. Out of such a conference there should come a single national organization, speaking on this issue for all the groups represented and dedicated to the achievement of a real functional equality in American life.

Organized on a non-partisan basis, such an organization should then bring pressure to bear on both major political parties, at the local, state, and federal level, to adopt its program; and it should back up this request by throwing the commanding influence it would represent behind candidates who supported its program and against any who opposed it.

Democracy is not a self-invoking process; it assumes organization, leadership, a channel for expression—a means-ends apparatus. Currently, the absence of this apparatus is the principal factor retarding a consolidation of the gains thus far achieved and of the ends still to be achieved in the attainment of a genuine social and ethnic democracy.

Candlelights in the Darkness

NELSON C. JACKSON

A CHINESE PROVERB SAYS, "It is better to light a small candle than to curse the darkness." Candles are being lighted in many places over the vast Southland from Virginia to Texas, from the Gulf of Mexico northward to the border. While a large section north of the Mason and Dixon Line may be content with electric lights and complacent in the belief that all is serene because problems of other areas are far removed, it is well to consider that every darkened corner is a threat to America's South. The South, in many ways our

weakest spot, needs cooperation and help. The candle flames require nursing and encouraging, but they give light already.

In his "Revolt of the South and West," A. G. Mezerik reports:

The thirteen southern States represent one fourth of the total area of the United States; contain half the nation's farms; 90 percent of the sulphur and phosphate; two thirds of the oil and natural gas; a fourth of the electric power; and 40 percent of the lumber products. Add to this a desirable climate in which to live, and the total should

be a land of milk and honey. Yet the 36,500,000 people on the 800,000 square miles have the lowest living standards in the nation, the worst diet, shabbiest houses, fewest toilets, poorest schools, hospitals, and libraries.

Many persons seek a scapegoat to explain away shortcomings and rightly or wrongly blame Wall Street; others still fight the Civil War, or curse the one-crop system—cotton. Some believe that the racial problem is the cause of all the South's difficulties. There are also those who feel that the Negro is a resource and part of

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the fabric of the garment which is the South. The latter group increasingly is becoming heard and its actions felt in making communities better places for all citizens to live. The idea is not new in the South but is often overlooked or not discussed for fear that enemies of progress may throw barriers across the road.

It is the purpose here to examine some of the candles which have been lighted, showing cooperation between the races. They have meant a better life in the South. They are seen more clearly in the realm of social action where programs which treat social problems are in evidence. Although small, the patterns if studied, interpreted, and executed, should be of value throughout the country as evidence of the possible.

2

HOUSING FOR MINORITIES HAS BEEN and still is a number one issue. The 1940 housing census indicates that 60 percent of all housing in Georgia is substandard. Negro housing is even worse; similar conditions prevail throughout the South. Fortunately, public housing agencies have been available and the activities and specialized skills of the racial relations advisers have served thousands of communities. New housing has been stimulated or made possible through federal aid. Representative Frank Buchanan of Pennsylvania, speaking in Congress June 27, 1947, said:

Today, Negro as well as white developers are finding encouragement and assistance where heretofore they were met only with insurmountable problems in building for these (Negro) groups. Substantial construction programs using the resources of the Negro group are under way in Atlanta and Macon, Georgia; Nashville, Tennessee; New Orleans, Louisiana; Lubbock, Texas, and various other cities. At the same time white business men have spearheaded corporations for the development of housing to accommodate Negroes.

The story of the Orlando, Florida, experience gives insight into a kind of cooperation which the *Sunday Sentinel Star* of November 24, 1946 stated in front page headlines—"Orlando Shows Way to Entire Nation in Non-Profit Deal." It is an answer to those who lament—"it can be done in

Orlando but it cannot be done here because race relations are better in Orlando than Deep Gulch, Mississippi."

For generations, Orlando Negroes have been hemmed in. In a study made during World War II, I found that Negroes did not have access to even one of the more than thirty lakes within the city which were available to other citizens for recreation; and that the Negro ghetto was dangerously overcrowded. Any effort to break out of the prescribed black belt brought resentment, protest, and racial conflict. Negroes represented almost one fourth of the city's 35,000 population but had for occupancy considerably less than one fourth of the land area.

The moving figure behind the Orlando development is John Graham, a tile manufacturer. One evening as he was passing out pay envelopes, one of his Negro employes requested him to take out a little each week to help him save enough to make a down payment on a home. Soon the employe had saved \$200 and at his request Mr. Graham tried to make a down payment with it on a house and lot in the Negro section. He ran into a blank wall. All the property was owned by white landlords who refused to sell because of high rental incomes. John Graham offered to trade valuable lots owned in Orwin Manor—a white subdivision—for a lot in the Negro section, but was refused. He reported his findings to the Mayor, then to his Rotary Club, and kept on until he succeeded in arousing the entire white community. Their interest crystallized into the formation of a nonprofit housing corporation.

Al Thompson, regional racial relations adviser, reports that Washington Shores Inc. (named for the late Booker T. Washington), a cooperative development large enough to house a large portion of Orlando's Negro population, has become the yeastly force out of which has arisen an alert awareness of and concerted action upon this basic problem. The community, under sponsorship of the Greater Orlando Chamber of Commerce and Civic Clubs, and the local government, under the mayor's leadership, joined hands with a federal agency (FHA) for an over-all attack on the Negro housing problem. Orlando can boast that she has pointed the way to the entire nation.

A Negro advisory committee was formed and still acts as a sounding

board reflecting the spirit and needs by which the directors of the corporation may guide their policy and administration. The committee, to date, has assisted in setting prices on lots; establishing controls for the commercial area; naming streets; outlining restrictions on the general residential area; and approving all plans for home construction. In addition to the advisory committee all real estate transactions in connection with the housing development are handled by Negro real estate brokers who act under advice of the corporation.

It is significant that seventy white leaders in Orlando rushed to the aid of the racial relations advisers when they were given notice that their jobs would terminate June 30, 1947. These citizens in Orlando were conscious of the valuable assistance given by these representatives of the government who helped Orlando to a higher rung on the ladder of progress.

3

THE EDITOR OF A DAILY NEWSPAPER IN one of the large southern cities discussed a project to have his reporters interview prominent white citizens in a poll of opinion to find out what four things Negroes could have at once. He wanted them to agree on non-controversial items. He suggested to me that he thought them to be equal education, health, decent housing, and the right to worship as they chose.

What of the right, I asked him, to work at a decent job with equal pay; isn't that the road to health, better housing, and the rest of it? That, he said immediately, is *controversial*.

It seems, unfortunately, that the right of Negroes to work at skilled occupations is considered a controversial subject by many people. During the war, when manpower was urgently needed and where there was available the aid of Presidential Order 8802, Negroes found their way into a number of skilled and semiskilled jobs. For example, the Atlanta Urban League helped insert the wedge for employment of Negroes in the Bell Aircraft plant at Marietta, Georgia. With the war's end, over a thousand such workers, skilled through training and experience, returned to peacetime unskilled pursuits. Few have been able to find an outlet in this community for the wartime skills.

Important to remember is the fact

that in the past statements have been made deploring the lack of new skills available in the region. Now the skills have been gained, they are available to be used. The question is—where?

The Alabama Shipbuilding and Drydock Company of Mobile maintained segregated ship-ways as a precaution against friction, and employed thousands of Negroes during the war. A Negro personnel officer was employed to work with Negroes. This plant's operations were notable throughout the country for the high level of skill at which it afforded jobs for Negroes. Last winter the segregated ship-ways were not in operation, and still approximately 29 percent of the employes were Negroes.

Thirty years ago the Southern States Iron and Roofing Company was established in Savannah—a new business selling a new product in what was then a new way. Wood shingles had been used for generations. But here was a firm that had something very new—steel roofing. Customers took the company's word for it that steel roofing would last fifteen to thirty years.

Today Southern States is a multi-million-dollar corporation with four factories and eight factory warehouses. They are located in Savannah and Albany, Georgia; Birmingham, Alabama; Raleigh, North Carolina; Orlando, Florida; Columbia, South Carolina; Hattiesburg, Mississippi; and Nashville, Tennessee. The company also operates twenty-five drum assembly units. The concern has outlived its name because it has moved into many fields.

THE SIGNIFICANT FACTOR IS THAT ITS president, who has been responsible for the expansion during his regime of eight years, has an enlightened employe policy. There is nothing curious, according to the company's own view, expressed through its public relations office, in white and Negro employes working side by side. A company of such power and prestige cannot fail, in time, to influence management-labor relations of southern firms, for economic profit if for no other reason.

Several years ago a nationally known cigar company established a factory in a southern town. The president employed Negroes and set high standards of performance, recompensed by good wages. The local chamber of

commerce objected to the wages paid by this concern, higher than received by the other Negroes in the community. The factory insisted, however, on maintaining its wage level—and the world has not come to an end. At the same time, employes have enjoyed higher standards of living and make a greater contribution to the development of their community.

Each year since the war there has been an increase in new industries coming south. The Georgia State Agriculture Bureau reported 457 new industries coming to Georgia during the first nine months of 1947, more than 50 a month. If basic industries are established, using the raw materials and resources of the region, it can be expected that a sound economy will result.

This is a big *if* and it depends, too, upon what happens with the mechanization of agriculture.

During World War II most southern states lost population through migration. Negroes have left the farms and moved to urban communities north and south. Nevertheless, the majority of them still live in the South and the U. S. Department of Agriculture reports that almost all the 670,000 colored farmers in the South are dependent largely upon cotton for a livelihood. What happens to cotton may seriously affect their lives. Many may be displaced before industrialization has advanced enough to absorb any appreciable number.

It is well to examine the transition in agriculture with a view toward easing farm laborers into other pursuits. Preliminary conferences have been held in Washington between representatives of the National Urban League, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Department of Agriculture, and should continue in the future. Southern states are conscious of this situation but need to think more of planning which includes representatives of all the people. Agricultural extension workers can help and of the 924 additional workers appointed in the South under Bankhead-Flannagan funds since 1945, 197, or 21 percent, were Negroes, according to M. L. Wilson, director of Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture.

Industrialization and urbanization will continue. Both have brought an increase in union membership. The recently closed CIO convention re-

ported that approximately 280,000 new members had been gained by its southern drive. A large number of these are Negroes. The American Federation of Labor in its pamphlet, "Pie in the Sky," reports more than 650,000 Negro members, 450,000 of these in the South. This publication further says:

Today there are thousands of highly skilled Negro bricklayers, plasterers, carpenters, painters, bridge and structural iron workers, moulders and foundry workers, meat cutters, actors, musicians, paper and pulp workers, chemical workers, government employes, coopers, printers, and clay workers—all of them protected by AFL contracts with equal pay and opportunities.

Business Week, commenting on a recent economic survey of the region, indicates that there has been an increase in total income of 166 percent between 1939 and 1946. The rise in income per person in the Southeast in the same period was 160 percent—the highest of any section in the nation. This points toward economic progress. The over-all picture might be changed phenomenally by following the admonition of Mordecai Ezekiel, the economist, that by giving Negroes equal wages for equal work the national income would be enlarged by six billion dollars, of which one billion would go for taxes.

4

THE SOCIAL SECURITY PROGRAM NOW undergirds the national economic structure and has provided a basis for expansion of social services. That program has given rise to cooperation at the "grass roots" which has been healthy in the South. In addition to giving services to people in need, it has provided for an increase in the number of Negro social workers employed. Trends indicate the further use of trained workers of this group.

Development of social services for Negroes in key communities throughout this region has been accelerated in the past two or three years.

The National Urban League in 1944, operating on a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, began work on a Community Relations Project aimed at developing and testing techniques for relieving the racial tensions increasingly manifested in war industry communities and for promoting participation by Negroes in community economic and social life.

Social Thinking

The project was carried out along the following lines: A project committee was formed which was comprised of a "team" of national agencies, with the National Urban League as its administrative agent. Through this committee the participating organizations carried on a five-point program, namely:

1. Selecting communities where population increases and wartime stresses made strained race relations a serious problem;

2. Choosing from this list a group of cities in which cooperative efforts might be developed toward objectives of the project;

3. Conferring with local leadership on ways in which racial tensions might be lessened and the social and economic condition of the Negro improved;

4. In cooperation with local leadership, initiating surveys or more informal observations on the nature of existing problems and recommending specific remedies;

5. Assisting local leadership in putting these recommendations into operation.

The activities were carried on by a field staff which included a trained research group and specialists in family and child care, group work and recreation, housing, health, and industrial relations. Of the thirteen cities which requested such action during its three years of operation, eight were in the South—Houston, Oklahoma City and Tulsa, St. Petersburg, Charleston, Little Rock, Winston-Salem, and Chattanooga.

In each of the cities leading citizens, white and black, worked cooperatively as members of a project committee. A former governor of a southern state was chairman of one committee. Mayors, city and county officials, industrialists, union representatives, educators, physicians, ministers, social workers, and representatives of the people worked together, bringing democracy into being.

The chairman of the Community Relations Project Advisory Committee, Mrs. Virginia Schoellkopf, reported on some of the results.

"The survey did the invaluable act of bringing the facts together and focused them behind a sound program of action," she said.

The project was immediately successful, she indicated, in crystallizing scattered or limited activities into permanent community organizations

for improved race relations, and stimulating advancement in social welfare, recreation, and health.

In both St. Petersburg and Charleston, previous organization for race relations was at a minimum. In the latter city there was a Council of Churches and an interracial committee. But the last named group, by gentleman's agreement, discussed only non-controversial subjects. Through the project, both groups extended their concepts, and the local sponsoring committee, which was also more representative, became the nucleus of more formal permanent efforts.

In social welfare, it is significant that race segregation is being peacefully broken in some areas, and in at least two cities—St. Petersburg and Tulsa. Otherwise, gains in this field to date tend toward the wider participation of Negroes on agency boards and staffs, in the activation of community planning, and the improved quality of agency programs, especially in child care.

AN URBAN LEAGUE AFFILIATE WAS ESTABLISHED in Oklahoma City to carry out recommendations of the project. In Jacksonville, Florida, a survey made by the Southern Regional Council caused the local citizens to begin efforts to establish an organization and now they too have an Urban League branch. The league's Southern Field Division is currently working with other cities at their request for futherance of the league program. In each instance the desire expressed is to ease racial tensions and provide greater services for all the people.

Other southwide organizations such as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and Southern Regional Council are active day by day in lifting the level of life for those who have tied their futures to this region. Local and state branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have definite programs of action in their communities and states. Increased registration for voting, suits to equalize teachers salaries, provisions for adequate graduate training for Negroes, and protection of civil rights have all been included in a going program.

At least one southern state has organized a statewide committee of Negroes to work with a similar group of white citizens to protect and develop the state's human resources. The program is financed by public

funds and can be followed elsewhere.

The President's Committee on Civil Rights notes progress in its report, as well as discouragements. The increased awareness of Negroes in the South to their citizenship rights as voters has enhanced their position in several communities. Negroes have been added to the police force in Savannah, Georgia, and there are now Negro police in forty-one cities and ten southern states. Governors and aspirants to the governorship have called in Negro leaders in several states to discuss plans for the best interests of Negro citizens.

Concrete evidence of increased opportunities in education for Negroes can be cited. For example, plants are being improved, as in Florida, where a substantial building program on the state Agricultural and Mechanical Arts College campus is in progress. In most of the state colleges for Negroes improved salary schedules make possible higher standards of instruction.

Governors of several southern states in a recent conference discussed the possibility of establishing segregated regional universities for both white and colored students to provide certain types of postgraduate and professional education—an attempt to meet the requirements of the U. S. Supreme Court decision in the Gaines case.

5

IN HOUSING, EMPLOYMENT, AND SOCIAL services, candlelights in the darkness show the way of progress in the South. Many Negro and white citizens are sitting around the conference table or working quietly but with determination to bring about a better way of life for all. The old order is changing. The old South may well become the new frontier. The greatest strength is in the people who are becoming increasingly aware of events about them and the part they must play. It is in evidence throughout the region. People are expecting more from their leaders and are making their wishes known.

Recently, a deacon in an Alabama church told that the church was attempting to remove its minister, prominent in state religious circles, because his name is never connected with any of the civic activities of his community. As such events materialize, the South may then be called a land of milk and honey.

Here's a Story for You!

MICHAEL M. DAVIS

I CAUGHT THE WHITE PLAINS TRAIN with no minutes to spare and well down the car spied a lawyer friend and fellow-commuter, to whom I edged through the aisle to share a seat. I put my hat in the rack and the fat book in my lap.

"What's that?" he asked. "Taking home a new Webster's Unabridged for the family?"

I turned the 1,200-page volume around so he could read the title for himself: "A History of the American Medical Association, 1847-1947," by Dr. Morris Fishbein (W. B. Saunders, Philadelphia). "It's the commemorative volume for the centennial of the founding of the association," I explained.

"Don't lose your beauty sleep reading it," he warned. "I should think it would cost too much to sell."

"Ten dollars," I reported. "But a great many doctors will buy it for sentimental reasons. Besides, the main history makes up barely half the book. There's a portrait gallery, with biographies of the 101 presidents and other worthies. That fills nearly three hundred pages. Then each of the chief councils, bureaus, and publications of the association has its own history in its own pigeon-hole."

"I wish you joy in it. But I hope the American Bar Association never does that to me!"

Nevertheless, medicine has a wonderful story to tell. It is a pity that this impressive story isn't better told in this volume. Most of the centennial history reads as though the two editorial assistants thanked in the preface had done a scissors-and-paste job, going through the records year by year and checking out items to be strung together. Only here and there appear paragraphs that read as though they had been written for telling a story and not for patching up a chronicle. The pedestrian but forthright narratives of what some bureaus and councils have accomplished are often better than the main history.

But one searches this book in vain for interpretation of the stream of events; for insights into the development of medical science amid the network of interrelated sciences; for some sense of

HEALTH — Today & Tomorrow — A series by the chairman, Committee on Research in Medical Economics; associate editor, *Survey Graphic*.



the interplay between economic and social changes and the growth of the medical profession, the distribution of physicians, the advance of specialization, and the expansion of hospitals. It may be said that such ideas belong more in a history of medicine than in the story of the American Medical Association, but to make it meaningful the one must be correlated with the other.

The reader of the chronicle and the biographies will be depressed by the lack of imagination and the abundance of sugar. Sometimes the sugar comes in lumps, as when the editorial assistants have picked out, for publication, letters and resolutions praising their chief. In the centennial publication of any organization some note of self-congratulation is not inappropriate, but the literary level here suggests a local lunch club rather than our premier profession.

The advance of medical science itself and the cumulative onrush of new technologies is one of the inspiring stories of the century. When the AMA was organized in 1847, the trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital had just decided not to open a maternity ward, on the ground that "It cannot be presumed that respectable married women will ever enter a department of this kind." Small wonder at that time, for Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes had just told a hardly heeding world that "child-bed fever" was not a visitation of Providence but an infection which doctor, midwife, or nurse might carry from one woman to another.

A CENTURY'S PROGRESS SINCE THEN HAS not only brought explicit knowledge of most infections but has put many of the more serious ones under control; has turned chemistry, physics, statistics, and parts of biology and sociology into the service of medicine; has opened the most secret places of the body to surgery; has enlightened, though not yet illuminated, the springs of personality;

has saved lives, has lengthened life, and is beginning to study how to enrich it. A whole alphabet of scientific discoveries and practical achievements lies within this hundred years, from anesthesia and bacteriology to X-rays.

In these accomplishments many sciences and professions have shared. One has only to think of such names as Pasteur, Roentgen, Ehrlich, Nightingale, Sedgwick, to appreciate that chemists, physicists, biologists, nurses, engineers, and administrators have participated with physicians in attaining knowledge and in applying it. Yet the physician remains the central figure, and medicine as a profession has advanced along with these scientific and practical gains.

A hundred years ago most "doctors" launched themselves in practice after going through a short-course commercial medical college (run for the profit of its faculty) plus some apprenticeship with an established physician. Dr. Nathan Smith Davis, the founder of the AMA, proposed the improvement of medical education as a prime objective of the organization. The history of the association shows that it has worked long, vigorously, and well to raise medical schools to their present high and respected level. Concurrently its efforts to improve hospitals and establish standards for specialists have had value for doctors and the whole public.

IN OTHER FIELDS, ALSO, THE CENTURY'S record is impressive. The AMA has fought quackery. "Week after week through the years," writes Dr. Fishbein, "the association has published its exposés of the charlatans." Time and again the association and its officials have been sued; have outfaced or won the suits. Quacks and miracle healers of all kinds have been fought, including those despicable folk who advertise cancer "cures," often misleading victims to their deaths.

Only a few weeks ago an article in the association's *Journal* exposed the danger from the sale to beauty parlors and other places of apparatus supplying X-ray treatment to remove superfluous hair. Widespread commercial exploitation of such apparatus seems possible.

A Story For You!

The treatment does remove hair, but in subsequent months or years is likely to bring pain, disfigurement, and even death—for cancer may develop. The article describes cases, names names, and points warning.

The association supported the Federal Food and Drug Acts and has waged a long term war against secret formulas of proprietary medicines and against advertising dangerous or worthless preparations. Its Council on Pharmacy and Chemistry establishes standards, makes investigations of new and proposed remedies, and publishes its results. The gross abuses of medical advertising which disgraced the newspapers and the medical journals a generation ago have been largely cleaned up and the association has played a distinguished part in the process. It is also true that advertising by drug and other businesses that sell things to or through doctors has become an important source of support for medical societies and their publications. The advertising revenue of *The Journal of the AMA* (a weekly with a circulation of 130,000) exceeds a million dollars annually.

The association has promoted scientific research through small grants to specific projects; still more through its general influence; perhaps most of all through providing, in its journals, vehicles for the publication of the processes and results of research. It maintains the Cumulative Index of Medical Literature, a tool of worldwide use to scientists. Its library of current periodical literature, with a loan, a package, and an informational service, helps physicians all over the country to keep up in their profession. The annual convention of the association, with technical meetings, scientific and commercial exhibits, and increasingly effective press coverage stimulates the doctors and the public and advances the coherence of the profession.

THE LEVEL OF THE VOLUME TOUCHES bottom as we pass from the personalities and internal development of the association to those parts of the history that deal with its public relations. Since 1920, the association has officially opposed compulsory health insurance, state or national. Such a stand is not surprising. The unfortunate fact is, that in endeavoring to implement its stand, the association has never provided its members with the facts on which they could comprehend the character and working of health insurance abroad, or

proposed legislation in this country. British health insurance, for example, has been presented in so biased a manner as to draw, on several occasions, public criticism, even from our reserved Anglo-Saxon brethren.

American physicians were not informed that the British Medical Association, originally in opposition to national health insurance when Parliament adopted it in 1911, changed its views and by 1930 had officially approved it and urged its extension. In 1934, the Michigan State Medical Society sent a committee to Britain and published their report that the official London correspondent of the *AMA Journal* was an elderly, out-of-practice English doctor who was not even a member of the BMA. Of course physicians will not find these facts in Dr. Fishbein's history.

NOR CAN A READER GAIN THE SMALLEST idea of the vast campaign which the AMA, its state and county medical societies and its affiliate, the National Physicians Committee, have conducted against national health insurance during the last few years; its magnitude—\$500,000 or more a year has been spent; its character—misrepresentation of the legislation, high-temperature emotionalism, red-baiting even of members of the AMA who disagree with its policies.

The few references to these matters exude self-satisfaction, perhaps in part because the author thinks that since the change in the "political aspect of the Congress" after the 1946 election, "the threat of socialization of medicine . . . (is) less imminent than at any time in the previous thirty years."

Going farther back, examine how this history treats the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care. The five-year studies of that non-governmental, medical-lay body under the chairmanship of Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur culminated in a report in December 1932, advocating—at least the majority did—voluntary health insurance and group medical practice. The editorial appearing in the association's *Journal* just after the report was issued, attacked it as "socialism and communism, inciting to revolution."

In dealing with this event fifteen years later, the author of the centennial history finds nothing better than to quote parts of his own editorial of 1932. He doesn't say what the committee report proposed, which is wise, since the AMA now supports voluntary insurance and is spending considerable sums promoting voluntary plans under medical control.

One more illustration is the handling of the AMA's indictment, trial, and conviction under the Sherman Antitrust law (1938-1943). A special chapter on this famous case and other references to it fill nearly twenty pages. From it all, the reader gains only the feeling that the prosecution was a persecution. Almost six pages are filled with cartoons picturing organized medicine as a victim. Three pages of fine print are given to quoting those parts of the District Judge's charge to the jury which explain the status and rights of the defendants, i. e., the AMA, while the elaborate decision of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals which reviewed the issues and upheld the conviction, and the final opinion of the Supreme Court to the same effect are wholly passed over.

Since I began work in medical administration nearly forty years ago, I have come to know a great many physicians in different parts of this country. I have acquired respect and admiration for the vast majority, for their skill, their readiness to take responsibility for pain-smitten or anxious fellow beings, their devotion to service despite the increasing commercial pressures.

In regard to the economic and public relations of medicine, a small but growing fraction of physicians now know the time of day and are making headway within and outside of the profession, despite the intolerance towards dissenting opinion which, born of ignorance and fear, unhappily characterizes most medical societies and their journals.

BUT THE LARGE MAJORITY OF DOCTORS are uninformed to a degree that renders them unable to employ their well trained minds on the exigent public problems of medicine and permits them to be the prey of emotion and the tools of politicians. For this ominous situation, a large share of responsibility rests upon an official leadership which, during the past twenty-five years, has moved forward only as events have dragged it.

A few years ago, while at dinner with Dr. Fishbein just before a Town Hall debate, I asked him, out of hearing of the others: "You know that something like national health insurance is bound to come. Why do you take this utterly negative attitude towards it?" "Yes, it is coming," he said, "but it's my business to hold it back as long as I can."

Pity it is that the mounting price of delay will be paid less by those most responsible for it than by the mass of the medical profession and the American people.

Economic Decades

HARRY HANSEN

HISTORIANS ARE ALREADY GROUPING the two world wars and the twenty years between and considering them as a unified period in American life, comparable in significance to the War of Independence and the Civil War. What they will call it is not yet certain, but it is plain that they will think of economic adjustment as its dominant note. Although the period has not yet run its full course, its outlines and chief movements can now be traced.

The authors of two new books, George Soule and Broadus Mitchell, have divided this period in order to make a study of its economic history. They begin with the premise that free and unrestricted enterprise prevailed at the opening of the period, and that the first attempts at federal planning, and price and output regulation came in these years. They see government interference based on necessity in the administrations of Woodrow Wilson, Herbert Hoover, and Franklin D. Roosevelt, having at different times the object of producing armament and mitigating the effects of depression. They see no abandonment of the basic principles of the profit system by any administration, and find the reforms inconclusive, and the situation at the end repeating, with some variations, earlier experience.

Mr. Soule's book is called "Prosperity Decade: From War to Depression, 1917-1929" and Mr. Mitchell's "Depression Decade: From New Era Through New Deal, 1929-1941" (Rinehart, each \$5.50). Both are part of a series, "The Economic History of the United States," being shepherded by a board of editors composed of Henry David, Harold U. Faulkner, Louis M. Hacker, Curtis P. Nettels, and Fred A. Shannon. There will be nine volumes in all.

The editors are aware that studies of economic developments encourage "the display of bias and the writing of polemics in the guise of history," but believe Mr. Soule has kept clear of both and obviously expect similar treatment from their other authors. Actually neither Mr. Soule nor Mr. Mitchell is

a neutral chronicler, but they are far above the partisan battles that keep Republicans and Democrats calling names.

The allocation of the 1917-1929 period to George Soule must have provided special satisfaction to an advocate of planned economy. For though the years described in "Prosperity Decade" were full of "froth and turmoil," the nation had its first taste of federal planning and regulation, forced by the need of arming and fighting a war. Mr. Soule says "the war organization was a fumbling, but on the whole successful, attempt to use planning and economic management for a national purpose—an experiment on which the nation turned its back as soon as the war was over."

AN ANALYSIS OF THE CREEPING DOOM that was concealed from happy optimists of the 1920's, and the path to the disaster of 1929, falls to Mr. Soule, and his account discloses the extraordinary complexity of the whole situation. He does not accept the easy generalization that Wall Street provoked the crash, nor that the depression stemmed entirely from the first world war. He weighs every factor — investment, speculation, labor, unemployment, industrial production, demand for consumer and durable goods, inventory, new developments in motor cars and radio, installment buying, cheap money, and easy credit.

Now and then he mentions that the main incentive in this country's economic development to date is the profit motive; that is inherent in the whole period under discussion. But it is hard to believe, he says, that Americans of the 1920's could have been as "credulous and reckless" as the record proves. It

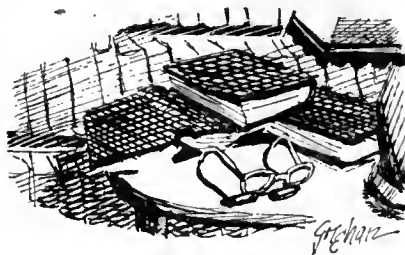
suggests that beyond "the facts" there exist states of mind that ignore reality. As individuals we seem to carry our own world of illusions with us, becoming oblivious of influences that do not affect our immediate welfare.

BROADUS MITCHELL, IN "DEPRESSION Decade," is much more outspoken. As a socialist of long standing he naturally has little to say for the profit motive. His point of view makes it unnecessary for him to defend all of the Roosevelt economic methods and condemn all those of Herbert Hoover merely to maintain a partisan argument. Mr. Mitchell, having no need to save anybody's reputation, ends by rehabilitating much of Mr. Hoover's, without enthusiasm, and by damaging Franklin D. Roosevelt's, with regret.

Both books are comprehensive and complementary in their treatment of the history of labor. Mr. Mitchell describes the change from craft unionism to the organization of the unskilled, of which the most remarkable example is the substitution of a powerful union for the open shop in the motor car industry. He describes the divisions in the house of labor; its "civil war" and the place of government interference in the labor record. The attitude of the administration and the laws it favored were decisive.

Mr. Mitchell becomes as lyrical as an economist can when he describes the "social resurrection" promoted by the TVA. He tells how ignorant farmers had ruined the land and still lived amid primitive conditions, yet when the project developed, 4,500,000 people welcomed it and moved "from the sievelike shack to the tasteful cottage, from superstition to science."

He apologizes for his enthusiasm: "If this seems a flight of fancy, grant something to the gratitude, and the knowledge, of one who was born within hailing distance of the scene, and whose family all but surrendered there before surviving to witness the miracle." This account is one of the best compact summaries of what TVA has accomplished



Letters and Life

and fits logically into the decade in which much was attempted, much lost, and something substantial gained.

To Broadus Mitchell, the Roosevelt economic policies fell short of their object. The National Recovery Act and the New Deal were inadequate. The responsibility of the executive in bringing war nearer is hinted in this book, and in the criticism of foreign policy, the President's motives are questioned. For example: "In asking for a declaration of war he [FDR] described as a treacherous attack a stroke of the Japanese which he had anticipated and which, after a point in the degeneration of negotiations, he had desired."

Mr. Mitchell is also extremely critical of President Roosevelt's private policies, such as framing the Atlantic Charter and making a deal with Britain for the fifty over-age destroyers. He holds that the President exceeded his authority when it seemed expedient to do so.

It should interest business men that Mr. Mitchell judges Franklin D. Roosevelt as a conservative with progressive ideas who had "the Tory tolerance for change." Naturally he is viewing the late President from a point considerably left of the latter's position. The Roosevelt economic policy was not based on a well thought out plan. With a de-

termination to bring about some reforms long overdue, he reached for simplified solutions of complex problems. Mr. Mitchell puts it thus: "He had no reasoned design founded in the analysis and issuing in deliberate articulated actions. If anything he moved less with the fervor of an innovator than with the assurance of a conservative."

Mr. Mitchell does not depreciate the "superb purpose" of Franklin D. Roosevelt, but he gives the New Deal a thorough overhauling. "Roosevelt, in his first campaign, was not so far ahead of Hoover. . . . Hoover was experimental and adaptable" but "never grasped the magnitude of the problem."

A RECURRENCE OF THE ECONOMIC HISTORY of the 1920's is both feared and expected by some survivors of the second world war. The two volumes discussed here should provide a good base for studying our present difficulties. They will not solve them, but, as Mr. Soule says, they give enough major facts to let the reader reach independent conclusions. They bring together a great deal of scattered information that lies unorganized in the mind, coordinate the events of twenty-four years, and lift the veil on underlying factors of economic change, often obscured by controversy, conflicting interests, and the clash of personalities.

◆
WHERE I STAND, by Harold E. Stassen. Doubleday. \$2.

Francis T. P. Plimpton

HE STANDS PRETTY MUCH IN THE middle of the road. Those who inhabit the right-hand gutter would say that he stands too far to the left; those who inhabit the left-hand gutter would say that he stands too far to the right—a good indication that he has found the firm surface of the center. His book does not describe everything that he stands on, but it covers a good deal of territory.

He starts out with his 1922 memory of Minnesota National Guardsmen breaking a packinghouse strike, when, he says, the economic balance between capital and labor was distorted in favor of capital. He continues with his 1945 memory of navy wardroom resentment at John L. Lewis' wartime strikes, when, he says, the balance had swung too far the other way.

He describes his interview with Stalin. Their talk centered on whether or not the planned economy and socialized col-

lectivism of the USSR and the free economy and regulated private capitalism of the USA can exist in one world in harmony — the question that looms, unanswered, over everyone's tomorrow. Stalin's answer was yes; that if the two countries could cooperate during the war, they could cooperate in peace, given the wish to cooperate.

Stassen thinks the Russian leaders are misinformed about American capitalism. Thus, Stalin insisted that despite the differences in governments, the economic systems of Nazi Germany and the United States were the same—which is certainly a quaint concept.

Stassen gives a sympathetic picture of Sergei and Maria Petrov, steel workers of Sverdlovsk in the Urals, their tiny apartment, their simple hard-working life, their low standard of material comforts, their friendliness. He believes that they are better off than they would have been under the tsarist brand of capitalism with a weak and totalitarian government, but that they would be much better off if Russia would move in the direction of greater economic freedom,

resulting not only in larger production but in increased social, political, and religious freedom.

As to Communists in America, Stassen would expose them, prosecute them when they break the law, ban them from public office, meet squarely the issues they raise, and correct the evils they point out, see to it that union members can vote by secret ballot and thus remove proved Communist union officials and—somewhat of a larger order—take all these steps with scrupulous regard for civil liberties and legal rights.

Almost a third of the book relates to the Taft-Hartley Act and to Stassen's views on American labor policy. He thinks that the act on a whole is a good law, that it redresses the balance of labor-capital relations, though he criticizes three of the provisions.

He discusses at length the Minnesota labor law which, passed under his gubernatorial aegis in 1939, had a markedly beneficent effect on Minnesota industrial relations, although he points out that the major share of credit should be given to Minnesota labor and management themselves.

In commenting on "two years of either pathetic or unpardonable incompetence in government housing circles," he advocates the federal spending of \$1,000,000,000 a year for housing on selected sites obtained by condemnation, and the subsequent sale of the completed units, one half to home owners and one half to investors. And he concludes:

We are engaged in a momentous worldwide competition and clash of economic systems and of ideas. It is the most significant contest of such a nature in history. I am confident of the result if we in America recognize the existence of the competition, correctly analyze the basic principles of our system, and with determination but humility strengthen our way at home and advocate it abroad.

That is a pretty good place to stand.

SPEAKING FRANKLY, by James F. Byrnes. Harper. \$3.50.

Ferdinand Kuhn, Jr.

"I HAVE TRIED," SAYS MR. BYRNES in his foreword, "to give you a seat at the conference table." This is just what he has succeeded in doing in his book. He has taken the reader with him to all the conferences he attended, from Yalta to the Waldorf in New York, and has told much of what happened.

In telling the story straightforwardly,

and with strangely little emotion, he has accomplished another purpose. This is to explode the notion that you can reach agreement with the Russians just by sitting down at the same table with them. Mr. Byrnes soon discovered that negotiating with Mr. Molotov was as painful and exhausting as a wrestling match. Before the reader is halfway through these pages, he actually feels the frustration that all but overwhelmed Mr. Byrnes at the conference table.

Mr. Byrnes does not pretend to tell the whole story of American foreign policy during his eventful two years at the State Department. He carefully excludes relations with Latin America and Canada, and much more. But he includes an important chapter on the origins and growth of American policy for the control of atomic energy. He dips into Far Eastern affairs and, in a sketchy introduction, into wartime decisions that led to some of our present day problems.

He throws new light on President Roosevelt's curious acceptance and later disavowal of the "Morgenthau Plan" for Germany. He uses captured German

documents to tell of the Molotov-Hitler conversations of 1940, which he regards as the clue to Soviet aims today. In the light of these documents he is convinced that Russia wants unquestioned control of the eastern Balkans, the Dardanelles, the Turkish Black Sea provinces and northern Persia, and will persist until she gets them. (By what right, incidentally, does Mr. Byrnes publish the substance of these documents himself, when his own State Department denied them for so long to reporters and scholars?)

The book also contains the text of Mr. Byrnes' long teletype message from Paris to President Truman, threatening resignation if Henry Wallace did not leave the Cabinet. But of all the disclosures in the book—and there are so many that it would take a whole page of *Survey Graphic* just to list them—the most valuable are those that throw light on the decisions and policies of Mr. Byrnes himself.

He is supposed to be the author and chief practitioner of a policy of "getting tough with Russia." The book, I think, disposes pretty effectively of this theory; it shows that President Roosevelt had

misgivings about Russia, and counseled a policy of firmness before he died. What Mr. Byrnes decided, after showing great patience, was that Russia could not be allowed to paralyze the peace; that if the western powers could not agree with Russia they would have to go ahead without her where necessary.

But in what direction? Mr. Byrnes did not offer any clear or convincing goal during his 562 days in office. His book suffers from the same defect, although it proposes a procedure for getting a German peace treaty at the risk of subsequent war with Russia.

Mr. Byrnes is primarily a political human being: shrewd, resourceful, charming, but blind to nonpolitical factors in foreign relations. He thought treaty-making was the same as peace-making. He let himself be preoccupied with getting the defeated nations back on their feet, but he neglected the vastly greater need of reviving the western allies. He showed little interest in the economic path to peace. He left it to his successor to show the vision and the courage which these unhappy times require.

◆
PEACE OR ANARCHY, by Cord Meyer, Jr. Atlantic, Little Brown. \$2.50.

BACK HOME, by Bill Mauldin. William Sloan Associates. \$3.50.

Daniel S. Gillmor

AS THE RECENT WAR DREW TOWARD its close, I am told, there was a rash of books published in the United States on "How to Handle the Returning Veteran."

"Be patient with him," one such guide admonishes. "Getting accustomed to civilian [life] may not be easy, and he may have undergone emotional and personality changes. Listen to as much or as little as he wishes to tell."

Bill Mauldin and Cord Meyer, Jr. are two young (twenty-five and twenty-seven years, respectively) veterans who have much to tell, and whose emotions and personalities have changed all right, not in the heat of battle, but in the sobering atmosphere of life in postwar America. Both are writing in a spirit full of honest indignation at the way things are.

Readers of the "bear with them, they'll listen to reason eventually" books will find these two fighting ex-fighters



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"Right now we're nursing him through a bad siege of social-consciousness."

unreconciled to the world created by their elders.

Meyer, home from Guam where he was seriously wounded while serving as a captain of marines, looks at the UN and today's peacemaking efforts and finds little hope in them. "The victory

won at such cost on the battlefield was squandered at the [San Francisco] conference table." The UN, he says, is even weaker than the old League of Nations. A third world war, which he paints with coldly vivid accuracy, is on the way unless. . . .

Unless we escape from the world anarchy created by the institution of the sovereign nation-state. Unless we recognize that UN "as it stands, is admittedly incapable of preserving peace but its institutions contain constructive possibilities." Unless we seek a limited world government with the legal and military power to limit national armed forces, prohibit certain weapons, inspect and police the whole world. Otherwise, "the American people will have no alternative but to intensify their military preparations."

Mauldin, home from a career as a front-line cartoonist, irreverent, irrepresible, takes a less sweeping look at things.

In fact, he takes a good look at Bill Mauldin. ". . . I have never been qualified as a profound intellectual," he remarks casually at the outset, "but my perverse nature does lean toward the

Letters and Life

rebellious. . .” This, he says, explains why he became a cartoonist: “If you want to say something nice, you have to put it into words.”

There are some 50,000 of those words in “Back Home” along with 200 of his best postwar cartoons. In them Mauldin describes his painful descent from the rarified heights of the American Olympus where he dwelt on his return as an American celebrity, holding a Pulitzer Prize and those even more priceless honors, a Book-of-the-Month Club selection, a movie contract, and a syndicate contract with 180 papers. Back in the warmer climate of lower altitudes, Mauldin still finds himself arrayed with Meyer and thousands of other veterans who will not accept the aimless drift of the world toward another war.

They are angry. They want to do something about it. It is clearly a case of unadjusted veterans, but the only books I can recommend to you for understanding their condition are Mauldin’s “Back Home” and Meyer’s “Peace or Anarchy.”

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOVIET ECONOMIC SYSTEM—An Essay on the Experience of Planning in the USSR, by Alexander Baykov. Macmillan. \$6.

Henry H. Ware

HERE IS A VALUABLE ADDITION TO THE Economic and Social Studies series of the National Institute of Economic and Social research. A dynamic exposition of the Soviet economic system as it has emerged from its earliest days and developed up to the recent prewar period, Alexander Baykov’s book is a thorough and scholarly piece of work.

It will be of value to students of the Soviet economy because of its extensive use of Russian sources, many of which are not generally available in this country. Much of current detailed information on the structure and performance of Soviet economic institutions since the war either has not been compiled or has been withheld by the Soviet government. This makes the study particularly valuable. The impressive array of sources listed in the many pages of bibliography is ample testimony to the fact that the author searched through numerous libraries and collections before he could gather all the material he desired.

The academic tone and the difficulties of presenting translated ideas should not discourage the reader who, if per-



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“I hear Moscow an’ Washington are snappin’ at each other again, Ivan.”

sistent, will find interest and information. Because of his dynamic approach, Mr. Baykov does an excellent job of answering one of the questions uppermost in our minds today: what makes the Russians tick?

As the author points out in his preface, he rejects any approach which would be theoretical, political, or technical. He considers the Soviet economy by breaking it down into industry, agriculture, trade, finance, and labor. He also treats general planning and aims. It is significant, however, that each aspect of the Soviet economy is dealt with not in a separate pigeonhole but as it relates to the entire picture.

Thus the author traces the logic of events under four major periods of development: 1. Transitional period and period of war communism. 2. Period of restoration and preparation for the reconstruction of the national economy. 3. Period of intensive industrialization, collectivization of agriculture, and rationing. 4. Period of intensive endeavor to improve the country’s economy and economic system.

How one event or development hinges upon and is conditioned by interrelated events is shown throughout. Just as we are shown how Soviet industrialization hinges upon collectivization of agriculture, we are presented the whole chain of events which led to the inclusion of practically the entire economic life of the USSR into the national plan.

The book may be criticized for understressing some of the major problems with which the Soviet economic system is faced and which it will have to face in the future: efficiency and incentives, limits of competition, retirement of out-

moded equipment, avoidance of too much “slack” in gearing one plan into another, and the future need to avoid waste by coordinating production schedules rather than emphasis on overfilling them indiscriminately. These and many other knotty problems have their place in the development of the Soviet economic system.

Perhaps it is to be expected that since by far the largest part of the source material for this book is Soviet, the tone of the book is optimistic, stressing accomplishments but giving little mention to unsolved difficulties. However, this is definitely a valuable reference book which should be on the shelf of every student of the Soviet Union.

SCIENTIFIC MAN VERSUS POWER POLITICS by Hans J. Morgenthau. University of Chicago Press. \$3.

Eduard C. Lindeman

THIS BOOK IS A LEGALISTIC AND, I BELIEVE, a meretricious essay. Professor Morgenthau begins by calling something he doesn’t like, “scientific man,” and then demonstrates that the science of which he is made is a chimera and that the man himself is irrational and immoral and in consequence has brought himself and his age to a tragic consummation.

One never discovers this generic “scientific man” in objective form. Indeed, this volume is almost wholly an exercise in abstractions. The author assumes that science consists of a set of rational deductions, omitting entirely its empirical foundations, and that these deductions, if and when applied to the social problem, lead only to confusion and disaster. He asks for a higher form of knowledge—“insights of a different and higher kind”—but he furnishes no illustrations of this type of wisdom. He wants scientists to be supplanted by statesmen, overlooking the fact that the bulk of statesmen of the present are men who have not been trained in scientific method.

Embedded in this essay lies one important proposition, namely: facts as such do not control human situations. There is no novelty in this presumption, and it was brilliantly expounded years ago by Mary P. Follett. Mr. Morgenthau’s criticisms of the social sciences are likewise well known, and most of them have been more fairly stated by social scientists themselves. As a sample of his unscientific thinking I may quote a single sentence: “The relations between nations are not essentially differ-

ent from the relations between individuals; they are only relations between individuals on a wider scale." This constitutes a lawyer's dictum and not the careful discrimination of a scientist.

Hans Morgenthau is, like some of his fellow Europeans, extremely anxious to warn Americans against social and economic planning. He furnishes two ludicrous illustrations of what is meant by planning, (a) a "plan" to attend the movies, (b) a general's plan for a military campaign. If there is a constructive and feasible program hidden in the high-sounding phrases of this essay, it is a program which, I fear, has already reduced Europe to the state of chronic invalidism.

THE SHAPING OF THE AMERICAN TRADITION, by Louis M. Hacker. Columbia University Press. 2 vols. \$7.50.

David Cushman Coyle

FOR THE INTELLIGENT AMERICAN CITIZEN, this book can be recommended as a review of our history, especially needful in the present critical state of our affairs. In its origin, Professor Hacker's work is a textbook for the Contemporary Civilization course in Columbia College, and although it is far more interesting than some of the texts we had to study forty years ago, its "reading time" should be figured in weeks or months, with a corresponding addition to the understanding and perspective of the reader.

Collected here are the more important and typical writings of the men who make American history, together with many letters and other documents of less distinguished authorship that describe at first hand the conditions of their times. American history is divided into eleven parts, starting with the conditions in Europe that led to our emigration to America, and ending with the Roosevelt Revolution and World War II. Under each part, as a rule, there are sections on the American mind, the American scene, the problems of the day, and America's relation to the world. Short introductions by the author describe the situation in general, and the position and character of the writers who are quoted. The bulk of the work is made up of the quotations from original sources.

We find here, in the setting of their own times and problems, the words of philosophers such as Franklin, Emerson, Thoreau; of economic thinkers from Franklin and Hamilton to Alvin Hansen; of political leaders down to Frank-

in Roosevelt; and of de Tocqueville, Dickens, Bryce, and others. Many great public papers such as the announcements of the Monroe Doctrine and the Louisiana Purchase, are included. Altogether, one soon feels, in reading these quotations, that American history is more than we ever learned in school, and that all one's everyday opinions of things American need to be emphasized or revised in view of new lights that are thrown on them by our vivid past.

Few men or women in active life can devote the time to get an exhaustive understanding of the sources of their own ideas, or of the lessons of history; and yet we need now, as hardly ever before, all the wisdom in action that we can muster. Short of a truly exhaustive study of America, a course of reading, such as Mr. Hacker's work offers, seems to provide a practical alternative. The reader, by the time he has finished, will have at least a far better comprehension of who we are and what our most probable lines of behavior may be, than the majority of his fellow citizens.

CAN SCIENCE SAVE US? by George A. Lundberg. Longmans. \$1.75.

Bryn J. Hovde

CIVILIZATION IS IN DANGER AND NEEDS to be saved. Nobody denies that. But how and by what? By religion, says the Church. By reason (metaphysics) as derived from the Classics, say others. Still others rely on the "humanizing" humanities. And finally there are the believers in social science.

By science, says Mr. Lundberg. He really means a scientific social science. What is unscientific in social science (and that's a lot), as well as the other alleged saviors, he throws to the whale as "prescientific thoughtways" in a technological age." He considers them simply as excess baggage on a stormy sea. He does not rant against them. He would not abolish their study in a general education. All he wants to do is to take the asserted magic out of them so that they may serve their only useful function—that of being or supplying passive data on human experience.

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content or curriculum, though he does recommend a program. He is concerned with the development and mastery of the scientific *method*, especially in the areas of social problems, human relations, and education.

The natural sciences deserve the credit of having perfected the scientific method in the areas to which they are limited and are not to be blamed for failure to solve the human problems that lie outside those limits. For that lag, those are to blame who purport to devote themselves to those problems. Even they, however, have made enough progress in the last few decades to prove the validity of the truly scientific method, once they rid themselves of the neo-Platonist notion that the area of human relations is "subjective," "spiritual"—and therefore beyond the ken of science strictly conceived. The scientific method thus becomes for Professor Lundberg the great unifier of all knowledge. But between knowledge and choice, or desire, there still remains a great gulf and there remains plenty of room for the arts, literature, and the "spirit."

This little book is closely but clearly written. It presents a positive intellectual program with tremendous implications for the gropings of this age. Those who miss reading it will overlook something very important.

ADVERSARY IN THE HOUSE, by Irving Stone. Doubleday. \$3.

Kathleen Sproul

“HE WAS ALWAYS TIRED, ALWAYS UNDERFERD, needing sleep and quiet, but he never stopped: there was so much work that had to be done. There was no such thing as meeting him for the first time. Were you not a part of humanity? Then he had always loved you. When he stood on a platform, doubled over at the waist like a jack-knife, his enormously long arms wide outstretched to reach his entire audience as though it were one human being, to pull it up against his bosom, he glowed as radiantly as a blazing stove in winter. The lonely, the blind, the unhappy, the dispossessed thronged about to warm their fingers at his fire. . . .”

If no book title stood above that quotation, nor any author's name, the reader might ask—Lincoln—Jesus . . . ?

The paragraph occurs on page 353 of Irving Stone's biographical novel about Eugene Debs; it is startling as one encounters it, for it happens to be the first time in the long book's course that

Mr. Stone himself speaks in summation. The rest of the time he lets Eugene V. Debs write the book—to me, a remarkable achievement.

During the first few pages, I was uneasy, telling myself that I didn't like Stone's writing, and that I wished I'd never said I'd review this thing. But when Eugene V. Debs took over there was no more reviewer's skimming. Here was a man so engrossing that every word about him had to be read.

Coming out the other end—after Debs' release from Atlanta—I still knew I didn't like Mr. Stone's writing *per se*. But if an author has the ability to let his hero take control, anything else but acknowledgment of a peculiar kind of genius would be carping.

I can't carp in the face of Eugene Debs—nor in the face of the tremendous excitement of the period in American history reflected here with its picture (whether fact or fiction) of the beginnings of the labor union and Socialist movements. In following the careers of the man and the movements, one is constantly reminded that any idea, whether a "good" or a "bad" one, remains dead and ineffectual unless it happens to emanate from, or be a partner in time with, a human being through whom it can be translated.

Other reviewers have questioned Mr. Stone's accuracy, perhaps justifiably in point of fact. There has been particular complaint about the picture of Mrs. Debs.

But if the title of the book means anything, it seems to me that in Kate Debs, Mr. Stone was making a most important point, even if he misused the lady in making it. For Kate Debs is a pretty good piece of symbolism. There, in his own house, is the adversary who contends against everything that the idealist has to offer. And the fact that the contention is so perfect—perfect, indeed, to the point of not being even active contention but really utter disregard, and that Debs had never any effective weapon against it, or any educational means of including it—is the Achilles heel of this otherwise startlingly great man. The gentle, good man who knew how, as he progressed from idea to idea and action to action, to include all humanity in his thinking, never learned how to show this to that section of human beings who implacably exclude on the basis of their own ego-centered desires and neuroses.

I am grateful to Mr. Stone for this book. I finished it with a great sense

of regret that I had not been of a generation to know Debs personally. What I do know of him now, Mr. Stone is responsible for.

I haven't told you much about the book—only what I feel about it. It's that sort of book. But I do recommend that you read it—not as a book by an author—but as a record of a good man.

DYNAMICS OF LEARNING, by Nathaniel Cantor. Foster & Stewart. \$3.

Robert L. Thorndike

IN THIS TIME OF CONFUSION AND UNREST in our society many demands are being made upon our American system of education and many voices are being raised to question its procedures and its goals. In particular, the concept of a liberal education, especially at the college level, has been the focus of a number of critical inquiries. In "Dynamics of Learning" Professor Cantor opens up a rather different approach to this concept—in terms of the dynamic patterns of personality development proposed in psychiatry and the non-directive type of therapy supported in certain schools of clinical psychology.

Probably every teacher worthy of the name has been dissatisfied with the extent to which his teaching has appeared to make real changes in the living attitudes and understandings of his students. Knowledge does not guarantee understanding, and understanding may not yield real changes in feeling and belief. How are these more vital changes to be achieved?

There probably would be little quarrel with the author's contention that these changes must be learned by, rather than taught to, the student. What can be done to promote the type of activity by the student which will result in genuine growth? Mr. Cantor finds the possibility of this growth in the type of student-centered and student-directed class activities which have been the goal of many progressive educators at the elementary and secondary levels for the past twenty years.

The type of teaching which directs without appearing to direct, which guides in a constructive fashion while appearing to leave the situation entirely free and spontaneous, is perhaps the most exacting in terms of artistry and technique of the teacher. It is relatively easy for an instructor to obtain a mastery of facts and skills enough greater than that of his students so that he can lecture to them impressively. It is very much harder for him sensitively to guide

their active participation in class discussion so that they discover for themselves and accept into themselves the insights which lie in a realm of thought.

The author appears to be one such gifted teacher; in addition to possessing professional skill he has a background in sociology, case work, and dynamic psychology which provides him with a rationale for the type of classroom experience which he espouses. "Dynamics of Learning" is an exposition of that rationale and an illustration of that process.

OUR CHILDREN ARE CHEATED. by Benjamin Fine. Holt. \$3.

Margaret S. Lewisohn

"**OUR CHILDREN ARE CHEATED**" IS NOT just an arresting title. The book proves the phrase to be too logically true, as the author paints a grim picture of breakdown within our educational system. The story is based upon first hand information gathered on a six-month nationwide survey.

We see school systems actually broken down, hundreds of communities unable to procure trained teachers, inadequate supplies, insufficient and outdated instructional materials, outmoded, even unsanitary buildings. Here is reporting at its best.

In an enlightening chapter on "Money Spent for Schools" we are told how pitifully inadequate is America's financing of public education, especially in comparison with the proportion of the national income spent on education by Great Britain and the USSR.

Inequalities in our system are clearly defined. With few exceptions, we learn, the South lags far behind in educational standards, practices, and finances. Inequalities, however, often exist within all states and all cities.

We are clearly shown that our Negro education is a national disgrace. Far more money is spent on white than on Negro schools. Higher education presents the same injustices and inequities. The Negro teacher at all levels is handicapped and underpaid.

At least half the book deals with the teacher. We learn of the acute teacher shortage, the fast turnover, the lowered morale, their inadequate salaries and unsatisfactory status in our society, their unprecedented strikes. We are shocked to find how many substandard teachers our schools now have, how empty are the teacher training colleges, how badly these need reorganizing.

The rural schools, on the whole, are

in even worse shape than the urban ones, Mr. Fine reports. He deals also with the plight of our overcrowded colleges, and optimistically envisions an era of vast expansion of higher education with, eventually, strong public support.

The final chapter contains recommendations for curing the ills which Dr. Fine's roving and talent have made us see so vividly, and specific reforms are advocated. Two of the most important are greater financial support of our free schools, and a sound public relations campaign for education to bring the schools of the country and their needs before all citizens.

In "Our Children are Cheated" Benjamin Fine has taken a first and most important step toward this last recommendation by making the public face up to its educational responsibilities. The book should be required reading for all Americans.

THE INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM OF GOVERNING MANKIND, by Philip C. Jessup. Foreword by George C. S. Benson. Claremont College, Calif. \$2.50.

Richard B. Scandrett, Jr.

IN THE FIRST OF HIS TWO LECTURES, Professor Jessup examines the possibilities of "strengthening world government" by finding a method of "peaceful progress in the direction of greater international control." It is his carefully considered judgment that world government, based upon an assembly of peoples rather than governments, is impracticable in the immediate future. At the same time he believes that national sovereignty is the "root of the evil" and that the "ultimate freedom of national states to enforce their wills by the use of their power" must be eliminated in order to abolish war. Nevertheless he favors "step by step modifications" as against "once for all revolutions."

Professor Jessup states frankly that he does not agree with those who maintain that "more imagination and more courage would have produced at San Francisco a more perfect instrument" or that it would have been possible "to create a world organization with an effective power uncontrolled by the crippling veto right." He seems to base this agreement primarily upon the manifestly correct assumption that the world is "not now democratic" rather than that no agreement could have been reached between Russia and the United States under which these nations would have accepted limitations on their respective

sovereignities "in the security area."

He recognizes that the right of veto is "a very serious defect." The circumstance that all but five states in the world have relinquished the principle of unanimity and have accepted what he refers to as "majority rule" he regards as "surprising progress," the importance of which "cannot be exaggerated." But he does not suggest that there are reasonable grounds on which to base a belief that Britain, France, and China also would have relinquished this principle and that the number could have been two rather than five.

In the second lecture, Professor Jessup analyzes directly and critically the method of the Truman Doctrine of aid to Greece and Turkey. He challenges the wisdom of the method in having "stimulated and encouraged those in this country who agree that we must fight the USSR some day and that we had better do it now while we have a monopoly of atomic bombs even though this would be a blatant violation of our pledged word"; and says that it has "weakened the United Nations at a time when all our effort should be devoted to strengthening it."

He points out that neither the prob-

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Letters and Life

lems of Communism nor "the expansion of Russia as a problem of power politics" are new problems. A foreign policy based on the United Nations is, he states, "a policy of multilateral decision and action, not a policy of unilateral decision and action."

The author has put in exceedingly small compass more meat than a reader may find in volumes of many hundred pages. At times the restrictions of space have tended toward over-simplification, but this little book is a contribution which no one who has studied and pondered on the problems involved can afford to overlook.

TWO BLADES OF GRASS—A History of Scientific Developments in the United States Department of Agriculture, by T. Swann Harding. University of Oklahoma Press. \$3.50.

J. Clyde Marquis

THIS TIMELY AND SIGNIFICANT HISTORY of one of the most distinctive American developments of the century might well be subtitled "A Century of Science in Human Progress." It is timely because it appears at the moment when the worldwide struggle for food has become the first essential to attain peace. It is significant because it explains why American farms are today the breadbasket of the world.

The fulfillment of the implied objective of the title is the remarkable record of American farms during the two world wars when nearly all records for production were broken year after year. That this was done by a shrinking number of farm workers, despite handicaps of scarce machinery, makes the history even more dramatic.

Mr. Harding's story is written for the layman, yet will serve as a condensed reference for all students of the events leading to the completion of the world's largest scientific bureau. It is a well rounded story of the men and measures that combined to create a vast bureau, which served in the war emergency to assure that food sufficient to win the war was available.

From the first seed importations in 1837 to the culmination of soil conservation today on 100,000,000 acres was a slow growth with plenty of obstacles, both political and technical. From the approval by Abraham Lincoln in 1862 to the creation of many bureaus during the term of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the scientific and service work of

the United States Department of Agriculture steadily increased step by step. The author has not allowed the urge to write a thrilling chronicle to lead him to overplay the dramatic aspects of his account, although the adventures of the explorers who searched the world for the best in plants and animals as well as the struggles of some of the early scientists to overcome popular and political opposition provide plenty of material for a de Kruif type of history.

A general knowledge of the growth and change in American farming should be a required part of the education of every American youth. The economic, social, and political evolution from the 1860's when more than three fourths of the country's citizen's were farmers down to today when less than one fifth of our people live on the land is the most important change in all U. S. history.

Mr. Harding has written with the intimate knowledge of an insider in the department since 1910 who has seen much of the progress he describes.

From the 47 employes in the Department of Agriculture, in January 1868, to the more than 250,000 under its direction in 1945 was a growth unequaled by any other government agency in the world's history. An era of economy in governmental expenditures may well

reduce the total. But its service has been registered—food won the war and, we hope, will write the peace.

AMERICA'S ECONOMIC SUPREMACY, by Brooks Adams. With a New Evaluation by Marquis W. Childs. Harper. \$2.50.

Sydnor H. Walker

THE PUBLISHERS PROCLAIM THIS BOOK, "a startling prophecy—a warning for today," and undoubtedly the decision to reprint after nearly fifty years Adams' analysis of America's position in world affairs and his prognosis of events is due to belief that he has been proved right to an extent that should insure serious consideration.

The slim volume deals with the world situation at the end of the Spanish-American War and expands a subject which had long been featured in the correspondence of Henry and Brooks Adams.

Mr. Childs, from his knowledge of background material and particularly of the writings of the two brothers, gives insight into certain elliptical statements in the book. He also outlines the thesis and interprets its findings against the actual happenings in world history since 1900.

The main contentions of the Adams'

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Sydnor H. Walker: *New York City*

Henry H. Ware: *Acting Chief USSR Division, Office of International Trade, Commerce Department*

thesis are that Great Britain's financial and economic weakening were evident in 1900 when almost everyone else believed the contrary, and that the United States and Russia were destined to be the two powers competing for world leadership.

Of the two, that concerning England's weakness is the more thoroughly developed and, by the same token, the more vulnerable.

For although Brooks Adams writes with what appears to be complete detachment, the charges against England are tinged with prejudice. In discussing her military reverses in the Boer War he sees "intellectual torpor," a characteristic of her civilization, as the explanation, and he claims that the British have lost their initiative, that they are extravagant and self-indulgent in personal habit. The chief proof of these traits he found in an increasingly unfavorable balance of trade.

Now in 1947, when the balance is still unfavorable, we are more impressed with England's military record in two world wars and with her present acceptance of austerity as a national creed than with the implications of Board of Trade's figures—at least as to moral stamina. The inexorable trend of economic life to which Brooks referred has, of course, given America the supremacy in commerce that was forecast, but superiority of natural resources rather than England's intellectual torpor seems the reason.

So, too, flaws can be found in certain statements regarding the inevitable growth in power of the U. S. and Russia, their probable conflict in Asia over the mineral wealth of China. Russia is seen to be America's only important rival on account of her land mass and enormous population. Later appears the statement with which no one disagrees since 1917, "What a social revolution in Russia would portend transcends human foresight but probably its effects would be felt throughout the world."

Brooks Adams wrote this book to make clear to Americans that their country would have to assume responsibilities for which they and their governmental system were unprepared. His outlook was pessimistic, since he doubted America's understanding of the sacrifices that would have to be made to master her role as world leader. To outline this problem rather than to prophesy was clearly his intention. After nearly half a century, the strength of his argument and the validity of his analysis are patent.

THE LIGHT THAT FLICKERS, by Dexter Merriam Keezer. Harper, \$2.50.
Everett B. Sackett

THERE ARE IN THIS COUNTRY A FEW men who have survived eight years as college presidents in reasonably good repair, physically and mentally. Likewise the nation harbors a few educators who can write about education with a combination of objectivity, warmth, and humor. Mr. Keezer qualifies in both these categories, which makes him all but unique.

From 1934 to 1942 Dexter Keezer served as president of Reed College, a small and distinctive liberal arts institution in Oregon. In the 156 very readable pages of "The Light That Flickers" he describes that experience, thereby illustrating the problems confronting liberal college education in the U.S.

It appears that one of the chief obstacles to education is the professors. (The reviewer has known professors who thought the same of presidents.) Mr. Keezer cites approvingly Thurman Arnold's thesis that the primary objective of a college faculty is not education but self-perpetuation. Of the American Association of University Professors he says: "... along with accomplishing something in the noble role of guardian of academic freedom it also accomplished much in fortifying mediocrity and incompetence in American colleges and universities."

Although finding the degree of faculty participation in college government practiced at Reed atrophying, Mr. Keezer refuses to agree with those who advocate for college government an enlightened and benign dictatorship. Just what is the ideal machinery for governing a college evidently is too baffling a problem even for one of this author's lively and enterprising intellect, for in his concluding chapter, "The Ideal Liberal College," he offers nothing beyond the wistful hope that life tenure and generous salaries would increase a faculty's interest in educational progress.

Among his suggestions for making the lamp of liberal education glow more steadily is a proposal for a resident college where those of the age of fifty or thereabouts could go for a four-or-five-month period to study human affairs. At the traditional college age level he would have student bodies of diverse social and economic backgrounds. These he would not confine to a single campus for four years but would encourage to spend a year at a college in one region and then move to other regions.

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completion of four years of formal study but after the students had had ten years or so in which to prove that their education had been effective. Relating the size of a college to the size of the community in which it is located is suggested. He inclines to the opinion that beautiful girls of friendly disposition should not be encouraged to attend coeducational institutions.

The individual who has never been a faculty member will find in this volume an illuminating account of how a college functions. The professional will find it at once a mirror and a challenging guidepost.

PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS, by Wilfred E. Binkley. Knopf. \$4.

Irving Dilliard

THE AUTHOR OF THIS EXCELLENT BOOK—the distinguished professor of political science at his alma mater, Ohio Northern University,—probably is as well informed as any one among 140,000,000 Americans on the relations between the executive and the legislative branches of our national government throughout its history. He may not write from extensive personal experience in political and administrative life, but he does arrive at his conclusions out of a scholar's knowledge that is deep and broad and thoroughly trustworthy.

As a political scientist, Professor Binkley began to wonder whether the United States should "work in the direction" of the parliamentary system. To answer that question for himself he found he needed to know much more of our own experience "in getting sufficient concerted action of the President and Congress to perform the great functions of government." Out of that came "The Powers of the President," published ten years ago, one of the most thoughtful studies of the subject we have ever had. The present volume is that work extended, rewritten throughout, and brought down to President Truman's veto of the OPA renewal act.

Mr. Binkley is in no rush to change our system to the British form with a cabinet made up of members of Parliament who are the Government only so long as they hold the confidence of the legislature as a whole. The American constitutional system results from "innumerable fortuitous day-to-day adjustments over three and a half centuries" much as the British parliamentary is the product of "groping through centuries"

adjustments, expedients, and make-shifts." As for transplanting the parliamentary system, wherever this has been tried it has always "behaved as an exotic plant." The author concludes that "it could not do otherwise in America."

One of the "feasible reforms" he finds clearly called for is congressional reapportionment so as to bring the cities into a fairer balance with the now over-represented rural areas. (A notable move in this direction has just been made by the Illinois legislature which has divided the Illinois congressional delegation of twenty-six evenly between Cook County and downstate).

Without any reference to possible 1948 candidates, this student of our gallery of national leaders says that since the Civil War the training school for successful Presidents has been "the gubernatorial office in the states where they seem to serve an incomparable executive apprenticeship." In this period, the former governors who went on to the White House make an impressive list: Hayes, Cleveland, McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson, Coolidge, and Franklin Roosevelt.

To assume that the Harding-Coolidge-Hoover type of executive brought economic calm is to put the cart before the horse, Mr. Binkley says. The Twenties shaped the character of government rather than the government shaping the Twenties. And when economic catastrophe came, that kind of government did not demonstrate its capacity for the task. Looking ahead as well as back, this very competent observer concludes:

Since the old myth that every great crisis brings forth a great leader was long ago exploded, the American people are rather reduced to the necessity of hoping for the good luck of getting a competent leader along with a major crisis. And Presidents with capacity for leadership ought not be unwelcome even in "normal" times.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE NEAR EAST, by E. A. Speiser. Harvard University Press. \$2.50.

Grayson Kirk

TO MOST AMERICANS, THE NEAR EAST has always seemed farther away than the Far East. Its history—at least in modern times—has been little known, and its language and culture have been widely neglected in our universities. Most of us seem to have thought of the Near East as consisting of the Nile, the Pyramids, the Holy Land, and a vague adjacent area peopled by rugmakers and

fierce, but passionate, nomadic horsemen.

But now this blissful provincialism has ended abruptly. A cumulation of events—the war, the Palestinian controversy, Arabian oil, the Truman doctrine—has brought about a new and intense popular interest in the region. While our "average citizen" could not dot the i's or cross the t's of the argument, he has generally accepted the view that somehow the vital national interests of this country will be affected by what happens in this far off area.

This newly awakened curiosity has not been well served by readily accessible information, objective or authoritative. It is for this reason that Mr. Speiser's little book is so welcome and so valuable. A recognized authority on the history and culture of the region, he has written a remarkably compressed compendium of information which must be placed in the "indispensable" category of reading for those who, lacking background, are seeking to become well-informed about this newest area of American foreign policy interest.

One commends the judgment of the editors of the Harvard "American Foreign Policy Library," Sumner Welles and Donald C. MacKay, who have realized that their projected twenty-five volume series (of which this is the second) would serve its maximum purpose only if each book contained a solid substratum of factual information for proper perspective. It is this characteristic which gives these volumes a quality of permanence.

The author has no illusions about the Near East. His book should go far toward dispelling naive notions about the speed or thoroughness with which American "democracy" can be transplanted and made to grow there by a simple process of watering the plant with enough American dollars. At the same time, he has sketched out in broad lines the economic, geographic factors which have made this region a meeting place of great-power interests.

To this reader, the most remarkable thing is the skill with which the author has managed to set forth extremely complicated situations in a simple form, easily grasped, without thereby sacrificing either accuracy or comprehensiveness. If the remaining volumes of this series strike the same high note of competence, they will perform a valuable service for a people who have been catapulted by the force of events into a position of international responsibility for which their previous history and interests have not well prepared them.

Theirs the Hunger

(from page 673)

chief source of help was out of the picture—or likely to be when the going would be hardest, the delegates from the deficit countries had been making their desperate reports in a vacuum. They might as well give up making plans, she said, and adjourn.

FOR THE MOST PART, THOSE DELEGATES registered anxiety rather than anger. Their unmistakable despair was sensed by the three members of Congress from the opposite end of Pennsylvania Avenue. They pooled their confidence that Capitol Hill would not let western Europe down and Mr. Dodd conveyed this reassurance.

At the Copenhagen conference last year, the director general of FAO had proposed a World Food Board, with funds and powers that might have been brought to bear in this crisis.

Instead, a Preparatory Commission, with Viscount Bruce as chairman, was set up. Its comprehensive report last February recommended a World Food Council with the task of promoting the same objectives through intergovernmental commodity authorities. In this it would have powers of inquiry, initiative, and supervision, working closely with ITO.

The alternative was adopted at Geneva—a Food Council—replacing the former Executive Committee of FAO made up of official representatives of eighteen governments. Sir John Boyd Orr endorsed the recommendation as a “step ahead” at the opening session at Geneva, stuck his Scotch heels in against any watering down of the program; and at the close set the gauge and challenge of the new setup:

Governments must take notice and be prepared to act immediately. Hunger saps the foundation of governments. . . . The recommendations of this conference, and the more definite recommendations which the Council will make, should receive absolute priority in national and international affairs.

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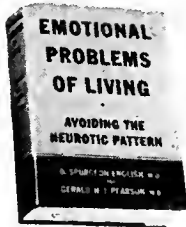
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Washington in early November by the new Food Council of FAO. It took over the International Emergency Food Council, with its constellation of commodity committees and its allocation functions which have operated with an end of the calendar deadline. This becomes the International Emergency Food Committee of FAO, with a franchise as long as the need for allocations lasts.

Confronting the prospect of increasing world food shortages, the council underscores that its central task is to aid in meeting them with enhanced production — setting up a permanent eight nation Food Production Committee to rapidly expand FAO's considerable activities.*

FOOD RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE UNITED States as an occupying power in Germany are of a direct and entirely different order. They have run not only to people in the American Zone and now in the British, but to vast numbers from the Russian Zone, who poured across the border into ours.

It is an old story that in modern times Germany has not produced enough cereals to feed itself. Moreover, that in the postwar partitioning, Soviet Russia was allocated precious wheat lands to the east whose crops no longer get to Germany as a whole. This sort of thing was visualized for us in Berlin, itself cut into four sectors but completely hedged in by the Russian Zone. Hereabouts were market gardens and truck farms that had serviced a great city before the war. But not now. On one of our trips to midtown we came upon a huge van filled with vegetables. Produce of that kind was for delivery in the Russian Sector, we were told, and only there. Like pinchers, vastly more mouths to feed and fewer farm lands to draw on, would in themselves have made the task of food distribution a difficult one for our military authorities. But there were of course other factors.

At long last, Germany had eaten the bitter fruit of knowledge—experiencing modern invasion at the receiving end: what it meant to have opportunities for work and livelihood go down, along with industrial plants, before bombs and artillery; what it meant likewise to have machines and

* In an address later in November, Secretary Clinton P. Anderson came out also for increased food production but struck off at a tangent. He disregarded the action just taken by the new Food Council (the U. S. participating), and proposed to call a meeting of ministers of agriculture (such as were present or represented at Geneva).

motors stripped from factories and shipped east—as reparations for Nazi demolitions. And there came the long drag in reopening export trade.

In the Byrnes-Bevin agreement for Unification of the Bizonal Area, 1800 calories per day was to be the minimum level of rations when world food supplies made it possible—with over-all rations to average 2100 calories, taking into account extra food allowed German workers. This was considered by the Public Health Branch of OMGUS. to be the lowest possible allowance which would stop the continuing decline of health standards in Germany.

Yet official reports show that from June 1946 to July 1947 the actual ration of normal consumers was 1345 calories. Applying science to stewardship, spot checks have been taken regularly by the Public Health Branch of OMGUS. The gravest thing we found in Germany was that such a check last summer showed for all the population a loss in weight below that of the previous year. Those who suffered the greatest percentage of loss were children eight to fourteen.

THE DELEGATES FROM THE DEFICIT countries, and those who espoused their cause, were whistling in the dark at Geneva in early September. Yet developments underway then, have come to a head this fall with Congress called into special session.

It was at Harvard University in June that Secretary George C. Marshall projected his plan for European recovery. Came the conference of sixteen nations at Paris taking stock of their critical needs and material and human resources they could bring to bear; came appraisal of American resources by the Harriman Committee; the President's message putting forward a stop-gap program of emergency aid to tide over consideration of the long term plan—with its emphasis on rehabilitation. On our way to our channel boat at Boulogne the train passed a long column of such unfinished business, each item the shell of a French ceramic works.

Meanwhile the Luckman Committee with its program of meatless days, the authoritative assessment by returned Jewish leaders of the acute needs of displaced persons, the reports from CARE, from the Friends, from other formations overseas, the Freedom Train and plans for a drive in February to supplement the International

Children's Emergency Fund of the United Nations—all these voluntary efforts have spelled HELP and educated the public to needs that only governments can allay. So too, the returned committeemen — the first large scale institution of a new branch of Congress in boots and airplanes.

As this is written, there is every indication that the grants of emergency aid to Austria, Italy, and France are going through. For one thing, strikes in Italy and France have backfired on this side of the Atlantic. Identified as Communist inspired, these have elicited unanticipated support lest our aid to these harassed countries be too late in matching hunger with food.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO THE special session was itself free of doctrinal contentions that marked his earlier espousal of Greece. But there was no mistaking the acuteness of the international situation, when General Vassily Sokolovsky blasted the military governments of Western powers before the Allied Control Council at Berlin on the eve of the meeting of the Big Four Ministers at London. Nor the counter-belligerence that animates not a little of the American public support of emergency aid. When it comes to its administration, this is the way that Henry L. Stimson, former Secretary of War, put the case in an article in *Foreign Affairs* in October, which in itself set going a campaign to muster a million Americans behind the Marshall Plan:

These are the nations by whose citizens our land was settled and in whose tradition our civilization is rooted. They are threatened by Communism — but only because of the dark shadows cast by the hopelessness, hunger and fear that have been the aftermath of the Nazi war. Communism or no Communism, menace or no menace, it is our simple duty as neighbors to take a generous part in helping these great peoples to help themselves. The reconstruction of Western Europe is a task from which Americans can decide to stand apart only if they wish to desert every principle by which they claim to live.

The simple fact is that if there were no Russia on the map of Europe the essence of that call would be valid and imperative. At Harvard last June, General Marshall gave what might well be marching orders for answering

* See "The Greeks—Major Test for US," George Britt, *Survey Graphic*, May, 1947.



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it in the field:

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any country or doctrine but against
hunger, desperation, and chaos."

THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT MET WITH
no such unanimity in the ten point
program he put before the special ses-
sion not only to conserve bread grains
but to safeguard American standards
of living.

It is to be said for Mr. Truman
that he rendered a distinct public ser-
vice in recognizing that inflation knows
no trade barriers. We cannot build a
long dike against it as the Dutch did
against sea water at the mouth of the
Zuyder Zee. Moreover, once the
Allied armies closed in on Occupied
Holland, frustrated Nazi command-
ers blasted other embankments that
had protected a vast acreage from
fresh water inundation. On our visit
there we found that the low lying
houses had all been razed and the
dangling side boards on the barns had
been gnawed off by the rush of water.

Yet damage was tiny compared
with that experienced by low income
families throughout the U.S.A. from
the rush of high prices since our
wartime safeguards gave way to pro-
ducer and political pressure. That is
the stake of low income consumers
everywhere in the President's pro-
posals for selective price controls and
rationing as tools in emergency.

THROUGHOUT THE YEARS PARIS HAS
always given a lift to these visitors;
but occupation must be more devas-
tating than bombing. In spite of
London's ever present evidences of
destruction there was more of the
future and less of strain, it seemed to
us, on the English side of the channel.

Price controls that seemed to con-
trol, and rationing that rationed,
meant that what food there was has
had as fair and wide a distribution in
Britain as short supplies have ever
had in the history of the world.

Those Americans who have lumped
price control and rationing as inven-
tions of totalitarianism should see this
British system at work equitably dis-
tributing food in peace time. Under
the Churchill government, it had kept
manpower fit when that was a war-
time "must." Clearly in these postwar
days, when there are "short commons"
for everybody, it is conserving the
health of wage-earning and middle-
class families to do their part in the

stiff postwar struggles for revival.

At Simpson's-on-the-Strand, braised
hare was wheeled around under the
handsome silver hood which once
covered their famous roasts of beef.
We had tastier and more filling
dinners for a shilling at one of the
British restaurants (run by the gov-
ernment during the war and con-
tinued since) than at most of the
so-called "good" restaurants.

But we wanted to know at first-
hand how the wives and mothers in
the East End fared—or their equiva-
lents elsewhere. It didn't take long on
a first visit to get right to the heart of
the subject—which was the "joint."

"Well," said Mrs. Clark, "Saturday
is our good day because that's when
we have the joint." She, her husband,
and their seventeen-year-old son could
each spend a shilling a week on meat.
Put together their shillings bought
two and one half pounds. That was
cooked and served hot on a Saturday
night; served cold for Sunday, and
some of the gravy left over gave
relish to Monday's dinner. Two slices
of bacon a week helped out at another
weekday meal. "The rest of the time,"
she concluded, "it is stand in queues
for a bit of fish."

Maybe our encounters were excep-
tion but case stories reaching us since
from the British Council of Social
Service indicate they were character-
istic. We may have met unusually
thoughtful people, but well-to-do and
poor alike seemed to agree that "if it
got no worse they could manage."

What was said often as an after-
thought was "But the people on the
Continent can't."

THOSE BRITISH WOMEN WERE OLD IN
the wisdom of housekeeping. Their
instinct was right. Delegates and ex-
perts at Geneva, conference partici-
pants at The Hague and Paris, offi-
cials, bankers, labor leaders, social
workers, doctors, educators, all came
to the same thing—the inexorable, in-
escapable fact of widespread malnu-
trition and of impending hunger on
the continent — beyond the unaided
powers of its victims.

In France, in Germany, and to a
degree elsewhere in western Europe,
we had come to know what food
deficits mean—in men's power to pro-
duce, in women's strength to bear
children, in children's growth and fit-
ness to take over in their turn the
load of life and labor.

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M.A., SOCIAL WORK, male, married, veteran, 6 years experience as caseworker in Family and Psychiatric settings. Familiar with psychometric techniques. Some administrative experience. No limit to field or location. Minimum salary considered \$3200. Available first of year. 8646 Survey.

EXECUTIVE position desired with progressive child caring agency, children's institution or combined family and children's agency. Male, married, school of social work graduate, ten years administrative experience. Minimum salary \$5,500. 8643 Survey.

WORKERS WANTED

CASEWORKER—SUPERVISOR — for job leading to full supervision. Position soon. Must have completed graduate training, have interest in supervision, and have had substantial casework experience in agency of high standards. Opening January 1. Family and Children's Service, Inc., 313 S. E. Second Street, Evansville, Indiana.

STENOGRAPHIC ASSISTANT (WOMAN) FOR ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF OF THE FRONTIER NURSING SERVICE IN THE KENTUCKY MOUNTAINS. SEND DATA SHEET TO AGNES LEWIS, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, WENDOVER, KENTUCKY.

GROUP WORKER for Girls Club. Professional training required. Salary in accordance with training and experience. Girls Club Assistance League of Southern California, 5604 DeLongpre Avenue, Hollywood 28, California.

CASEWORKERS—Catholic Family and Child Care Agency has two staff vacancies. Salary in accordance with professional training and experience. Opportunity for advancement. At least one year's graduate training required. Catholic Welfare Bureau, 855 South Figueroa Street, Los Angeles 14, California.

SUPERVISOR, man or woman, for child guidance agency where treatment is carried mainly by psychiatric social workers, under immediate and close supervision of an outstanding nationally known psychiatrist. Experience in a child guidance agency or related psychiatric work desirable. Interesting and challenging opportunity. Apply Jewish Child Guidance Bureau, 682 High Street, Newark, New Jersey.

HAWAII!!! Groupworker wanted for job as Program Director, Teen-Age Work, in Kauai County, Y. W. C. A. Salary range \$2400 to \$3000 (substantial adjustments in preparation). Require trained and/or experienced groupworker. Write Margaret Cuenod, Box 308, Lihue, Kauai, T. H., sending picture and qualifications.

WORKERS WANTED

DIRECTOR OF SOCIAL SERVICE, outstanding nonsectarian, interracial, children's center. Group living plus psychotherapy. Responsibility for treatment, under direction outstanding analyst. Agency contemplates expansion of service. Administrator graduate SASS, Western Reserve. Must be Graduate accredited school, 3-5 years experience preferably in child guidance clinic or institutional setting. Opening January 1st. Write Director, Ridge Farm, 40 East Old Mill Road, Lake Forest, Illinois (50 minutes Chicago loop).

CASEWORKER for Protestant Children's Agency (accredited) having institutional and foster home program. Large midwestern city. Must have completed graduate training and be ready for some supervisory responsibility. Opportunity for advancement. Write giving qualifications and salary expected. 8645 Survey.

FAMILY WELFARE WORKER
CHILD WELFARE WORKER I
JUVENILE COURT PROBATION OFFICER:—Wisconsin.

Initial salary, 1947, \$244.52; for 1948, \$263.02 per month. Annual salary increments. Examination continuous based upon evaluation of credentials. Postgraduate course or completion of a major portion thereof in an accredited school for social work.

Annuity and Retirement system for those who qualify therefor. Request formal application from the Milwaukee County Civil Service Commission, Room 206, Courthouse, Milwaukee 3, Wisconsin.

CASE WORKER. Opening for professionally trained and experienced case worker of advanced agency classification. Duties include limited case load and responsibility for special projects. Salary range \$3200 to \$4500. Write Jewish Social Service Bureau, 15 Fernando Street, Pittsburgh 19, Pa.

CASE WORK SUPERVISOR for private family agency. Graduate training and supervisory experience required. Salary commensurate with training and experience. Family Service Agency, Assistance League of Southern California, 1376 N. St. Andrews Place, Hollywood 28, California.

CASEWORKERS for national agency with multiple service program for adjustment of foreign born in U. S.; M. S. degree required; salary range \$2700-\$3925; appointment within range depending on experience. Promotion opportunities. Knowledge of German or Yiddish desirable. Write or telephone United Service for New Americans, Inc., 15 Park Row, New York 7, N. Y., CO 7-9700.

CASEWORKER, graduate training. Salary commensurate with experience. Opportunity for rapid advancement. Salary range \$2400-\$3600. Jewish Social Service Bureau, 144 Baden Street, Rochester 5, New York.

ATHLETIC DIRECTOR with group work training and experience in agency located in Negro-White neighborhood carrying on interracial program. Position open January 1, 1948. Write Maurice McCrackin, Findlay Street Neighborhood House, 916 Poplar Street, Cincinnati 14, Ohio.

WANTED: Psychiatric Social Worker for newly established Child Guidance Center with outstanding psychoanalyst as director. Stimulating opportunity in community of 350,000 population. Child Guidance Center of Lackawanna Co., Scranton, Pa.

CASEWORKER. Well trained, wanted for hospital in New York City. Experience not necessary. Field Work in psychiatric, family or medical agency acceptable. Fairly new department. Emphasis on casework aspects of rehabilitation. Offers casework service to private patients on fee basis. Good supervision. Salary range \$2400-\$3400. 8655 Survey.

MEDICAL SOCIAL WORKER I
PSYCHIATRIC SOCIAL WORKER:—Wis.
 Initial salary, 1947, \$244.52; for 1948, \$263.02 per month. Completion of a postgraduate course in accredited school for medical social work or psychiatric social work. Annual salary increments.
 Annuity and Retirement system for those who qualify therefor. Request formal application from the Milwaukee County Civil Service Commission, Room 206, Courthouse, Milwaukee 3, Wisconsin.

SUPERVISING CHILD WELFARE SERVICES WORKER—One year graduate study plus 7 years social work including 3 years in Child Welfare and 2 years supervising experience. Salary \$296 per month. Apply San Diego County Civil Service, Civic Center, San Diego, California, by January 16, 1948.

WORKERS WANTED

CASEWORKER, male or female, needed for private family agency now being reorganized. Program expected to expand and will provide opportunity for advancement to position of executive director for person with capacities for administration, sound casework program planning, and community interpretation. Beginning salary, \$3,600. Write: Richmond Jewish Community Council, 2908 Idlewood Avenue, Richmond 21, Virginia.

ASSISTANT PROBATION OFFICERS—Bachelor's Degree plus experience in probation, child or family case work. Salary \$244-\$296 per month. Write San Diego County Civil Service, Civic Center, San Diego, Calif.

OPPORTUNITIES AVAILABLE

WANTED—(a) Medical social worker; experience in community agency and hospital advantageous; field position with national organization; competent organizer required; \$4,000, traveling expenses. **(b)** Director of social service; teaching hospital of 600 beds; Master's degree required; duties include teaching interns and nurses, supervising the work of other social workers; salary dependent upon qualifications. **(c)** Psychiatric social worker; mental clinic now being organized; \$4,000; southern town of 35,000. SG11-1. The Medical Bureau (Burnice Larson, Director), Palmolive Building, Chicago 11.

DIRECTOR, DEPARTMENT OF DOMESTIC CONCILIATION—Wisconsin. Initial salary, 1947, \$364.52; for 1948, \$383.02 per month. Completion of a postgraduate course in an accredited school of social work; not less than five years' paid professional experience preferably in children's and family case work; supervisory case work experience preferred. Duties: Under direction to have supervision and direction of entire department of domestic conciliation. Annuity and retirement system for those who qualify therefor. Request formal application from the Milwaukee County Civil Service Commission, Room 206, Courthouse, Milwaukee 3, Wisconsin.

SENIOR and JUNIOR CASEWORKERS wanted for home finding and adoptive studies, excellent supervision assured. Salary range—\$2200 to \$3000. Write to the Children's Home Society of Florida, 403 Consolidated Building, Jacksonville 2, Florida.

CASEWORKERS (2), graduate training and experience. Starting salary \$2800 or higher depending on individual qualifications. Write: Michigan Children's Aid Society, 401 C. I. O. Building, Flint 3, Michigan.

CASEWORKER with graduate training wanted for interesting work in foster care agency. Limited caseload. Salary commensurate with training and experience. Richmond Children's Aid Society, Allison Building, Richmond, Va.

SAN FRANCISCO CATHOLIC SOCIAL SERVICE HAS OPENINGS FOR PROFESSIONALLY QUALIFIED FAMILY AND CHILD WELFARE CASE WORKERS.

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CASEWORKER, woman, A.A.S.W. or equivalent, for new rapidly growing family agency. Very good opportunity for a competent worker. Salary commensurate with training and experience. Family Service of Altoona, 510 Commerce Building, Altoona, Pa.

SUPERVISOR for a Social Service Department in a large Hospital in Brooklyn. Qualifications: Academic training and experience in Supervision. Salary commensurate with experience—minimum \$3580. 8635 Survey.

SUPERVISOR, male, in a psychiatrically oriented child welfare agency carrying on work of an integrated casework-group work nature with emotionally disturbed boys age 8 to 17. Must have two years Master's degree in social case work with psychiatric case work and/or child welfare as a specialization, also courses in group work. Experience as supervisor in child guidance clinic and/or children's case work agency, also some experience in social group work and camping. Position open March 1, 1948. Salary in accordance with Welfare Council of Metropolitan Los Angeles standards schedule. Jewish Big Brothers Association and Camp Max Straus, 610 Temple Street, Los Angeles, Calif., Milton L. Goldberg, Ex. Director. Can offer temporary housing.

SOCIAL SERVICE WORKER (WOMAN) FOR FRONTIER NURSING SERVICE IN THE KENTUCKY MOUNTAINS. FOR INFORMATION, WRITE AGNES LEWIS, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, WENDOVER, LESLIE CO., KENTUCKY.

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